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No. 1

**GLIMPSES INTO THE MARRIED LIFE OF THE ANCIENT
TAMIL PEOPLE.**

BY K. G. SESA Aiyar, Esq.

ACCORDING to Westermarck, the institution of marriage has most probably developed out of a primeval habit of a man and a woman living together in sexual relationship. In all climes and conditions, sexual attraction has been universal; and from its influence there can be no secure protection, so long as the human heart is warm. The ancient Tamils were a brave and warm-hearted people; and, judging from old Tamil literature, one may say that they regarded love and war as practically embracing the totality of life. These two subjects are dealt with in Tamil literature with remarkable circumstantiality; and we may, therefore, conclude that the institution of war and marriage had been very highly developed among the Tamils in the early days of which we have any

fact of history that among peoples of ancient culture marriage is usually regarded as a duty. It is so among the Chinese and the Japanese. According to Westermarck,

"so indispensable is marriage considered by the Chinese that even the dead are married,¹ the spirits of all males who die in infancy or in boyhood being in due time married to the spirits of females who have been cut off at a like early age." Prof. Hozumi observes that among the Japanese the obligation to marry was so effectively insisted on by public opinion that there was no need of enforcing it by legislation; but he adds that the prohibition of celibacy was enforced only as regards the present or presumptive head of the family.² Among the Hebrews, marriage was regarded as a religious duty. According to a Jewish Code, cited by Westermarck, a man abstaining from marriage "is guilty of bloodshed, diminishes the image of God, and causes the divine presence to withdraw from Israel"; hence a single man past twenty may be compelled by the court to take a wife. Even under Islam, which regards marriage as civil contract, it appears that marriage is "incumbent on all who possess the ability". In the Hadis, it is related that when a healthy man told the Prophet that he had not married, the Prophet said: "Then thou art one of the brothers of the devil." Among the Hindus, as is well known, marriage is a religious duty; and they consider children essential for their spiritual happiness and for the salvation of the manes of the family. It is so among the Zoroastrians among whom the belief is, as among the Hindus, no one who has not a son can enter *svarga*. To the ancient Greeks, marriage was of both public and private importance and it is said criminal proceedings could be taken against celibates in ancient Greece. The Romans too regarded marriage as a public duty; and it is seen from Cicero's *De Legibus* that in ancient Rome the Censors could impose a tax upon celibates. There is little material that affords us help in determining whether among the Tamils marriage was enjoined as a religious duty; but there can be no doubt that social polity regarded conjugal life as the normal state of life in society.

¹ Among the Nambūtiri Brāhmaṇas, women dying unmarried are subjected to a mock marriage before cremation.

² Cf. the Nambūtiri Brāhmaṇas.

That is the conclusion that we may safely draw from the extensive literature that deals elaborately and particularly with the aspects of love, courtship and marriage among the ancient Tamil people.

For a correct appreciation of the ancient social institutions of the Tamil race, we must seek information from old Tamil literature which, embodying as it does the national poetry of the race, affords an inexhaustible storehouse of Dravidian antiquities that are of unique interest to a student of sociology. In ancient Tamil society, love and war were, as already stated, the two objects *par excellence* of human pursuit and they formed the two categories of poetic material or *poruḷ*, which the bards delighted to sing about. Tamil rhetoricians classified *poruḷ* into (1) *Aham*, literally, internal or subjective state, and (2) *Puram*, i.e., external or objective pursuits. This is a classification of poetic material peculiar to the genius of the Tamil race and by the time of *Tolkāppiyam*, the oldest Tamil grammar now extant, there must already have existed an ancient literature, now unfortunately lost, which had for its subject-matter this two-fold material, so that Tolkāppiyānār felt the necessity of embodying in his grammar a special chapter on *poruḷ*, where we find a comprehensive and instructive treatment of *ahap-poruḷ* and *purap-poruḷ*. *Ahap-poruḷ* relates to the moods and fancies, feelings, sentiments and passions of lovers placed in diverse situations and circumstances; and *purap-poruḷ*, which treats of external relations, principally war, deals also with the political organization of the Tamil state and society and the rules and conventions regulating the public relations of the Tamil chiefs and princes. Roughly, of the four-fold objects of life, Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mōkṣa, or, as they are called in Tamil, Aṟam, Poruḷ, Inbam and Viḍu, the category which Tamil rhetoricians describe as *puram* embraces the first two, and what they describe as *aham* embraces the third.

For detailed information about the rules and conventions of the marriage institution as practised by the ancient Tamils, the reader must be referred to *Poruḷatikāram* in *Tolkāppiyam*,

Iraiyanār *Ahap-porul*, Nambi *Ahap-porul* and other works dealing with the subject. I have sought to give here only a bird's-eye view of this interesting topic so as to serve mainly to elucidate the appended lyrics from *Kalit-togai*, which is acknowledged to be one of the best works illustrative of the conventions of *Ahat-tinai*. Tamil rhetoricians postulate five regional varieties in the Tāmil country, each with its distinctive features and characteristics, both natural and conventional, and peopled by its own stratum of society, differing in occupation and in its level of social and economic culture, or development from the people of other regions. These five regions are *Pālai* or desert land, *Kuriñji* or mountainous region, *Mullai* or forest region, *Marutam* or arable country, and *Neytal* or sea-board region. Consistent with the character of *Pālai-nilam*, its presiding deity is said to be Durga and the burning sun; its inhabitants were robbers, and were called Maravar. These are, perhaps, the Sorai (Sorar) of Ptolemy. The presiding deity of *Kuriñji-nilam* is said to be Muruga or Skanda; and its inhabitants were known as Kuravar, who lived on millet, ragi and honey. We may note, in passing, the interesting facts that *Val̥li*, the bride of Skanda, is said to be a Kurava maid, who was wooed and won when she was guarding a millet cultivation, and that many of the hills or mountains in South India are sacred to Skanda. The deity that ruled over *Mullai-nilam* is said to be Māyōn or Kṛṣṇa. Its inhabitants were neatherds and shepherds, and their pastime included playing on pipes and grappling with bulls. They went by the name of Idaiyar. *Maruta-nilam* was sacred to Indra. Its inhabitants were known as *Uḷavaṇ*. They cultivated paddy and their staple food was rice. They lived a life of comparative ease and luxury and had obtained a high degree of social and economic culture. Varuna was regarded as the presiding deity of *Neytal-nilam*; the inhabitants of which were known as Paratar. They lived by fishing and by sale of fish and salt. Broadly speaking, then, ancient Tamiḷagam was inhabited by five occupational classes of people—pure agriculturists, fisherfolk, pastoral people or cattle-

keepers, lower agriculturists and robbers—each with its own tutelary deity (*Tol. Ahat-tiṇai-iyal* 5) and ruling chieftain and each following its own customs and modes of life. Let us see how their distinctiveness showed itself in their marriage customs or the love episodes of their life.

Tamil treatises deal with *Ahaṇ-ṇoru* under three heads : Kāikkilāi, Aintṇai and Peruntṇai. The eight-fold classification of marriage, familiar to us from Smṛti literature, is obviously an exotic in the Tamil country, as a *sūtra* in *Tolkāṇṇiyam* speaks of *maraiyōr-tēttu manral eṭṭu* (*Tol. Kalaviyal* 1), or the eight forms of marriage of the country of the Brāhmaṇas ; but it is explained that these eight forms are comprised in the three Tamil categories above mentioned. Kai-k-kiṭai is explained as *oru-talai-k-kāmam* or one-sided desire ; and obviously the *Paiśaca* and *Rākṣasa* forms of sexual union, the former of which is but a disgusting exhibition of lust on the part of the ravisher and latter also a 'rape-marriage' which is a survival of the old custom of marriage by capture, that was perhaps practised either as an incident of war or as a mode of procuring a wife when it was difficult to get one otherwise, are instances of Kai-k-kiṭai as neither of them is the result of reciprocal desire. The *Asura* form also falls in this category. It is reminiscent of marriage by purchase which in ancient days was a concomitant of progress in economic culture : and it has been noted as a fact of sociology that marriage by purchase has been of frequent occurrence, especially among the pure and the cattle-keeping agriculturists. In this form of marriage, it need not necessarily be that a damsel is or even can be given in marriage against her will ; but the consent of the parents or other relatives of the girl is indispensable and, in effect, it is a union largely brought about by *oru-talai-k-kāmam*. However, adult marriage was the normal occurrence among the Tamils ; and therefore unions based on 'one-sided desire' cannot have been frequent except, perhaps, among Pālai-makka! ; and, even among them, there is no record to show that it was prevalent or was allowed. One curious consequence of

Kai-k-kiḷai was that the unrequited lover, in the paroxysm of his desire, had recourse to the practice of *Maḍal-ēral*. Maddened by the irresponsiveness of the damsel, the wooer wore a wreath of *Mudar* (*Calotropis-gigantes*) flowers and rode through the streets on a mimic horse of palmyra fronds, proclaiming his love and determined to die if his lady-love would not wed him.

We may glance at the third category. *Peruñ-tiṇai* is explained as *Poruntā-k-kāmam*, i.e., inappropriate love or, in the language of the Hindu law, unapproved marriage. In this category were held to fall the *Brahma*, *Daiva*, *Ārṣa* and *Prājāpatya* forms of marriage mentioned by the Sanskritists. Perhaps they were regarded as inappropriate to the Tamil folk, because of the religious rites that attended those forms. However that may be, Iḷampūranar, the well-known commentator on *Tolkāppiyam* takes *Peruñ-tiṇai* to mean marriages that prevail among the higher castes (*Mēn-makkaḷ*) and are approved by them; and such are the four forms mentioned above.

Aintiṇai, which is the second category, is the most important branch of *Ahaḍ-poruḷ*. It is explained as *Anḇutai-k-kāmam* or union from reciprocal desire. This is the *Gandharva* form of the Sanskritists and is acclaimed by Tamil rhetoricians as the approved form of marital union. According to the Sanskrit school of marriage law, in order to constitute the legal status of husband and wife in the case of the *Gandharva* form of marriage, the ceremonies of *Hōma* and the rest up to *Sapta-padi* must be performed (*Vide* Balambhatta's gloss on *Yājñavalkya*, III, 61) but no religious rite is needed for a valid union according to Tamil usage in this form. *Aintiṇai* consists of two divisions, *Kaḷavu* and *Kaṟpu*. *Kaḷavu* is clandestine love, and it relates to the situation where a young man and a young woman meet each other in a secret place, either by chance or by design, and develop as a result reciprocal attachment which ultimately leads to their voluntary union in secrecy; while *Kaṟpu*, which is open marriage, denotes the giving away of a bride openly to a bridegroom of

proper status and acceptance of her as his bride (*Tol. Karpiyal 1*). • Kaḷavu was the original method of forming a marital relation and it was preceded by Kai-k-kiḷai, while Karpu was either the consequence of Kaḷavu or was sometimes independent of it. It is explained by Tolkāppiyar that as in course of time deceitfulness and treachery violated the sanctity of the secret union, Brāhmaṇas or learned men (*Aiyar* is the term used, and it is a corruption of *Āryar*) enjoined the rule of Karpu or open marriage, following the usage of the higher castes (*Tol. Karpiyal 3 & 4*). This rule served the most useful social object of giving publicity to the union. "Publicity," it has been said, "is everywhere the element which distinguishes a recognized marriage from an illicit connection." Secret union has a tendency to degenerate into concubinage and to reduce sexual morality to a low level. To avoid this result and to give definiteness and social recognition to the marital relation, which concerned not only the immediate parties to it but also their families and other members of society generally, the Karpu method was inaugurated, which created the status of husband and wife by the performance in public of what might be called the marriage ceremony, where the bride was given away by her parents or other relations. The Karpu form of marriage was not infrequently the convention that concluded the relation that had begun and continued in the Kaḷavu form.

To effectuate Kaḷavu relation, both parties had necessarily to be of mature age. They might be brought together by chance and it might turn out to be a case of love at first sight on both sides and, if the time and place were convenient, they might have immediate gratification: This is what the rhetoricians call *Iyarkaip-punarcci*. Or the meeting might have been designed or brought about either as the result of the previous agreement of the parties upon a trysting place (*Idantalaip-padu*) or of the good offices of friends on both sides (*Pāñkar-Kūttam* and *Pāñkiyar-Kūttam*). If even by the active agency of friends on both sides the wooer was not able to move the heart of the damsel, he tried, as we have

already seen; the extreme and often successful step of *Madal-ēral*, a device which, we learn from *Tolkāppiyam*, was open only to the man to employ and not the girl (*Tol. Ahat-tinai-iyal* 35). The practice of *Kaḷavu* was rendered easy, particularly among the inhabitants of *Pālai*, *Kuriñji* and *Mullai* regions; but in the fertile region of *Marutam* and the sea-board region of *Neytal*, the prevailing form of marriage was of the *Kaṇṇu* variety. Even in regions, however, where the ante-nuptial freedom of women and their liberty of choice was unrestricted, social convention came to demand that their choice should be confirmed by the consent of their kindred. When the choice of the parents or other relations was different from a woman's own choice, she could succeed in obtaining the husband she had herself chosen by eloping with him. Westermarck remarks that "among many peoples elopement is a veritable institution, recognized by custom as a method of concluding a marriage or at least as a preliminary to it." As a matter of fact, even when marriages were ostensibly arranged by parents, they consulted their children before giving them in marriage. In the *Mullai* region, the parents sometimes arranged *ērukōdal* or a fight with a bull, to find out who was best suited to marry their daughter and if she had already an accepted lover, the bull fight would hardly be a source of jollification for her, but would often be a source of anxiety, perhaps of anguish.

As already stated, *Aham* aims at the attainment of *inbam* or happiness; but as Victor Hugo observes, "happiness, like the sea, has its high tide; the worst thing for the perfectly happy is that it recedes." This tendency has an organic connection with vicissitudes of married life, which will differ according to the predominating character of the country and the people inhabiting it. Such vicissitudes supply a variety of leading themes for *Ahat-tinai* poetic literature. The physical conditions of each of the five regions and the occupation and general mode of life of the people there have supplied to the poets and grammarians the special subjective state or situation of the lovers, or motif (*Urip-poru!*) appropriate to

each of these regional divisions. It is laid down that separation (*Pirital*) is the appropriate motif of Pālai; Union (*Puṇar-tal*) of Kuriñji; expectant waiting (*Iruttal*) of Mullai; lovers' temporary variance (*Udal*) of Marutam; and, anxious grief (*Irāṅkal*) of Neytal. The nature of Pālai soil and the precarious life of the menfolk compelled separation between the men and their wives, as the former had often to go to distant places in search of means. Kuriñji-nilam, with its secluded glens and highland, abounded in romantic natural scenery that would fill the mind with elation. The neatherds and shepherds of Mullai land went out in the morning to pasture their herds and flocks and returned home only in the evening. Maruta-nilam was the seat of ease and luxury and wealth and pleasure. For that very reason, the temptations there were great and they easily bred jealousy and misunderstanding, where there should be trust and affection. Lastly, the absence of the fisherfolk out at sea would give the women of Neytal-nilam nights of endless anxiety and vigil for their absent husbands. The appreciation of these circumstances will show the appropriateness of the motifs chosen for each region by the bards and rhetoricians of the Tamil land.

A word now about *Kalit-togai*. Besides the inestimable value of the lyrics contained in that Śāṅgam collection, as illustrating the various phases of Ahaṭ-tiṇai, the lyrics themselves rank very high as poetry. The estimation in which the work has been held is patent from the well-known Tamil saying *Kaṇṇarintār porṇum Kāli*, which means *Kalit-togai* which is prized by scholars. It is a collection of 150 lyrics divided into five sections, each section being the work of a separate author. *Pālai-k-kali* forms the first section which consists of thirty-five lyrics; and its author is Cēramān Perum-Kadunkō. Not much is known of this Cēra king, except that he was a literary Maecenas, and was himself a great poet whose special forte consisted in singing of the *pālai* regional culture. This fact is attested by the qualifying epithet *pālai-pāḍiyan* which is frequently prefixed to his name. In *Puram* 11, a poetess, named Pey-makaḷ Ḵaveyini, acclaims him as the

king of Vanci, situated on the banks of Porunai, and extols him for his prowess in war and his munificence to poets. There is, besides, another poem in the same collection, *Puram* 282, which appears in a mutilated form and which I gather is also in praise of this king. He is different from Cēramān Kadunkō-vāliyātan or Cēramān-selvak-kadunkō vāliyātan, sung by the great and well-known Kapilar, who is also the author of *Kuriñji-k-kali*. This section consists of twenty-nine lyrics. Kapilar was a Brāhmaṇa; and besides *Kuriñji-k-kali*, he has also written *Kuriñji-p-pāṭṭu*, which forms one of the pāṭṭu-pāṭṭu (the ten idyls) collection, Innā-nārpatu, which forms one of the patinen-kīl-k-kanakku collection, and the seventh decade of the paṭiṇṇup-pattu collection. He has also contributed thirty-one lyrics to *Puranānūru*, eighteen lyrics to *Ahanānūru*, two to *Kuṟuntogai*, and two to *Naṟṟinai*. He may be styled "the poets' poet", as he has been eulogized by even the Śaṅgam poets. The third section of *Kalit-togai* is *Maruta-k-kali*, which contains thirty-five lyrics. Its author is Marutham Iḷanākanār of Madura. He has sung of the Pandyan king, Ilavantikaip-pallit-tunciya Nan-Māran, and was also a friend and admirer of Nallantuvanār. Besides his contribution to *Kalit-togai*, he has contributed twenty-three lyrics to *Ahanānūru* and two to *Puranānūru*. Tradition says that his commentary on Iṟayanār Kaḷaviyal or *Ahap-poruḷ*, as now called, received approbation from Rudra Śarmar, though only as second to Nakkīrar's commentary. The fourth section is *Mullai-k-kali* and it contains seventeen lyrics. It is by Cōlaṇ Nalluruttiran. *Puram* 190 is by him. The fifth and last section of *Kalit-togai* is *Neytal-kali*, which consists of thirty-three lyrics. Its author is Nallantuvanār of Madura, who has contributed the invocatory lyric to the collection, thus making the total number of lyrics in *Kalit-togai* 150. He was a Brāhmaṇa, and he has been eulogized by Marutan Iḷanāganār 6th, 8th, 11th and 20th. *Paripādals* are his work; and *Aham* 43 is also by him.

I have given below English renderings of a few lyrics from each of the five sections of *Kalit-togai*. It is impossible

to reproduce the beauty or even the exact ideas of the original in the translation. I believe, however, that these are fairly close renderings; and, if they succeed in attracting due attention to the poems in *Kalit-togai*, which as regards poetic sentiments, artistic finish and beauty of form and expression are unsurpassed in ancient Tamil literature, I am certain I shall have added to the lasting joy of my readers, as I know these poems will be easily recognized by them as things of beauty.

Specimens from *Kalit-togai*.

I. *Palai-k-kali*.

1. A DARING WIFE.

(*Pālai* 5.)

Thou tellest me the desert is so parched
 For utter want of rain that the wild deer
 On prickly cactus plant is forced to feed;
 And, by the shafts of heartless robbers pierced,
 Wayfarers in that arid region lie
 Writhing with thirst which they attempt to slake
 With tears that trickle to their dried-up tongues!
 My lord and husband! thou dost not, perhaps,
 My nature comprehend. It is not meet
 Thou shouldst our bond thus disregard and go!
 To go with thee and in thy journey share
 With thee the perils of the desert track,
 Know that alone can give me happiness!

2. WEALTH OR WIFE?

(*Pālai* 6.)

1. Fair Sir! May I a simple question ask?
 You say you mean to go in search of wealth
 To foreign lands, beyond the desert wild,
 Where scorched by summer heat, the elephants,
 With bodies shrunk and thirst unquenched pursue,
 Mistaking it for water, the mirage!
 Know you how my dear mistress feels when you
 Your preparations make to leave your home?

2. While you the bow-string tighten and but test
Its tautness with your fingers, know from me,
Across her shining face dim sorrow spreads, "As
As does a dark cloud o'er the faultless moon!
3. While you gird on your belt and fill with care
With arrows sharp your quiver, know from me
Her tears her lids with black cosmetic lined
O'erflow; like pouring rain from out the cup
Of water-lilies, slender-stalked and blue!
4. While you unfeeling, caring but for wealth,
Your trusty shield well burnish, know from me
The shining bangles her round wrists desert,
As falls the pollen from bright-petalled flowers!
5. Know, if you do depart, her life will cease!
The wealth you may bring home from distant lands
May bring you pleasure. Will it also bring
Your anxious lady back to life again?

3. THE RUNAWAY.

(Pālai 8.)

1. Hail, holy Brahman sage: and hail ye all
Holy disciples with *kamandulam*
And trident, symbolizing unity
Of the Trimurtis! Ye who 'neath the shade
Of umbrellas traverse these burning sands,
Have ye in this wild desert seen a pair,
My daughter and another woman's son,
Who from their homes, their union clandestine
Becoming known, have to the desert fled?
2. Not that we have not seen them! We have seen
The pair, and hold their conduct right. Be you
The mother of the fair young lady, decked
With jewels bright, who chose accompany
Her lover of manly virtue through the sands?

3. The fragrant sandal, though on mountain born
Has value but to those that use its paste.
But to the mountain, of what use the tree?
E'en so your daughter in respect of you!
4. The precious shining pearls, though ocean born,
Are useful but to persons wearing them;
But to their native ocean of what use?
E'en so your daughter in respect of you!
5. The music-sweet the seven-stringed *yal*¹ doth yield
Gives pleasure to the singer; but the *yal*
Does it from music any joy derive?
E'en so your daughter in respect of you!
6. O! Worry not yourself on her account.
The chaste young wife has with her husband gone,
Who dearer than her parents is to her.
No higher merit for the wedded pair
Exists than constancy. That helps, besides,
To keep the two inseparate in heaven.

II. Kurinji-k-kali.

4. A MAID'S CONFESSION.

(*Kurinji* 1.)

O thou whose eyes like lotus petal shaped
Have lids which are with black cosmetic graced!
Pray, listen to my tale. My matchless swain
With look commanding, armed with arrows keen,
Would often come, as if he was in search
Of elephants. He used to look at me;
And though his eyes betrayed his feelings, he
Spoke not a word. I, too, indifferent
At first, began to think of him, and lost
My sleep. He would not openly declare
His love; and I through female modesty

¹ Vina,

Kept silent. While in this sad plight, afraid
 He failed to see how matters stood, and he
 Might die, I thinned and anxious grew. And then
 O thou with fragrant forehead ! ventured I
 E'en with immodesty to act one day.
 While near the millet field, upon the swing
 I rested, guarding from the swarm of birds
 The crop, he came one day, to where I sat.
 Would he just for a while move to and fro
 My swing ? I asked. He would be glad, he said ;
 And forthwith 'gan to move it. Feigning then
 I had lost hold, I fell upon his breast.
 He caught me in his arms, and there I lay
 Like one unconscious. With his amorous eyes
 Regarding me, of people's spiteful tongue
 He minded me ; but I on hiding bent
 From prying eyes that I had only feigned,
 Lay unconcerned in his encircling arms !

5. A THRESHING SONG.

(*Kuriñji* 5.)

1. Sing we, my friend, of the lord of the forest !
 Seated aloft on a *machan* suspended
 From the *āsini*¹ tree on the high hill, he hurls
 Stones with the sling when he hears the dull foot-fall
 Of the elephants, both bull and cow, which in herds
 Roam and destroy the produce of the forest,
 During day, screened by the dark and dense rain
 Pierced by erratical lightning and thunder ! [pour
2. The flying stones strike 'gainst the *vēngai*² tree
 Which, shaken, sheds its shining flowers ; they
 From the *āsini* tree its ripened fruit ; [loose
 Pierce through the hives with honey filled and cause
 From off the branches of the mango tree
 Green clusters of young fragrant fruits to fall :

¹ The Sal tree (*Shorea robusta*).

² *Petrocarpus marasupium*.

- Rend the large leaves of plantain plants which bear
 Bunches of pulpy fruits, and in the end
 Remain embedded in sweet honey-jack !
 Come maid, of him sing we a threshing song !
3. The waterfall glistens ! The waterfall glistens !
 The waterfall fed by the rains !
 Though it falls down the hill
 Owned by him who has broken
 His plighted word to me !
4. How could he be false ! How could he be false !
 He who should protect you from fear !
 If thy lord of the hills
 Should be false, e'en the moon
 Must be hot like burning fire !
5. The drizzle yet falls ! The drizzle yet falls !
 The drizzle fine each day !
 It descends on the hills
 By the deserter owned !
 See, my bracelets have slipped away !
6. Would he you desert ? Would he you desert ?
 Not he of the kind who forsake !
 If the mountain lord's love
 Could so basely be false
 The cool tank might the lotus burn !
7. Sapphire-like look the hills ! Sapphire-like look the
 As unwashed sapphires they appear ; [hills !
 The hills owned by him
 Who forgetful of me
 My nuptial bed avoids !
8. He will not you forsake ! He will not you forsake !
 The lord of the hills never will !
 If his love should prove false,
 The sun itself would be
 Of darkness all compact !

9. While we our threshing song together sang,
 The hill lord who alone to your embrace
 Has claim, stood overhearing us behind !
 Beneath yon *vēngai* tree in bloom, behold
 Your father sits ! The union you desire
 Has he approved and blessed. Be not afraid !

III. Maruta-k-kali.

6. A WIFE'S COMPLAINT.

(*Marutam* 5.)

1. In thy well-watered country, where in ponds
 O'ergrown with gemlike flowers of various hues,
 The graceful hen, while sporting with its mate
 Sees it dive underneath a lotus leaf,
 And, taking the reflection of the moon
 In the transparent water for the cob,
 In haste to it proceeds, when lo ! it sees
 Its mate to it advance, and filled with shame,
 Conceals itself behind the bank of flowers !
 Thy city is begirt with smiling fields !
 Attend a while to what I have to say.
2. Hard-hearted, long hast thou forsaken me !
 My beauty's wasted, and my eyes have known
 No sleep ! And if unable to sit up,
 I seek my couch at times to close my eyes,
 The sounding drums which daily do announce
 Thy visits to thy artful courtezans,
 Who fragrant garlands wear, prevent my rest !
3. Thou hast neglected me ! My weeping eyes,
 Deprived of sleep so long, seek transient rest,
 Comforted by my darling son's caress.
 The merry song thy youthful mistresses
 Sing as they dance in jollity in homes
 Thou hast provided, drives such rest away !

4. Thou hast deserted me ! No sleep have I !
 My eyes, with tears though flooded, still may close
 Their lids to have some passing rest. Alas !
 The tinkling of thy noble horses' bells,
 Yoked to the cars that bring thy concubines,
 Bedight and fair, that trifling rest destroys !
5. These interruptions of my rest may pass,
 My deepest pain I feel when through the street
 Th' unskilful bard upon his arm parades
 His lute on which he thrums his odious tunes
 To thee, when thou art with thy paramour !

7. A WIFE'S REPROACH.

(*Marutam 14.*)

1. Oh listen, lord ! Thy prosperous land abounds
 In paddy fields, where hover chirping birds,
 And where, betwixt stray lotus blossoms caught,
 Shine ears of golden corn, as gay as does
 The circlet which accomplished dancers wear
 On their fair forehead, when upon the stage !
2. Take not my son, bejewelled as thou art,
 As thou wouldst be when with thy paramour !
 The slaver from his ruby lips will flow
 On thy broad breast and streak the sandal paste !
 And if it does, she will therefrom believe
 Thou hast another's company enjoyed,
 And she will feel distressed !
3. Do not embrace my son ! For he will seize
 And twist the pearl strings dangling on thy breast
 On which thy jewelled mistress may recline !
 And if he does, she will the twisted string
 Discover, and in dudgeon will repel
 Thy amorous advance !
4. Lift not my son, e'en if he comes to thee
 The floral wreath worn on thy head, the wreath
 O'er which the bees swarm humming, he will crush !

And if he does, thy mistress thence will think
 Thou hast another taken to thy bed,
 And be irate with thee !

5. Stay thou not longer in the street to coax
 With idle words my son of flower-like eyes.
 He will the ornaments thou wearest spoil !
 Leave him alone, and to thy mistress go !

8. A SCENE FROM DOMESTIC LIFE.

(*Marutam 16.*)

1. Behold my prattling child, from whose sweet mouth,
 Like flawless coral bright, the slaver runs
 And moistens the shining jewels worn beneath ;
 Whose head, so shapely and perfumed, is decked
 With golden crescent, strung with shimmering
 [pearls,
 To which is pitched the dangling pendant round !
 Whose clothing thin his lovely form reveals,
 And slipping off, obstructs his toddling feet,
 Whereon the jewelled anklet sounding gleams.
 He now deserts my flowing breasts, to take
 Along the court the go-cart which, on wheels
 Revolving, guides his short and feeble steps !
 He is my very life ! In sooth, he looks
 The image true of Muruga, begot
 Of Him who sits beneath the banyan tree !
2. So constantly have I to wait on guests
 That oft, my king ! I am from thee away ;
 And thou forgetting me, thy mother, goest out
 Into the street with fondling nursery-maids
 Who shape thy babble into speech. Be thou
 Magnanimous to let me hear some words
 Thou hast now newly conned, and fill with joy
 My heart which, doting on thy prattle, feels
 Thy lisp is sweet as nectar evermore !

3. Alas ! my jewelled maid ! When I am sore
Afflicted in my mind, because my man,
Whom I have fondly loved, hath faithless proved,
And to my well-beloved child I turn
For some assuagement of my deep distress,
He prattles without cease " papa ", " papa ";
And if forgiving him, I him caress
And lift him on my shoulder bamboo-smooth,
Why does he still repeat the galling word ?
4. O ! Is he here ? Like thieves despatched to rob
The enemy of weapons, has he come
But to humiliate me and deprive
Me of my child's affection, not indeed,
From any love for me he may possess !
5. Suspecting likely depredation, oft,
The watchmen on the forts give out they saw
Robbers, though none was seen. Just so, you too,
When I am innocent, in vain accuse
Me, and in anger keep away from me !
Who will your orders ever disobey ?
6. Away ! Not even the desire to see
The child has brought you ! All devoid of shame,
You stand before me in the wind to flaunt
The dust perfumed that from your mistress' hair
When you embraced her, to your clothes had clung !
7. If you, despite my solemn word, persist
In your mistrust, then in my arms shall I
My darling son bear off from here, that you,
As hastes the cow with loving eagerness
To where her calf is tied, may fly to me !

IV. Mullai-k-kali.

9. A MAID'S ASSURANCE TO HER MISTRESS,

(Mullai 7.)

To try the mettle of the shepherd folk
 And of the neatherds of this pasture tract,
 My kindred, rich in cattle, thought it meet
 My murderous bull with dappled ears to loose
 Into th' arena wide among the herd.
 Caught by my lover, the vicious, spotted bull
 Infuriate picked with its shining horn
 The jasmine wreath which on his head he wore,
 And, leaping, tossed it off upon my head,
 Exposing our relations close to all ;
 And with eagerness of one who had
 Regained what he had lost, I seized the wreath
 And wore it on my hair. Tell me, my maid,
 Do people say my mother is aware ?

Suppose she is ; what is the harm thou fearest ?
 Is not the wreath thy faithful lover's gift ?

My mother thinks I am all innocent,
 And know not with what blossoms to adorn
 My hair ! If now she should have heard I wore
 The garland that my secret swain had wove,
 What could I do her anger to appease ?

Henceforth, thou needst have no uneasiness.

How so ?

He is a shepherd's son, and thou
 A shepherd lass ; and each the other loves.
 What then is there thy mother to distress ?
 Nothing, if but my mother thinks like thee.

Dost thou doubt still ? A strong-armed shepherd lad
 Thou lovest ; nathless, if thou art afraid
 E'en of thy mother, there could hardly be
 A cure for thy existing malady !

Oh! if my sickness has no remedy,
Shall I not be afflicted evermore?

Thy parents and thy brothers, who had heard
Thou hadst his garland worn on thy well-washed
And lucent hair, believing Visnu's grace
Has brought together thee and thy true swain,
Have on your open union resolved.

10. A TRYST.

(*Mullai 10.*)

1. Thou hast been courting in this sylvan tract
All shepherd maids. Is thy desire so wild
Like scorpion sting it remedy demands
Immediately, to remove the pain?
If in a sportive mood, when thou wert near,
I let thee press me, dost thou thence expect
I straightway should resign myself to thee?
When buttermilk I sell, I may allow
The buyer some excess; should I, for that,
When selling butter in like manner act?
2. Fair daughter of the well-bred shepherd tribe!
If thus thou sayest, I must needs depart.
Alas! my agitated heart, entwined
Round thee, as round the upright churn the cord,
Will leave day after day in search of thee
And keep away, forgetting to return!
3. The cow which overnight has calved does not
E'en after dawn go out to graze, but keeps
Still circling round its young penned in the shed!
So is my heart in my concern for thee
Distressed, and daily does about thee move!
4. My pain grows daily; and I feel my life
Frustrated of its aim...I am like one
Who looking for rich butter, gets at last
Thin milk from which the cream has been removed.

5. Art thou e'en so? Exposed to public view,
 Thou dost of one of decent parents born
 Gratification urge without delay;
 Declaring else thou wouldst give up thy life!
 My relatives may see thee; now begone!
 Tomorrow to the pasture lands alone
 I take the calves to feed and tend them there.

V. Neytar-kali.

11. THE DREADED EVENING.

(*Neytal 2.*)

The sun which late had clothed the land with light
 Has back its rays withdrawn and disappeared
 Behind the western hill. The evening dusk
 Which, sombre like the hue of Him who wields
 The mighty discus, spreads, is put to flight
 By th' envious moon. The lotus, like the eyes
 Of those that with their lovers the night had spent,
 Its petals closes; and the trees hang down
 Their tops in slumber, like great men who hear
 Themselves belauded. Flowering plants are clothed
 With opening blossoms and the buzzing bees,
 As though on slender bamboo flutes they played,
 Hum swarming round. Birds seek their nests for rest.
 To meet their calves that in the stalls are kept,
 The longing cows haste to the village ground.
 Each to his home returns, and the Brahmans
 With Vedic rites enjoined greet the eve.
 Fair maids begin to light the evening lamps.
 Such are the scenes attendant on the hour
 The simple thoughtless folk call eventide.
 They know not that is when young ladies fair
 Uneasy feel as though their soul would leave
 Their body frail in which it is encased.

12. THE CONTRAST.

(Neytal 13.)

1. As passes after happy years a king,
Extolled by all as the embodiment
Of equal justice, goodness and of truth,
Which virtues with his death have disappeared,
So sets the sun that through the livelong day
Had clad the land in rays of glowing light;
And twilight dusk now spreads upon the land,
As ignorance upon th' unlettered mind!
2. Lo! In this eventide the Brahmans raise
Their sacrificial fire; and ah! in me
Is lit the longing for my absent lord!
3. Lo! In this eventide the lotus flowers
In dusky pools their petals close; and ah!
My aching heart is plunged in deep despair!
4. Lo! In this eventide from shepherd's pipe
Sweet strains proceed that ache the heart; and ah!
Distressed my lover is away, my eyes
More lovely far than flowers, droop with pain!
5. The fever of desire raised by the heat
Of fiery evening is forth assuaged,
When back to me my absent lover comes
And touches me with amorous, dallying hands;
E'en as the enemies of the great king,
The Pandya, who to his subjects' good
His own advantage aye subordinates,
Flee when assailed by his victorious arms!

13. THE UNREQUITED LOVER.

(Neytal 22.)

1. Long life to ye of wisdom! If it be
The binding duty of the great to feel
For others' pain as for their own, then hark
To this my story. Like a lightning flash

Midst darkening rain, my damsel showed her form
 With beauty radiant, and carried off
 My heart! Since then I have no wink of sleep.
 Behold! I wear a wreath of *āvirai*¹
 And *maḍar*² flowers; and with a sounding bell,
 I ride this horse of dark palmyra fronds!
 That I the burning fever may allay
 With which my beauteous maid torments me still,
 I shall, if you will hear, my plaint disclose.

2. Tossed day and night upon the bellowy sea
 Of *kāma*-fever, which but me consumes,
 And leaves untouched my lady-love, whose words
 Are honey-sweet, I use this frondent horse
 In hopes it will as life-float prove and help
 Me swim across.
3. This very horse of fronds, upon me forced
 By my enchantress fair will bring the cure
 To my disease.
4. The shafts that Cupid aimed when I was struck
 By my bejewelled maiden's loveliness,
 Have made me crazy and a laughing stock!
 They have the fortress of my manliness
 Destroyed and swept the ramparts of my heart!
5. But even through this horse, the gift I owe
 My fair-browed maid, I am resolved to gain
 My due reward!
6. The beauteous maid, with teeth like jasmine buds,
 My heart has captured, and I am consumed
 By *kāma*-fever! Would it had my life
 Put to an end outright! It does, instead,
 Protract my torment, slowly burning me!

¹ Also called *āvārai* or *nilavākai* (Senna).

² *Erukku* (*Calotropis gigantea*).

7. But even by this horse, my lady-love,
Adorned with burnished jewels, me affords
Prospect of shelter from my fever-heat
Unbearable.
 8. This is my tale. If ye, O wise men, know
The torture and the misery I feel,
Your duty 'tis to help me gain relief,
As sages of ascetic merit great
Help worthy kings, though erring, heaven to gain!
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SAYINGS OF BASAVANNA.

BY M. VENKATESA IYENGAR, ESQ., M.A.

I

BASAVANNA (or Basavaraja or Basaveswara or Basavideva, for he is known by all these names) was the Shaivite reformer of the Karnatak country who gave its present form to the creed known as Sivachara. 'Basavanna' is the simple Kannada form of the name and most likely the one he bore in life. The life of Basavanna is not definitely known in more detail than the life of many an other great man in our people's history. The following facts are, however, generally accepted. He was born and did his work in the twelfth century; he came of Brahmin stock; gave up the practices of his community as they seemed to him too ritualistic and over-formal; went over to the Veerasaiva faith which in those days seems to have been making headway in the country; became employed in the court of Bijjala in Kalyan and rose to considerable power; and used his unequalled abilities and opportunities for spreading the faith which he had adopted. This active propaganda on behalf of a faith made enemies and there was civil disturbance in the country. Bijjala, Basavanna's patron but probably an opponent of too rapid reform, met his end in these disturbances from the hands of Basavanna's adherents. Basavanna also was in fear of assassination from enemies. It is likely that he was assassinated. At any rate he disappeared from life about the same time.

2. This bare outline of the life gives no idea of the kind of man that Basavanna was. To most men in his time he must have seemed a fanatic, too eager for change and unmindful of the commotion he was causing in the name of popular uplift. Even to men on his own side he did not always seem faultless. Plenty of people of his and later generations, however, saw in his life an achievement possible only to an incarnation of Godhead. These people deified him and

worshipped him. What was the fact about Basavanna? What kind of man was he? What made him give up his early surroundings and take to a new faith? From where came the strength of the conviction which he carried to the propaganda of the Veerasaiva creed? If we read merely the generally accepted accounts of the reformer's life, we do not find the answer to these questions. These accounts do not bring the human Basava before us. This human person, however, we see intimately in his sayings, of some of which a translation is given below.

3. These sayings* appear mostly to have been recorded by Basavanna from time to time as expressing the thoughts that were passing through his mind. This seems to have been the practice of the leaders of the movement at the time. As success came, as criticism came, as friends praised, as enemies derided, as his own heart seemed to approach and recede from an ideal which his conscience set before him, this man gave expression to his joy, his pain, his modesty, his confidence, his exaltation and his depression in a sort of diary which he kept. The observations are generally addressed to his deity Kudala Sangameswara. Each entry is short in itself. Possibly several were written when he was passing through one mood. They are somewhat in the style of the meditations of Marcus Aurelius or of the Imitation of Christ. Whatever the mood they express they show an intensely human person, noble of nature, inherently modest, yet courageous in action, feeling his human weakness but strong in his reliance on God, very lovable, very kindly, ever striving after good. They constitute a record of religious experience of a kind not often met with in Indian literature nor very often even in world literature. These meditations of Basavanna are therefore of

* The "vachanas" as they are called of the Veerasaiva teachers used to be sold in incorrect forms printed on bad paper in the book-stalls in the market-place till a few years ago when Rao Sahib F. G. Halakatti, an advocate of Bijapur, took up the work of compiling a correct edition. The thanks of all Kannada people are due to him for having placed these sayings before them in so pleasing a form and ensured for the sayings of a number of worthy Kannada teachers the attention and respect that is due to them.

great importance to all persons interested in the history of religion.

II

4. We may begin this selection of the sayings with Basavanna's intensely human cry to God to answer and accept him.

" 'Lord, lord', I am crying; 'Lord, lord', I am wailing; O Lord, why not answer in reply? I am always calling to you; why are you silent? Why do you not answer? O God, My God Kudala Sangama."

"Was it in my power to be born where I, not you, wished? Or can I die but where you end me? Is it in my power to be but where you keep me? Alas! O God Kudala Sangama, say I am yours; call me yours."

"Alas! My master, you are without any pity. Alas! My God, you have no mercy. Why did you make me such a travailer on the earth? Why did you create me hopeless of heaven? Why did you give me birth? O God Kudala Sangama, listen and tell me. Could you not have made some plant or tree rather than me?"

"Like the cow which has lost its way in the jungle I am crying Amba, Amba. I shall be calling, God Kudala Sangama, until you tell me 'Live thou and be immortal.'"

"If you are gracious, the dry stick will give forth shoots. If you are gracious, the dry cow will give milk. With your grace poison would become ambrosia. With your grace all good would be at hand. O God Kudala Sangama."

5. Most teachers try to lead man to the love of God by saying that the life of the world is no unmixed blessing. This teacher follows the same course.

"The lamb that is brought to slaughter eats the leaf tied for decoration; not knowing that it is brought to die, it feeds its pitiful carcass."

"The frog which is caught in the mouth of the snake itself desires the fly moving near its mouth. So is our life. The man condemned to die drinks milk and ghee. How much longer does he hope to live?"

6. So man must think of the more lasting happiness which comes of trusting in God. If we would get God to save us however, we should trust fully in Him.

"They believe not, nor have faith. But they call. The men of this earth know not how to believe. If they believed and called, would He not answer? They who believe not and trust not, yet call, 'Lay them on the ground, tread on them and triumph,' said our God Kudala Sangama."

7. Real faith and service are greater than mere learning; service of God is the only thing worth while. Life in the world is of real value as it fits us for a higher life.

"He who knows the *Geetha* is not wise; nor he who knows the sacred books. He only is wise who trusts in God. Aye! He only! and he who serves the servants of God. He is wise who relies on God Kudala Sangama and can defy the Lord of Death."

"What is the life of him, what his existence?—what is his progress, or what his movement?—what his word, what his being?—who does not act as your humblest servant, God Kudala Sangama?"

"This world is the testing-house of the creator. Whoever passes here passes there. He who does not pass here cannot pass there. O God Kudala Sangama!"

8. Here is a code of personal conduct for the devotee.

"Rise with the dawn, bring the holy water and the holy leaf and worship God betimes. A little later and who knows you? Serve God Kudala Sangama; ere time passes, ere death comes."

"Worship God in the eight ways; serve Him in the sixteen; look on when others worship, sing the song of His praise; rejoice in the presence of your God; speak speech concerning the Lord and be merged in God Kudala Sangama."

9. Condemning those who would pay and get worship in the household done by others, Basavanna says:—

"Is it right to get done by another the duty to one's wife? Or the feeding of one's body? A man should perform the worship of his God himself. How can he get it done by another? They do it for show, they do not know you, my God Kudala Sangama."

"Breathes there a man who says to another, 'Be thou me, and do this eating for me—this husband's duty for me.' Worship God with your heart. Worship God with your body. If you worship but give not your body and your mind thereto, what in your worship will God Kudala Sangama accept?"

10. Referring to much show in worship, he says:—

"You bring cart-loads of sacred leaf and anoint images anywhere and everywhere. Worship without fatigue. Our God likes not fatigue in worship. Will our God Kudala Sangama soften for mere water?"

No. He softens only with real devotion. Again:

"They prepare dishes and place them before the Linga and say, 'we have worshipped.' Listen to me. Their worship is like the worship of him who leaves his cheap shoes at the door and goes into the temple, and stands before the Lord; but he is thinking not of God, but of his cheap shoes."

"Give unto the servants of God that which you possess. The house of the man who makes parade and worships and says he is worshipping continuously; it is like the house of the public woman,"

"When the strumpet's son performs ceremonies, he names his mother not his father. O God Kudala Sangama."

That is to say, those who worship for show look for the world's approval—not God's. The world has got them and owns them. They do not know God.

11. Then of giving to God's servants and their taking, he says:—

"The devotee ought not to give, and God's servant ought not to receive as when the quarry that cannot run yields its flesh to the hound. To take so is to fall low, to eat human flesh. The giver should give, his body and his mind assenting. The man of God should take only what is so given. O God Kudala Sangama."

12. Of people observing religious fasts and other such discipline he says:—

"Endurance in whatever happens were discipline; not to conceal what one possesses were discipline; to do without erring were discipline; to speak without uttering falsehood were discipline; when the servants of our God Kudala Sangama come, to give them what one hath as to the owners, that were the discipline of disciplines."

On the contrary, discipline is often assumed because one can so enjoy delicacies.

"The discipline of milk! The discipline of the cream of milk! And when cream is over, the discipline of rice and ghee; of butter and of sugar; I have seen these but not the man whose discipline is of gruel. Of all the servants of our God Kudala Sangama, there was but one whose discipline was in gruel. That one was Madara Chennaiya."

13. Speaking of men who observe the form of worship rather than its spirit, he says:—

"When they see a serpent carved in stone, they pour milk on it; if a real serpent comes, they say, kill,

kill. To the servant of God, who could eat if served, they say, go, go. But to the Linga which cannot eat, they offer dishes of food."

14. Basavanna's code of conduct for men is very high. Man becomes immortal by a good life and remains mortal in a bad one.

"The badge of the relationship between God and His servant is to speak the truth, to act according to speech. The worldly man who speaks lies, who acts contrary to speech, our God Kudala Sangama will not accept."

"Listen to me brothers. The world of the Gods and the world of mortals are not different. To speak the truth is the world of the Gods. To speak untrue is the world of mortals. Cleanliness is heaven; uncleanness is hell. You are witness of this truth, O God Kudala Sangama!"

15. Kindness and courtesy are the essential marks of devotion to God:—

"He is a devotee who folds his hands to another devotee. Sweet words are equal to all the holy prayers. Sweet words are equal to all the penances. Good behaviour is what pleases the God of eternal good. Kudala Sangama will have naught of aught else."

"What is that righteousness that has not kindness? To all alike there should be kindness. Kindness is the root of all righteousness. God Kudala Sangama will have naught of aught else."

16. In another place Basavanna asks for guidance in life:—

"Dull of wit, I see not the way. Lead me as they lead the born-blind by staff placed in the hand. O God Kudala Sangama! Teach me to trust, teach me to love, the way of your true servants."

17. Love of God is the essence of a successful life. Without it life is empty:—

"My God, I wait like a woman who has bathed and rubbed on turmeric, and decorated herself, but has not the love of her husband. I have rubbed on the sacred ash. I have put on the holy beads. But Lord, I have not your love. Men of our creed do not live as renegades. Love me and save me, God Kudala Sangama."

18. Speaking of his failure in language common in religious self-condemnation he says :—

"As the washerman is anxious for the clothes of the village, I too was foolish and thought of land and money as mine. I failed utterly and they did not know. O God Kudala Sangama."

"I am an offender in all the three ways. Take pity on me for once. Now that I know, do to me what you will, if I offend hereafter. O God Kudala Sangama."

"It avails not to ask the Gods; to ask man does not avail. O mind, lose not your anchor; do not pray here and pray there and lose hold of yourself. To pray to any but God Kudala Sangama nothing avails."

"The hound that is to be carried to the field, can it catch the hare? It is ridiculous that the hero who has not fought should describe an action that did not occur. O God Kudala Sangama, I too am a devotee!"

19. This is how he throws himself on God :—

"My faults are an endless million. Your patience is limitless. Your feet be witness if I err hereafter. O God Kudala Sangama."

"I think of you. You do not know me. I serve you, but you are not aware of me. How shall I live? How shall I bear existence? O God Kudala Sangama, you alone are life and light and way for me. Remember."

"Lord! You are all the sorrows and all the joys of life to me. I know none else, O God, you alone are mine. My father and my mother are you, O God Kudala Sangama."

"As physician to the disease of life came I to you. You are the giver of faith. 'Take mercy on me, O Father, O God, O Victorious Lord of the world!' thus says my mind. 'You are my refuge,' says my mind to God Kudala Sangama."

20. People praised him as a devotee but he felt smaller than ever in the presence of God's servants.

"Like a crown on the head of a dwarf, like the bedecking of a noseless face, or as a blind man's amour, my life has become laughable. Is the shame not enough of saying in the presence of your servants, O God Kudala Sangama, that I too am a devotee?"

"I am a jungle-berry by the side of the mango-fruit. How shall I say that I am a devotee? Knowing of your servants? Have I no shame? In what sense can I be your servant along with those others who serve you, O God Kudala Sangama!"

"Smaller than I there is none. Greater than your servants there is none. Your feet are witness to these truths. My mind is witness. My God Kudala Sangama."

"Standing in the shade of a tree, who would try to distinguish his own shadow? In the presence of your devotees what devotion is mine? Would not the claim that I too am a servant destroy? O God Kudala Sangama!"

"No devotee am I. Only, I wear the form of one. Graceless, sinful, foul is my name. O God Kudala Sangama, I am only a child of the household of your servants."

"Much show and emptiness are mine. I am a vaunter. No more am I in truth than a servant of the saints who have faith in you, O God Kudala Sangama!"

People familiar with religious literature will know how to understand this language of strong self-condemnation. The nearer the devotee gets to his ideal the more the remaining distance between him and his goal pains him; as when waiting for a beloved one the last half hour seems longest.

21. This is how he describes his ambition.

"I desire not the height of Brahma. Nor do I desire the position of Vishnu nor of Siva. I desire no height but this. Grant that I may know the feet of your saints, O God Kudala Sangama."

22. Egoism destroys all the good that devotion may do. The feeling of devotion itself comes from God.

"My devotion has been like the labour of the bull going round the oil mill which had no oil seed in it; or like eating salt after washing it in water has it been; my God Kudala Sangama. Is not the pride that I did it sufficient to burn the good?"

"I am not the man who serves, nor am I the man who gives, nor is it I that beg. None of these, O God, except by your mercy. If the servant girl is indifferent, the mistress must do the work of the household herself. So you are serving in your own household, my God Kudala Sangama."

23. The praise of people hurt him:—

"I have not a sixth part of a mustard seed of devotion; yet they call me a devotee! What sin is mine? Is it right to reap before the crop is grown? All the teachers praise me for a courage and a goodness that are not mine. Is this the discipline for me, Lord Kudala Sangama!"

"My people who loved me praised me over and over and raised me to a golden cross. Their praise

killed me. Friends, your regard was as a sharp dagger to me ! Alas ! I am hurt ; I cannot bear it. O Lord Kudala Sangama, if you would be merciful, come between me and their praise, O Good One !”

Elsewhere he says that the men who found fault with him did him good. Those who praised him only hurt him. Their weapon was of gold because they meant well but it hurt none the less.

24. Basavanna preached one God, and desired people to give up the many lower forms of worship that then, as at all times, prevailed among the people.

“To the Maraiya and Biraiya, the sky-wanderer and the village-trotter and Antara and Bentara and Kantara, and Malaiya and Ketaiya who dwell in the barren hillocks and on the wayside, in the wells and tanks and in the flowering shrubs and trees, in the midst of the village and in the squares of towns and in the large banyan tree ; and who want gifts of milch buffaloes and little calves ; and who get hold of pregnant women and women in confinement, the young woman and the daughter-in-law ; and beg and fill their bellies—to these hundred pots is not the one stick ‘the Lord Kudala Sangama is our refuge’ a sufficient answer ?”

The lower forms of worship do not save man :—

“Chew the bamboo leaf ; all you get is the chewing itself and no juice. Churn water ; all you get is the churning and no butter. Spin sand ; all you have done is to spin merely ; you get no rope. Bend to gods other than God Kudala Sangama ; you have merely hurt your hand by pounding much bran.”

“They keep a lamb for the small divinity who comes in the woods and feel happy. Can the lamb die and save those whom God has doomed ? No

need is there for lamb or calf. Bring the holy leaf, bring water from the spring, come in joy and stand humble, and worship our Lord Kudala Sangama with heart and soul."

"A pot is divinity; a tree is divinity; the stone in the street is divinity; a lamp is another; the bow and the bow-string are still other divinities. See! The measure is a divinity, and the thing measured is another. Look here, friends! There is no standing room on account of these many gods. Believe me there is but one God and he is our Lord Kudala Sangama."

25. Speaking of persons who accepted his faith but continued to share in the other forms of worship, he says:—

"The men who worship God and then bow to lesser divinity are like the mule born of the ass and the horse. How shall I call them devotees? Or servants of God? Or his saints? Believe me, Lord Kudala Sangama loves not the men of two minds."

In another place:—

"To the good wife, my friends, but one man is husband. To the devotee who can be devoted, but one God is God. Give up. Give up. Thought of other divinity is evil. To think of any other God is infidelity. If God Kudala Sangama should know, he will cut your noses, friends."

26. Basavanna knew man's weakness and distrusted the pleasures of the senses but did not believe in penance and torture in the name of discipline. He had no faith in denying the faculties that God has given to man.

"Spread not the green of the pleasures of the senses before me. What does the brute know but to bend to the grass? Take away my desires, feed me with devotion, and give me a drink of good sense. O God Kudala Sangama."

"The denial of our faculties is attended with danger. The five senses trouble always. Did Siriyala and Changale cease to live as husband and wife? Did the Sindhu Ballala couple give up the joys of married life? Lord Kudala Sangama, sin for your devotee is in lusting for another's woman, another's money."

"Are there people who tortured the body, tortured their mind and touched your feet? To say so, would it not destroy? God Kudala Sangama, the pain of your devotee is your pain."

27. Ceremonial purification is no good unless the will to purity goes with it.

"Brethren, bathing in the stream and washing yourselves, bathe and wash yourselves of the sin of living with strange women, of the lust for another's money. Wash yourselves of these. My Lord Kudala Sangama, if they give up not these but bathe in the stream, the stream will have run in vain for them."

28. He thought of his body as his temple for his God :

"Those, who have, build temples for you; what shall I build? I am poor. My legs are pillars, this body is the temple. My head is the pinnacle of gold. See, my God Kudala Sangama. Hear, my Lord, with the fixed temple others may tamper, not with this moving one."

29. It is hard to discipline the mind :

"Like the dog placed in the palanquin is the mind. If it sees its old desires it reverts; it must run; fie on this mind! It runs to the pleasures of the senses. My God, it will not permit me to remember you constantly. My Lord Kudala Sangama, grant that I may think of you, I pray you, O Good One!"

"It will not examine itself. It always sets out to examine another. What shall I do with this

mind? How shall I deal with this mind? O God Kudala Sangama!"

30. Appearance of goodness is no good. The fact is more important:

"Those who are evil within but goodness without and appear as devotees, our God does not want. They are no good in the path of God—none. Those whose inner and outer selves are not one, our God Kudala Sangama will seem to accept at first but will reject in the end."

Going through the form of worship does no good to the worshipper. The worshipping mind is necessary:

"How long should you keep a stone in water to make it soft? What is the use of keeping it there? If the mind is not firmly fixed in you, God Kudala Sangama, how long shall I worship you and for what good?"

31. Difficult is devotion:

"Difficult is the path of devotion. It is like the saw. It cuts going forward. It cuts returning. God Kudala Sangama, if we play with the serpent, will it leave us easily?"

"If I should say I believe, I have faith, I have given myself to you, you shake the body and see; you shake the mind and see; you shake possessions and see. If with all this, I remain firm, our God Kudala Sangama rejoices at the faith."

32. And faith is useless without good works:

"Like the wife who is sorry that her husband is growing lean, but does not give him food when hungry, she knows not of his coming, she does not use her opportunity"—this is devotion which does not express itself in service of God.

33. A man's life shows if he has God in his heart, says Basavanna, for then like a house in which the owner is dwelling the life will be clean. If he has not God in his heart but puts on the trappings of a servant of God, his life will stink.

"You may put an iron ring round a pumpkin. It gets no strength from it. It rots all the same. God Kudala Sangama, if a man whose mind is not reformed is given the baptism of your servants, how will he get devotion? He will remain as he was."

"You may make a Vinayaka out of cow's dung and throw champaka flowers on him. He will look pretty but will smell of cow's urine. If you wash a doll made of mud again and again in water it does not change its nature; it only becomes more and more muddy. If you administer the vows of God's servants to a worldly man, he does not cease from his wickedness and become a saint, O God Kudala Sangama."

34. Speaking of persons who wear the symbol of religion but lead impure lives, he says:—

"The body has desires. They eat meat and drink liquor. The eye lusts and they foregather with strange women. What is the use of wearing your symbol, O God Kudala Sangama?"

"The wife who does not love the husband, the devotee who is not devoted to his God, what matters it, O God, my God, if these live or die? O Lord Kudala Sangama, their life is like letting the calf to suck when the udder has run dry."

35. To God's servants there is no caste. Bad conduct is low caste. Good conduct is high caste.

"He who kills is the Madiga; he who eats forbidden food is the Holeyā. What is caste? What is their caste? The servants of our God Kudala Sangama who wish good to all beings; these are high born."

36. To God's servant all the days are one. The superstitions of astrology and horoscopy cannot dwell with a real faith in God.

"Say not 'that day', 'this day', and so on and so forth. To him who says 'God is my refuge,' all days are one. To the man who relies on God, all days are

the same. To him who remembers our Lord Kudala Sangama without remission, every day is like every other day."

37. This is how he advises man against bad temper. The simile is one of the most beautiful given in the context.

"What is the use of being angry with those who are angry with us? How does it matter whether anger is against others or one's self? A man's anger is injurious to his own goodness. It is a fall from wisdom. God Kudala Sangama, does the fire in one house burn the neighbouring house without first burning the house where it rose?"

38. For himself he cries:—

"When will this travail of *samsara* cease? When will my mind be converted? O God Kudala Sangama, when, ah when, will that time of real bliss come?"

"It is no use, O soul, seeing the good and longing for it lustfully; stretching your arm for the fruit of the palm and looking up only hurts the neck. My God Kudala Sangama, man gets nothing till such time as it pleases you to give."

"Make me lame so that I shall not waste time gadding about. Make me blind so that my eyes shall not wander looking on things. Make the ears deaf to aught but what concerns you. Let not my mind desire anything but the service of your saints."

"If the servant is beaten, the disgrace is the master's. God Kudala Sangama, teach me and let me win in the fight. Let me win!"

39. We may close this series of sayings with this one of the grand surrender to the Godhead.

"When I have said that this body is yours, I have no other body; when I have said that this mind is yours, I have no other mind; when I have said that my wealth is yours, there is no other wealth for me. If I have known that all these three

possessions of mine are yours, what further thought need I take, O God Kṛdala Sangāma?"

III

The sayings given above have been selected with the idea of indicating the directions in which the mind of the teacher flowed. Their importance is mainly due to the fact that they bring the personality of Basavanna nearer to view. One feels a love and a respect for the author of the sayings which could not have been given to any person who was merely a teacher. This man was a sincere seeker after truth, and could make sacrifices for what he thought was the truth. He felt a love for mankind that we see only in the greatest teachers of humanity. Love of mankind, pity for mankind, pity indeed for all life, was the central fact of Basavanna's religious teaching. In the midst of wealth and power he strove for realization as only few have striven in the course of history. This man looked into himself pitilessly. No part of his being was dark to him. So we hear in these sayings the same voice of our common humanity which is heard in the psalms of the Hebrew King, in the Christian St. Augustine's Confessions, and in the songs of the Vaishnava devotees from Nammalwar to Purandaradasa. Basavanna loved God and he loved those whom he considered the servants of God. All his wealth he held in trust for his God and that God's servants. He had, however, no illusions about the essentials of the service of God. A good life was to him the test of a good faith and a clean life the only proof of faith in God. He no doubt believed in heaven and hell, but to his mind heaven and hell were realizable in this life and were close at hand. He scouted the idea of possession of material good for its own sake; but did not preach renunciation as such. To deny the faculties seemed to him futility. To recognize in them impulses through which our nature could rise and to minister wisely to uplift through them; that with him was the main part of religion. His creed, like all creeds worthy the name of religion, begins in rules of conduct and ends in a mystic doctrine of realization. The rules

of conduct are as lofty as any to be found in other creeds. Of the mystic doctrine those only are competent to speak who have tried to realize it in their lives. In conception, of which, however, one can judge from outside it is as noble as any other that is current. To see one life through all the universe, to see one's life as one's light in this great array of lights, to merge one's light in the Great Light and serve God by serving His servants is mysticism no doubt; but it is mysticism made practical.

40. Several of the 'vachanas' seem to have been called forth by events in the society of which Basavanna was leader. As is usual in such cases, questions were probably referred to him for opinion by the elders. Some of the 'vachanas' look as if they were opinion given in such cases. Others relate to social practices in the new community. Basavanna strongly disapproves of people of his community clinging to old practices. He is plain-spoken in speaking of other's errors but not more plain-spoken than when he criticizes himself. Similarly, he speaks of the teachers of his community in great respect as teachers, but insists in plain language on the need for a good life in the teacher if he would keep the respect of the followers. Indeed, the single-minded devotion of Basavanna to the truth, as he saw it, is a conspicuous feature of these sayings. Always the words come straight from the heart and go straight to the heart. They are simple, direct, full of power; pleasant even where the expression is a little rough and gracious with simile and metaphor taken from village life; and flavoured with a humour which, strangely enough, is not out of place in the midst of so much seriousness.

41. A somewhat lonely and wistful figure is Basavanna to persons who look at the life. He made sacrifices for truth and wanted to establish it on a firm basis and to make it the property of all men. People saw his good intentions and accepted him as a teacher, but could not always follow the teaching. This is the tragedy of most great lives. A man gives up everything the world values, he gives up himself, for

the truth. People will respect him for the sacrifice and gather round him, but they will want not the truth but him and will put him on the throne he meant for truth. In many of these 'vachanas' we see the sorrow which this reformer felt in the fact that the followers of his creed still clung to the errors which he was most anxious to eradicate; to eradicate which, in fact, he had given up the old and come over to the new faith.

42. In any history of Indian religion, Basavanna is sure to be given a prominent place. In the history of human religions his place cannot be very different. He came into the midst of a movement for reform; became the leader of the movement; put faith into thousands and thousands of his generation and established on a firm basis a creed that to-day is accepted by three million people and more. The Veerasaiva movement was essentially a popular movement. It developed a school of poor priests. It abolished the old priestly class. It adopted the vernacular as the medium for inculcating the highest truth to the populace. It gave to women an important place in religious and social life. It set out with one ideal of realization for every individual, high and low. Much of the credit for these characteristics of the movement should without doubt go to Basavanna who first defined the directions in which its work should develop.

43. All civilization may be said to have a form and a spirit even as man has. As the form decays, the spirit has to throw it off and take on new forms. To cast off the old form is merely the sign of life. Not to cast it off when it has decayed is to hug death. The civilization of India has, from time to time, developed movements for reform from within. The movement which Basavanna headed was one of them. Its history indicates that the national soul was awake at the time and was struggling to get free of much evil that ruled society in the name of religion. The mind of the nation thus struggling to be free is well reflected in the life and thoughts of the leader of the movement—in his noble character and earnest faith and in his sincere devotion to truth.

THE DATE OF MANIKYAVACAKA.

BY K. G. SANKAR, ESQ.

MĀNIKYAVĀCAKA was one of the greatest Śaiva saints and poets of South India. His true name seems to have been Śivapādyā, and he was a native of Vādavūr in the Pāṇḍya country.¹ Early in life, he became a minister of the Pāṇḍya King Arimardana, and, in connection with his career as a minister the traditional biographies relate that Śiva himself became his *guru*, in the state of a Brāhmaṇ, and, for his benefit, performed some miracles, including the transformation of jackals into horses and *vice versa*, the doing of an earth-carrier's work in exchange for food and being caned by the king for neglecting his duty. The details of the story are available in English in the late Dr. G. U. Pope's Oxford edition with a verse translation of the saint's *Tiruvācakam*. The miracles alluded to may not be deemed worthy of belief in these days, but, as the following quotations from *Tiruvācakam* show, the poet himself seems to have believed in them, and they have ever since been invariably and exclusively associated with his life. The quotations given below are by no means exhaustive :—

- (1) பாண்டியன் நனக்குப் பரிமாவிற்
நீண்டுகனக மிசையப்பெரு
தாண்டான்...
அந்தணனாகி ஆண்டுகொண்டருளி
இந்திரஞாலங் காட்டியவியல்பு
மதுரைப்பெருநன் மாநகரிருந்து
குதிரைச்சேவகனாகிய கொள்கையு
மாய்கதுதன்னில் அடியவட்காகப்
பாங்காய் மண்சுமந்தருளிய பரிசும். (கீர்த்தித் திருவகவல்.)
- (2) பந்தம்பறியப் பரிமேற்கொண்டான்...
மண்சுமந்து கூலிகொண்டக்கோவான் மொத்துண்டு.
(திருவம்மாலை.)

¹ Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi : கோயில் திருப்பண்ணியர் விருத்தம். 58.

- (3) மண்பான் மதுரையிற் பிட்டமுது செய்தருளித்
தண்டாலே பாண்டியன்றன்னைப் பணிகொண்ட
புண்பாடல். (திருப்பூவல்லி.)
- (4) ஞாலமிகப் பரிமேற்கொண்டு நமை ஆண்டான்.
(திருப்பொன்னூசல்.)
- (5) பிட்டுநோபட மண்சுமந்த பெருந்துறைப் பெரும் பித்தனே.
(திருக்கழுக்குன்றப் பதிகம்.)
- (6) மன்னரோடுவெழுந்தேன். (அச்சப்பத்து.)
- (7) ...நரிகனெல்லாம்
பெருங்குதிரை யாக்கிய வாரன்றே உன்போருளே. (திருவேசநவ்வு.)
- (8) நரியைக் குதிரைப் பரியாக்கி ஞாலமெல்லா நிகழ்வித்து
பெரியதென்னன் மதுரையெல்லாம் பிச்சதேற்றும் பெருந்துறை-
யாய் (ஆனந்தமாலே.)

The *Tiruvācakam* has had the honour of being included in the Śaiva canon compiled by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi, and it constitutes the eighth *Tirumuṟai* thereof. But, for some unknown reason, the *Tiruccirrambalakkōvaiyār*, the only other extant work of our saint, is excluded from the canon, though Nambi was aware of its existence and evidently accepted its authenticity. Nambi's biographer Umāpati Śivācārya (c. 1313 A.C.) informs us that Nambi compiled the Śaiva scriptures by request of a king named Rājarāja Abhaya Kulaśēkhara. This Rājarāja is usually identified with Rājarāja I (985-1014 A.C.), the only Rājarāja known to have been a predecessor of Anapāya Kulōttunga II (1123-1146 A.C.), whose minister Śēkkilār expanded Nambi's meagre account of the sixty-three Śaiva saints into the voluminous *Tiruttonḍar Purāṇam*. But, though Nambi began his work of compilation in Rājarāja's reign, he could not have completed it before c. 1025 A.C., as he includes a hymn dedicated to Gangaikonda-Cōḷēsvaram temple, founded by Cōḷa Rājendra I (acc. 1014 A.C.) in the ninth *Tirumuṟai*. Mr. Sōmasundara Dēśikar, however, thinks that the Rājarāja in question must be identified with Āditya Karikāla (c. 970 A.C.) and quotes in support a verse from the Leyden grant, which, according to him, gives Āditya the titles Karikāla, Rājarāja and Kulaśēkhara. The verse, however, means something quite different, as Mr. Dēśikar

could have himself found out, if he had only consulted any competent Samskr̥t scholar.

करिकालान्यनामानं आदित्यमुदपीपदत् ।

राजराजं राजेन्द्रो रविवंशशिखामणिः ॥

Attending to the cases of the words and the use of *ca*, the *anvaya* of the verse should be रविवंशशिखामणिः राजेन्द्रः करिकालान्यनामानं आदित्यं राजराजं उदपीपदत्, and this can only mean that Parāntaka II of the previous verse, here referred to as Rājendra and Ravivamśaśikhāmaṇi, was the father of Āditya Karikāla and Rājarāja. In fact, we know from other Cōla inscriptions that Rājarāja I was the younger brother and a successor of Āditya Karikāla. To arrive at his inference, Mr. Dēśīkar makes another mistake of confounding the Āditya of Nambi's *Tiruvantādi* with Rājarāja, when, at the most, it is only necessary that both should have been his contemporaries, as in fact they were. Nambi therefore may safely be assigned to c. 1000 A.C., and this date would be the later limit for Māṇikyavācaka.

The earlier limit is found in Māṇikyavācaka's references to the 'tempest of Māyāvāda'¹ and to the temple of Kāncī Ēkāmrānātha,² as they enable us definitely to date him after Śrī Śankarācārya. Māyāvāda or Advaitavāda, no doubt, existed even before Śrī Śankara's time, but it became a raging tempest only through his activities, and the temple of Ēkāmrānātha is well known to have been built by Cōla Rājasēna at the instance of Śrī Śankara himself. Sadāśīva Brahmēndra (c. 1600 A.C.), for example, refers to the latter event as follows in his *Gururatnamālikā* (27).

श्रितनिर्मलराजसेनचोलक्षितिपालोद्धृतविप्रदेवशालः।

वरदस्य तथाम्रनायकस्याप्युरुवेदमद्वयकृज्जयाय मे स्यात् ॥

The temple is mentioned in the *Mattavilāsa* (p. 13) of Mahēndravarmān I, and the Cōlas were ruling at Kāncī only before the time (c. 600 A.C.) of his father Simhavishṇu.

¹ மாயாவாத மென்னும் சண்டமாருதம்—*Porṇittiruvahaval*.

² கச்சித் திருவேகம்பன் செம்பொற் கோயில்—*Tirupporcuṇṇam*.

Śrī Śankara is usually assigned to 788-820 A.C., but only because he is confounded with Abhinava Śankara, and in support of this date are cited the references to the Śaiva¹ saints Jñāna Sambandha and Śiruttoṇḍa of the seventh century A.C. in *Saundarya Laharī* (75) and *Sivabhujangam* (13). But the authenticity of these *stōtras* is doubtful, as there were several Śankarācāryas. The only works that can be definitely ascribed to Ādi Śankara are his *bhāshyas* on the *Upanishads*, the *Gītā* and the *Brahmasūtra* and from these it is only certain that Śrī Śankara must have lived after c. 500 A.C. For, as Mr. Vidhuśēkhara Bhaṭṭācārya has pointed out, the *Sūtra-bhāshya* (ii. 2. 28) quotes the half verse एतन्तर्जय रूपं तत् बहिर्वद्वभासते from Dingnāga's *Ālambana-parīkshā* (fifth century A.C.), and Śrī Śankara mentions several kings, including Kṛṣṇagupta,¹ who is known to have founded the later Gupta dynasty in c. 500 A.C. Māṇikyavācaka cannot therefore have lived before c. 500 A.C.

Between these limits, c. 500 to c. 1000 A.C., it is possible, from the internal evidence of Māṇikyavācaka's works, to fix his date more closely still. In the first place, he addresses Śiva as resting on Śirāppalli² and as Arikēsari.³ Śirāppalli is now called Trichinopoly, where the earliest temple, i.e., the cave-temple on the rock above the Mātṛbhūtēśvara temple, was built by Pallava Mahēndravarman I. Māṇikyavācaka cannot therefore have lived before c. 600 A.C. Again, Arikēsari is known to have been a title of Pāṇḍya Neḍumāraṇ, the famous Śaiva saint and hero of Nelvēli, and it is quite probable that Māṇikyavācaka is alluding to a temple built by that king and named after him, like, in later times, the Paramēśvara Viṣṇugṛha, Rājarājēśvara and Gangaikōṇḍa Cōlēśvara temples. This inference is, as will be seen presently, confirmed by other evidence available to us.

On the other hand, Paṭṭinattu Pillaiyār refers to Māṇikyavācaka as திருஞ்சியவன்பிற பெருந்துறைப்பிள்ளை (*Tiruvīḍaimarudūr-mummaṇikkōvai*), and Paṭṭinattār was, according

¹ *Sūtra-bhāshya*, iv. 3. 5.

³ *Pōṇṇittiruvahaval*.

² சிராப்பள்ளி மேலிய சிவனே.

to his traditional biography, the *guru* of Pattirakiri, king of Unjēnai Mākālam, who is said to have renounced his throne and become a Śaiva saint. Unjēnai Mākālam is evidently identical with Ujjain Mahākāla and so Pattirakiri may be identified with Bhartṛhari (*Tam. Parttirukari*), who, according to an ancient Indian tradition, gave up his throne of Ujjain for a homeless life, and who had died before I-tsing wrote in 695 A.C. The identification is confirmed by the following verses from Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgya-Śatakam*, which express his ardent devotion to Śiva and desire for renunciation and *mōkṣhā* :—

महेश्वरे वा जगतामधीश्वरे जनार्दने वा जगदन्तरात्मनि ।

न वस्तुभेदप्रतिपत्तिरस्ति मे तथापि भक्तिस्तरुणेन्दुशेखरे ॥

कदा वाराणस्याममरतटिनीरोधसि वसन्वसानः कौपीनं शिरसि निदधानोऽञ्जलिपुटम् ।
अये गौरीनाथ त्रिपुरहर शंभो त्रिनयन प्रसीदेत्याक्रोशन्निमिषमिव नेष्यामि दिवसान् ॥
Māṇikyavācaka cannot therefore have lived after c. 750 A.C., and since, as shown already, he cannot date before c. 600 A.C., he may be definitely assigned to the seventh century A.C.

This conclusion seems to be confirmed by a Malabār Christian tradition recorded in a Manuscript 'History of Christianity in Kēraḷa', from which the relevant passage has been extracted by Mr. T. K. Joseph and appended (Appendix ii) to his *Malabār Christians and their Ancient Documents*. It relates that some Christians of Kāvērippūmpattinam, to escape persecution, emigrated to Kurakkēṇi (Quilon) in கம்முடே கர்த்தாவின்னேறே காலம் 293 and settled there and that 315 years later Māṇikyavācaka reconverted some of them to Śaivism. Mr. Joseph takes both 293 and 315 to refer to the Christian era. But the context seems to imply that 315 is to be counted from the date of settlement in Quilon, and it is extremely doubtful if the Christian era was in use in India as early as the third century A.C. The word *Karttā* (creator) may apply to God, or, in another sense, as founder of the "Syrian" Christian sect, to St. Thomas, but it cannot apply to Lord Jesus, who is more appropriately called *Rakshakar* (Saviour). It is therefore highly probable that the 293 years

are to be counted from the alleged martyrdom of St. Thomas in 72 A.C.¹ On the basis of these inferences, Māṇikyavācaka's reconversion of the St. Thomas Christians may be dated in $72+293+315=680$ A.C., and this date is quite consistent with the date already arrived at for Māṇikyavācaka. It may also be noted that this tradition indicates the existence of Quilon so early as $72+293=365$ A.C., and the theory therefore that the Kollam era of 825 A.C., dated from the foundation of the city of Quilon, must be discarded.

In his *Tirukkōvaiyār* (a shorter form of *Tirucciṟṟambalakōvaiyār*), Māṇikyavācaka refers to a Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya as a contemporary worshipping the God of Cidambaram² and as a conqueror.³ This Varaguṇa is usually identified with one of the two Varaguṇas, who lived in the ninth century A.C. But Māṇikyavācaka refers to him again in the *Tiruvācakam*, where he says that the Pāṇḍya country was converted into Śivalōka,⁴ and that the Pāṇḍya was awarded *mōksha* without entering hell or heaven.⁵ These references clearly identify this Varaguṇa with the Varaguṇa of the *Tiruvilaiyāḍal Purāṇam* (thirteenth century A.C.) to whom Śiva showed Śivalōka in his bodily form and whom He relieved of the sin of Brahma-picide at Tiruviḍaimarudūr. This Varaguṇa and his pious works at Tiruviḍaimarudūr are mentioned in detail by Paṭṭi-nattu Piḷḷai in his *Tiruviḍaimarudūr-mummaṇikkōvai*.⁶ Again, Tiruviḍaimarudūr is invariably associated in Śaiva tradition with the freeing of Varaguṇa from his sin, and as Mr. K. G. Śēsha Aiyar pointed out long ago, Tirunāvukkaraśar

¹ *Thōmā Parvam*, 1601 A.C.

² வரகுணனார் தென்னவனேத்து சிற்றம்பலத்தான், v. 306.

³ வரகுணன் வெற்பின் வைத்தகயல், v. 327.

⁴ பாண்டி நாட்டைச் சிவலோக மாக்குவித்த — *Tiruvammūnai*.

⁵ நாகோடு சுவர்க்க நானிலம் புகாமற்

பரகதி பாண்டியற்கருளின போற்றி — *Pōṟṟittiruvahaval*.

⁶ திருந்திய வன்பிற பெருந்துறைப் பிள்ளையும்

of the seventh century A.C., refers to this incident more than once in his hymns on Tiruviḍaimarudūr.

(1) பீத்தர்கடங்கண் மேலையே தங்கமர நின்றார் (*Tirumuṟai* iv).

(2) அன்பர் தங்களிடரவை கெடவுநின்றார் (*Tirumuṟai* iv).

(3) ஏதந் தீர்க்கு மிடைமருதா (*Tirumuṟai* v).

The Varaguṇa, mentioned by Māṇikyavācaka, cannot therefore be identified with either of the Varaguṇas of the ninth century A.C.

A clue to the identity of this Varaguṇa is found in an incident which is said to have happened in his reign. According to the *Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*, a poet Bāṇabhadra pleased God Sōmasundara with a hymn, who therefore sent him to his devotee Cēramān Perumāḷ for his reward. Māṇikyavācaka too refers to this episode in his *Tiruvācakam*.¹ This anecdote is related by Śēkkiḷār in his *Tiruttonḍar Purāṇam* as one of the incidents in the life of the Cēramān Perumāḷ, who was the friend of the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti. Sundara in his turn refers to Kāḍava (*i.e.*, Pallava) Kaḷarcingan as a contemporary Śaiva emperor and saint.² The only Pallava king who was both a Śaiva and named Simha (Śingana) was Narasimhavarman II Rājasiṃha, who built many temples to Śiva and proudly called himself a Śaiva Siddhānti.³ As Rājasiṃha lived in the latter half of the seventh century A.C., his contemporaries Sundara, Cēramān Perumāḷ, Varaguṇa and Māṇikyavācaka may be assigned to the same period. The Pāṇḍya of that period is known to have been Neḍumāraṇ, who was converted from Jainism to Śaivism by Jnāna Sambandha, and who, according to the illustrative stanzas of the *Kaḷaviyalurai*, had the titles Varōdaya and Arikēsārī, which suggest identity with Varaguṇa and Arimardana of the *Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal Purāṇam*. Jnāna Sambandha therefore seems likewise to have been a contemporary of Māṇikyavācaka, and his friends included (1) Tirunāvukkaraśar, who is said to have

¹ பண்சுமந்த பாடற் பரிசு படைத்தருளும்—*Tiruvammānai*.

² கடல்குழந்த வுலகேலாங் காக்கின்ற பெருமான் காடவர்கோன்

கழற்சில்கண்—*Tiruttonḍattoḥai*.

³ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 24.

converted a Pallava Guṇadhara (wrongly identified with Guṇabhara Mahēndravarmān I); (2) Śiruttoṇḍar, who destroyed Vātāpi for his master Pallava Narasiṃhavarman¹ I, and (3) Kulacciṟai, the minister of Neḍumāraṇ. It is therefore not surprising to find that Tirunāvukkaraśar refers to the miracle of converting the jackals into horses,¹ and that Māṇikyavācaka refers in his *Kīrtittiruvahaval* to the episodes of Pārvaṭī giving her breast-milk to the child Jñāna Sambandha. (சுழும்லமதனிற் காட்சி கொடுத்தும்), of God favouring Cēramān Perumāḷ with the sound of his anklets in his daily worship (பாதச் சிலம்பொலி காட்டிய பண்பும்), and of his enlightening Sundara (திருவாரூரின் ஞானந்தன்னை நல்கிய நன்மையும்). In the face of all these references, the objection that Sundara omits to include Māṇikyavācaka in his poetic list of Śaiva saints (*Tiruttoṇḍattohai*) cannot stand. The list cannot have been meant to be exhaustive, as it omits Agastya, Patanjali and Vyāghrapāda. Again Mr. K. G. Śēsha Aiyar rightly contends that the term *Poyyaḍimai-illāda-pulavar*, right in the midst of purely individual names (v. 7) cannot, with Nambī Āṇḍār Nambī,² be applied to the forty-nine Sangham poets, some of whom at least professed other faiths like Buddhism and Jainism, but may reasonably be construed to refer to Māṇikyavācaka, whom the earlier *Tiruvilaiyāḍal Purāṇam* often refers to as *Meyyaḍiyān* and *Pāḍanmāmuniyar*. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the tenth verse of the *Tiruttoṇḍattohai* is exclusively devoted to group-names, which are comprehensive enough to include all who may reasonably be described as *Poyyaḍimai-illāda-pulavar*.

The Vaishṇava saint Periyālvār and his daughter Āṇḍāl likewise seem to have lived in the same period. The former mentions Neḍumāraṇ as his contemporary in the following lines from his *Periyālvār Tirumōḷi* (iv. 2. 7):—

கொன்னவிற் கூர்வேல்கோன் தெடுமாறன் தென் கூடல்கோன்
தென்னன் கொண்டாடுந் தென்றருமாலிருஞ் சோலையே.

¹ நரியைக் குதிரை செய்வானும்—*Tirumurai* iv; திருவாரூர்ப்பதிகம்,

² *Tiruttoṇḍa Tiruvantādi*, v. 49,

The traditional biographies of Periyālvār refer to the same king as Vallabhadēva. Vallabha must therefore be a title of Neḍumāraṇ. There have been many Māravarmans among the early Pāṇdyas, but only the hero of Nelvēli seems to have been called Neḍumāraṇ; and Vallabha is one of the titles given him in the *Kaḷaviyalurai* (v. 187). It has been hitherto thought that two other Pāṇdyas had this title, Jaṭila Parāntaka and Śrī Māra, son of Varaguṇa I. But this is a mistake. The only reason for thinking that Jaṭila Parāntaka had the title is that Jinasēna (783 A.C.) refers to a Śrī Vallabha of the South as his contemporary in the following verse :—

शकिष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरां पातीन्द्रायुधनाम्नि कृष्णवृपजे श्रीवल्लभे-
दक्षिणाम् ।

पूर्वा श्रीमदवन्तिभूभृति वृपे वत्साधिराजेपरां सोशणामधिमण्डलं जययुते वारे वराहेऽवति ॥

(*Harivamśa*—Colophon 51).

This verse has not been properly understood till now, at least by Mr. V. A. Smith and Dr. R. Shāma Śāstri. It means that in Śaka 705=783 A.C., Indrāyudha protected the North (Kanauj), (Dhruva) Śrī Vallabha (a common Rāshṭrakūṭa title), son of Kṛṣṇa (I), protected the South (Dekhan), Vatsarāja of Avanti protected the East (Mālva) and Jayavarāha protected the West—Sōramaṇḍala (Surāshṭra). The Vallabha of this verse was therefore a Rāshṭrakūṭa, and not a Pāṇḍya at all. As for Śrī Māra, the reason for thinking that he had the title Vallabha is the following *pāda* from the Cinnamanūr plates published in *Śen Tamil* (xxiii. 258) by Mr. A. S. Rāmanātha Aiyar from a transcript of the late Mr. T. A. Gōpīnātha Rao :—

श्रीमारः श्रवणीयकीर्तिरजितश्रीवल्लभो भूपतिः ।

The *anvaya* would be श्रवणीयकीर्तिः अजितश्रीवल्लभः भूपतिः श्रीमारः. It is readily seen that here Vallabha is not a title at all, but part of an adjective qualifying श्रीमारः. It is therefore clear that Neḍumāraṇ Vallabhadēva, the contemporary of Periyālvār, can be identified, among the early Pāṇdyas, only with the hero of Nelvēli, who was the third ancestor of Jaṭila Parāntaka (770 A.C.) and therefore dates c. 700 A.C.

Another indication of Māṇikyavācaka's date is found in his reference to Śiva as the lord of Pāṇḍyadēsa, who gave Tamil¹ and in the following verse (20) from his *Tirukkōvaiyār*, which refers to Tamil research at Madurā:—

சிறைவான் புன்றில்லைச் சிற்றம்பலத்து மென்சிற்தையுள்ளு
முறைவானுயர் மதிக்கடலினுய்ந்த வொண்டந் தமிழின்
னுறைவாய் துழைந்தனை யோவன்றி யேழிசைச் சூழல்புக்கோ
விறைவாதவரைத் தோட்கென்கோலாம் புருந்தெய்தியதே.

The Tamil Sangham at Madurā was evidently founded for compiling and editing the early Tamil classics, including those now known as *Eṭṭuttohāi*, *Pattupṭṭāṭṭu* and *Patinenkilkanakku*. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi (c. 1025 A.C.) knew of only one Sangham, which included Nakkīrar, Kapilar and Bharanar among its forty-nine poets and scholars.² The *Tiruvalluvamālai* gives the names of these forty-nine poets, including also Kaṇṇiyanār and Kulapatināyanār, who are apparently identical with the saints Jnāna Sambandha (usually called Kaṇṇiyan from his *gōtra*) and Kulacciṭṭai, and mentions as their contemporaries Iṭaiyanār (supposed to be Śiva himself) and Pāṇḍya Ugrapperuvalūdi. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi in his *Tiruttonḍa Tiruvantādi* refers to Kulacciṭṭai as the minister of the Pāṇḍya who founded the Sangham at Madurā (சங்கம் வைத்த பாண்டியன் றன்னதிகாரி). According to the *Tiruttonḍar Purāṇam*, Kulacciṭṭai was the minister of Neḍumāṇan, but as the Cinamanūr plates ascribe the founding of the Sangham at Madurā (மதுராபுரிச் சங்கம் வைத்தும்) to an ancestor of Arikēsarī (Nedumāṇan), we have to infer that Kulacciṭṭai was the minister of both Neḍumāṇan and his father Jayantavarman, who founded the Sangham. The connection of Śiva (Iṭaiyanār) with this Sangham is confirmed by the *Tiruvilaiyāḍḍal Purāṇam*, and Ugrapperuvalūdi seems to be identical with Neḍumāṇan. Perhaps he got that nickname from his persecution of the Jains at the instance of Jnāna Sambandha. That Neḍumāṇan was, like Ugrapperuvalūdi, a contemporary of Nakkīrar is indeed clear from the

¹ தமிழினிக்குந்தண் பாண்டி நாட்டாவன — *Tiruvammānai*.

² *Tiruttonḍa Tiruvantādi*, v. 49.

latter's *Kaḷaviyalurai*. The preface to this work, which contains detailed legends about the three Sanghams, was no doubt believed to be Nakkīrar's like the rest of the work by Pērāśiriyar and Aḍiyārkkunallār of the twelfth century A.C.¹ But it must be a later accretion, as it mentions nine generations of Nakkīrar's *śishya-paramparā*, and as even Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi (c. 1025 A.C.) was not aware of more than one Sangham. But there can be no doubt as to the authorship of *Kaḷaviyalurai* itself. It is a commentary on Iṟaiyanār's *Ahaṇḍorū*, and, of its 379 illustrative stanzas, 329 belong to a *Kōvai* in praise of Neḍumāraṇ. Of these again, eighty-three are actually found explained in the commentary, and without these 329 stanzas, the commentary would be meagre and practically useless. It is therefore certain that the *Kōvai* formed part of Nakkīrar's original commentary, and as one of its stanzas (214) refers to the hero as a contemporary king. Nakkīrar must have been a contemporary of Neḍumāraṇ. This king is said to have had the titles Arikēsari (22), Parāṅkuśa, and Vallabha (187), and to have fought at Nelvēli (22), Śankamangai (266), Pāli (309) and Śennilam (235). He is also said to be a Śaiva (256 and 257). It cannot therefore be doubted that he was the third ancestor of Jaṭila Parāntaka of the Vēlvikuḍi plates, who had the same titles and won the same battles, and also the Śaiva royal saint Neḍumāraṇ. As Māṇikyavācaka refers to the activities of the Tamiḷ Sangham at Madurā, he cannot have lived before the ages of Nakkīrar, and this inference also confirms the conclusion already arrived at that he should be assigned to the close of the seventh century A.C.

¹ Pērāśiriyar : Commentary on *Tolkāṇṇam*, 1237, 1493, 1594 and 1598;
Aḍiyārkkunallār : Commentary on *Śilappadhikāram*, viii. 1-2.

THE KADAMBAS OF BANĀVASE.

Section II.

BY V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, ESQ., M.A.

(Continued.)

THE Kadambas describe themselves as members of the Mānavya Gotra, as Hāritīputrās, and to be meditating on Shadānana and his seven mothers.¹ The Sātavāhanas and the Chālukyas also claim to belong to the same gotra. According to Āpastamba, this *pravara* should pertain to a Kshattriya proper. A doubt, therefore, arises as to whether the Kadambas were real Brahmins or were a twice-born caste that had abandoned its own profession and *pravara* for a secondary one. The tutelary deity of their family was Jayanti (Banavase) Madhukeswara, a form of Vishnu.² Figures of lion and monkey were chosen by them for their heraldic bearings, and blazoned on their coins and banners.³ The Hoysala tiger-crest is but an adaptation of the Kadamba lion-crest.⁴ Besides these animal designs the lotus was also a favourite emblem of theirs and is found engraved on their coins and temples.⁵ The Kadambas were also distinguished for the possession of a peculiar variety of musical instrument known as *permatti*.⁶

The kings of the Kadamba dynasty were motivated by lofty ideals of government. They bore the titles of the "Dharma-mahārājādhirājah, supporter of justice"; and their motto was "Pratikrita-Svādhyāya-charchchā pārāh" which is better interpreted as "skilled in repeating the sacred writings".⁷ These rulers strove hard at their post for the

¹ *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 176.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 560.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 560, 564; Elliot's *Coins*, p. 66.

⁴ *B.I.H.J.*, p. 116.

⁵ Elliot's *Coins*, p. 66.

⁶ *Mys. & Cg.*, p. 26.

⁷ *Mys. & Cg.*, p. 23.

good of their subjects.¹ They set their face firm against extortion and ill-gotten wealth.² As a corollary, the Kadamba kings boast that they enjoyed "the good wishes of their subjects".³

Banavāse was the metropolis of the kingdom, while Palāsika in Belgaum and Uchhasringi in Chitaldurg were seats of subordinate viceroys.⁴ Tripurvata is also mentioned as another provincial capital and it is still unidentified. the viceroys of these places were usually the junior members of the royal family. Kākustha acted as Yuvarāja under his father.⁵ A gift by Vishnuvarma, the nephew of Sāntivarma, had to be made with the permission of his uncle "the master of the entire Karnāta region".⁶

The work of the central government was decentralized into separate departments, as is seen from the references to the offices of a "private secretary"⁷ and a minister and general superintendent".⁸

The kingdom was further sub-divided into *mandalas* and *vishayas* for the convenience of administration. The *grāma* or village was the smallest unit of government. Several villages were grouped into a *vishaya*, a number of *vishayas* into a *mandala* and several *mandalas* were combined into a province under a Viceroy. A prince was appointed as a chief among ten *mandalikas* with the right of collecting custom duties.⁹ Rāja Krishnavarma granted away the Kolanallūra *grāma* in the Vallāvi *Vishaya*.¹⁰ It also appears probable that in

¹ *Ep. Car.*, V, Belur 124.

² *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 31.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 22.

⁴ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 285.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 22.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 29.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*,

अयुक्तकः सर्वस्यानुष्ठाता ।

Ayuktakah sarvasyānushtātā.

⁹ *Mys. A. R.*, 1911.

¹⁰ *Ep. Car.*, Belur 161.

addition to these officers, the Rajjukas might have been functioning as a Rajjuka (or the survey settlement official) is mentioned in an early Sātakarni inscription¹ and as the Kadambas respected their predecessors and confirmed their gifts without hesitation.²

There was also a well-recognized system of taxation. The number of taxes levied upon the people is said to have been of thirty-two kinds but a village was exempted from all the thirty-two kinds of taxes.³ The existence of custom dues is also alluded to in another place. A "gleaning tax" is also known to have been abolished in a village.⁴ "A royalty of ten per cent of the produce" was sometimes collected in lieu of all other kinds of taxes.⁵

The lands were measured and records kept up. Lands are mentioned as twenty *nivartanas* in extent. Mrigesa gave away thirty-three *nivartanas* of land.⁶ The *nivartanas* were an ancient unit of linear measure as old as the *Arthasāstra* and current in the days of Gotamiputra Sātakarni.⁷ The standard of measurement was supplied by the royal foot just as it was also customary with the later Cholas.⁸

Another variety of measurement of land was with reference to the quantity of grain necessary for its sowing. For the purpose, sixty-five paddy fields were considered sowable with twenty-five *khandukas* of paddy.⁹ Whenever a village was given away as a religious endowment, the fact was announced throughout the neighbouring villages and those gifts were exempt from all duties and even the king's officers were forbidden to enter such villages!¹⁰

¹ *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 263.

² *Ibid.*, VII, Sk. 264.

³ *Mys. A. R.*, 1918, p. 40; *Mys. A. R.*, 1910.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, VI, 23.

⁵ *Ep. Car.*, V, Belur 245.

⁶ *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 29; *Ind. Ant.*, VI, 23.

⁷ Vaidya : *Med. I.*, p. 133; *Arthasāstra*, p. 67.

⁸ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 150; *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 29.

⁹ *Mad. Ep. R.*, 1914.

¹⁰ *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sb. 33.

During their day, the Kadamba kings followed a primitive system of reckoning time which was also obtaining in the early centuries of the Christian era. They adopted the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter, in which the year is also simplified into three seasons, hot, rainy and cold, instead of the familiar six, each season being further sub-divided into eight fortnights, with reference to the waxing and waning moon.¹

The coins of the Kadamba monarchs reveal an orderly evolution from crude punch-marked pieces to the highly developed-die-struck "*padmatankas*" embodying in them lively patterns of animals and flowers, and noted for beauty of execution. Their earliest coins were simple pieces of gold with the device of a lion punched over the earlier signs. In the next stage, the lotus is found in the centre with four punch marks around. It is from the introduction of the lotus device that the coin gained the soubriquet of "*padmatanka*", justly famous in the south, even long after the passing away of its originators. The image of Hanuman, usually found in their banners, was also introduced into their coinage during this stage.

Among the coins of the third stage three varieties are to be found. One type has a lotus in the centre and four lions in the corner, with a floral device on the reverse. Another variety is stamped with the *svastika* symbol in the centre and four lions around it; and the third type has a central lion with four smaller lions around it. The last and highly developed stage is marked by the introduction of die-struck coins indicating an advance in the method. This class of coins has the device of a full-grown lion looking backwards with a flower design on the reverse side. These Kadamba coins were so remarkable for their beauty and technique that the Chālukyas, their successors, imitated the coins of their predecessors, thus acknowledging their superior cultural endowment.

The earliest examples of architecture to be found in Western India are its cave-temples, such as those of Nasik

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 279, 288.

and Karle. The Kadambas were the first in the Deccan to build structural temples as distinguished from the excavated caves and *rathas*. The Kadamba temples are the earliest examples of the Dravidian architecture whose prototype was but the primitive hut of the South Indian villager,¹ and which the Kadamba temples reproduce so faithfully. The plan of their temples is as follows: it is generally a rectangular one, usually with a square *mantapa* attached to the front of the shrine; and even the pillars and beams are square.² Also, there is an occurrence of a "fluted" type of pillar.³ The central shrine is surmounted by a pyramidal *gopuram*, "with plain stages only, showing a toothlike ornamentation, surmounted by a *kalasha*".⁴ Other distinguishing features of the Kadamba temples are their niches and perforated windows on both sides of the door leading into the *Garbagriha*. These screens were later on adopted by the Hoysalas and placed all round their temples. Hence, the temples of the Kadambas signify a rudimentary stage of development whose fullness of perfection was to be attained only by their successors of Dorasamudra.

On the other hand, in the field of sculpture, the master-craftsmen of those days proved themselves masters of their art, challenging comparison with the best examples of the art anywhere in India. A good specimen of the Kadamba sculpture, found at Halsi, was the relief figure of the "Sapta-mātrkās" described as remarkable for their beauty.⁵ A better illustration of the art of the stone mason of the period is a statue of Durga surpassing in its vigorous expressiveness and classic simplicity even those found in the earliest of the caves of Bādāmi.⁶

¹ Dubreuil: *Dravidian Architecture*, p. 25; *B.I.H.J.*, Vol. II, No. I, p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, p. 100.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁵ *B.I.H.J.*, p. 99.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

The earliest inhabitants of Mysore were a race of Nāga worshippers.¹ The province of Shikārpur was known as the Nāgarakhanda.² On this primitive and indigenous religion were imposed, successively, the three northern religions of Jainism, Buddhism and Saivism. Jainism was introduced into the south by Chandragupta Maurya.³ His grandson Aśoka sent down Buddhist missionaries named Rakkhita and Mahādeva to Banavāse and Mahiśamandala, respectively.⁴ During the spacious days of the Sātakarnis the Vedic religion also found its patrons. Since Brahmins are found in Ceylon as early as the fourth century B.C.⁵ it is not improbable that Jainism in South India began as a rival of Brahminism rather than of the serpent worship. Yet, after the Nāga worship, Jainism claimed the largest number of votaries, though traces of Buddhism were found in the districts of Chitaldurg and Banavāse.⁶ So at the dawn of the Kadamba power, Jainism, Buddhism and Saivism identified with serpent religion were carrying on a triangular contest in the field. Whereas Jainism became the dominant religion in Eastern Mysore under the Gangas, the worship of Vishnu and Siva was adopted as the state religion of the Kadambas whose family God was the Jayanti Madhukēśvara. And in this struggle, the religion of the Goutama was driven into obscurity.

But the Kadamba kings of the middle period from Mrigeśa to Harivarman were unable to resist the onset of Jainism, as they had to bow to "the supreme Arhats" and endow lavishly the Jain ascetic groups. Numerous sects of Jaina priests, such as the Yāpinīyas, the Nirgranthas and the Kūrchakas are found living at Palāsika.⁷ Again Svetapatas and Aharāshti⁸ are also mentioned. Banavāse and Palāsika

¹ *Mys. Gz.*, p. 202.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Mys. Gaz.*, I, p. 289.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁵ *Hinduism and Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 13.

⁶ *Mys. Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 293; *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 333.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, VII, pp. 36, 37.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, p. 31.

were thus crowded centres of powerful Jain monks. "Four Jaina MSS. named *Jayadhavala*, *Vijayadhavala*, *Āidhavalā* and *Mahādhavala* written by Jain Gurus Vīraseṇa and Jainasena living at Banavāse during the rule of the early Kadambas" were recently discovered.¹ This dominance of the Jains received a check in the days of Harivarma, and Hara and Nārāyana reigned supreme instead thereafter.²

In the days of the Jain supremacy the Vedic religion was neither persecuted nor was it insignificant in the West. Saka Ushavadatta and Gotamiputra Sātakarni were great patrons of Brahmins in Western India.³ Kings from Mayūra to Kākustha of the Kadamba dynasty were devoted to the Vedic gods and to *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, quite opposed to Jainism.⁴ The Brahmins of Thālgunda were the recipients of villages donated by Mayūrasarma during his eighteen *Aśvamedhas*. Mayūrasarma was a great supporter of Brahmins. The Brahmins of his time were well-known for their love of *Soma* drink.⁵ Brahmins of Atharvaveda were flourishing in the kingdom under the royal patronage.⁶ Krishnavarma II was a believer in Brahma and he celebrated horse sacrifices. Thus, the Vedic religion, revived by Harivarma and nurtured by Krishnavarma II, continued to prosper under the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi whose patron God was Varāha (the boar *avatār* of Vishnu) and who were famed for their *Aśvamedha* and *Agnishtoma* sacrifices.⁷

The Bannahalli plates of Krishnavarma II throw some light on the kind of education then given to princes of the blood. Vishnuvarma was taught the management of horses and elephants and the use of the bow. To keep the mind in tune with the body, he was also made proficient in grammar and logic. His son Simhavarma was "skilled in many branches

¹ *B.I.H.J.*, p. 98.

² *A.S.R.W.C.*, 1915.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 148-149.

⁴ *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 176.

⁵ *Ep. Car.*, VII, Sk. 176; *Ep. Car.*, V, Ak. 117.

⁶ *A.S.R.W.C.*, 1918.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol I, Pt. II, pp. 337-338.

of learning."¹ They sought to emulate Udayana, Indra and Arjuna in their respective spheres of knowledge.

In the period of the Kadambas were witnessed also maritime and colonial activity in the western coasts of the Deccan. The earliest reference to the naval power of the Kadambas is to be found in the *Silappadikaram*, the famous Tamil classic, wherein *Seran Senguttavan* is said to have burnt Kadal-Kadambas or "Sea Kadambas".² In the province of Burma have been discovered inscriptions whose alphabets bear striking resemblance to those of the Kadamba dynasty.³ The far distant Camboja received its earliest Indian colonists from the basin of the Thungabhadra, the home of the Kadambas.⁴ The founder of the Indian dynasty of the rulers of Camboja was a Brahmin of Kaundinya Gotra whose members were equally respected in India and were recipients of honour from Kadamba kings.⁵ Those Brahmins carried with them the artistic and religious traditions prevailing in their old homes. On a closer scrutiny, the plan of Angôr Vât can be found to be but an exaggerated type of the modest pyramidal *gopurams* of the Kadambas. The originals of the Mukha-lingas and Hari-Haras of Camboja are to be found only in and around Pattadakal in the Bijapur District, a stronghold of the Kadamba power. It is not unlikely that the Far Eastern India received fresh supplies of colonists, the Indian Pilgrim Fathers, from Banavâse, after the country lost its independence owing to the aggressions of the Châlukyas of Bādâmi.

Now we may bid good-bye to the great rulers of Banavâse, the fore-runners of the Châlukyas and Hoysalas in the field of art and literature. And the story of their descendants who revived their name nearly four centuries later will call for separate attention and treatment.

¹ *Ep. Car.*, V, Bl. 121.

² *Seran Senguttavan*, by M. Raghaviengar, p. 791.

³ *Hinduism and Buddhism*, p. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 106, "The Art of Java," p. 16, *Q.J.M.S.*, XVII, No. 3 p. 169, O. C. Ganguly.

⁵ *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sk. 264.

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SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN ANCIENT SOUTH INDIA.

BY C. M. RAMACHANDRA CHETTIAR, ESQ., B.A., B.L.

(Continued from last issue.)

IV. Judge-made Law.

IN ancient days there was no system of judiciary similar to the one now prevalent in this country. The king was the legislator and also the supreme judge in the whole kingdom. But practically his jurisdiction was restricted to his capital and perhaps to a limited extent to the country surrounding it. In bigger towns in the moffussil where his viceroys or governors ruled, they exercised similar powers. But in the majority of the villages and the country-side, the village assemblies were the real bodies which administered justice. As at present, these tribunals while trying cases which came before them, unconsciously became makers of law as well.

When questions of interpretations of rules, procedure and conduct come in, the judiciary in giving shape to them become real law-makers. There is nothing new in this matter as it is prevalent in all the civilized nations even at present.

In South India there are innumerable instances where the village tribunals promulgated rules and regulations of conduct between various communities thereby legislating on social matters. We shall examine a few instances under this head:

1. *Settlement of a Caste dispute between Pattanoolkarans and Settis*:—An inscription at Pattiswaram* in the Tanjore district dated 1634 relates to a Valakku Muri (வழக்குமுறி) or a petition made in the case of a dispute among the weavers (பட்டுத் தால்காரன்); and the Settis of Pattiswaram regarding the order of precedence in the receipt of betel leaves and arecanuts during marriages. It was agreed that in cases of disturbance caused on this account, a new cloth worth five *panams* shall be offered to the goddess along with thirty arecanuts and a hundred leaves

* 257/27, Ep. Reports, 1917 : p. 117.

perhaps as an expiatory fine. Such petitions before the assemblies and their decisions on them will clearly enhance or lower the status of one caste or the other. In South India the receipt of betel leaves is the test of superiority and inferiority of one caste over another and it is well known that considerable expenditure is incurred by priests and trustees in such disputes in South Indian temples for such honours.

2. *Royal writ for separation of sub-divisions from one another in one community*.—During the Nayak rule at Madurai, caste regulations were more stringently and rigidly enforced. They even created divisions among joint communities and strictly enforced the rules regarding them. One of the kings, Virappa Nayak issued two royal writs,* one in S. 1545 (1623 A.D.) and the other in S. 1547 (1625 A.D.) to the five sub-sects † among Kammalars or the artisans facilitating their separation from each other and the consequent dismemberment of the community. The reason for such a writ is not given but the initiative seems to have proceeded from the sub-sects themselves and the king favoured the separation. How different are the feelings among sub-sects at the present day? The latter of the two records clearly enjoin the members of the sub-sects not to intermingle with each other, the words used being “உடன் கூட்டவேண்டாம்”. The temple authorities also followed the writ by declaring the same injunction to the subordinates.

V. People-made Laws.

The third body which made laws were the people themselves. They met and by mutual agreement imposed rules and regulations for their own guidance and for mutual relationships between various sects. These self-imposed regulations have come down even to this day among certain castes and are being enforced at their caste meetings.

* 309 and 378/17 *Ep. Reports*, 1917 : p. 134.

† The five sub-sects among the artisans are கொல்லன் (Blacksmith), கொத்தன் or சில்பி (Mason), கன்னான் (Brass-smith), தட்டான் (Goldsmith) and தச்சன் (Carpenter).

1. We have already mentioned one instance of separation of five sub-sects of artisans which at first proceeded from the sub-sects themselves and afterwards was confirmed by the king in his writ.

2. An interesting example of social legislation by the people themselves without reference either to the king or to any religious pontiff is recorded in an inscription at Kila Paluvur* which could be assigned to 1430 A.D. (Deva Raya's reign). It records an agreement relating to some social conduct among the Valangai and Idangai (right hand and left hand) castes residing in the eighteen sub-divisions of Irungolavala-Nadu (இருங்கோளவள நாடு).

3. An interesting parallel to the above-quoted inscription is found in a Padavidu record† dated S. 1347 in the reign of Deva Raya wherein the several sects of the Brahmans of the kingdom of Padavidu comprising the Karnataka, Tamil, Telugu and the Lîta Brahmans signed an agreement that henceforth marriages among their families had only to be conducted as *Kanya Dana* "Free gift of the bride" and that no money should be received as bride-price. The text is as follows:—

"இற்றைநாள் முதலாக இந்தப் படைவீட்டு ராஜ்யத்து ப்ராமணரில் கன்னடகர், தமிழர், தெலுங்கர், இலாளர் முதலான அஸேஷ கோத்தர்த்து அஸேஷ சூத்தர்த்தில் அஸேஷ சாகையிலங்களும் விவாஹம் பண்ணுமிடத்து கன்யாதாநமாக விவாஹம் பண்ணக்கடவராகவும் கன்யாதாநம் பண்ணாமல் பொன் வாங்கிப் பெண் குடுத்தால் பொன் குடுத்து விவாஹம் பண்ணினால் இராஜ தண்டத்துக்கும் உட்பட்டு பிராம்மண்யத்துக்கும் புறம்பாகக் கடவாரென்று பண்ணி தாம் ஸ்தாபன சமுய பத்ரம்."

It will not be out of place here to note that "Kanya-Sulka" of the olden days has given place to "Vara-Sulka" (bridegroom price) and that a similar movement is going on among the Brahmans to put a stop to this "Vara-Sulka" which is doing so much havoc among that community. The recent resolutions of the Brahmana Samajam to put a stop to this Sulka is a parallel to the edict quoted above.

* 253/26, see p. 111/26, *Ep. Reports*.

† S. 11, Vol. I, p: 82.

VI. Rigidity of the Caste System—How Increased.

We have already noted that the Aryan civilization would have helped in making the castes more and more rigid. During the Chola ascendancy which was the period of gigantic temple building, religions began to influence the people and the old Tamilian faith began to be influenced by Northern cults. Tamilian priests were replaced by Brahman priests in temples and along with the recitals of Tamil Tevaram and Prapandam, Sanskrit Vedas were recited. This period was followed by the Vijayanagar period whose kings adopted the Aryan cult throughout their system. The Nayak kings of Madura who began as the viceroys of Vijayanagar carried their civilization and ideals towards the south. They were pious and conservative people. They imposed the rigour of the caste rules more and more on the people who found the trammels unshakeable. Caste system was considered sacrosanct and there were occasions of royal interference to check breaches of its rules. A few examples will show what they did to enforce the rigidity of the caste system.

(1) It was Veerappa Nayak who enforced separation of the five sub-divisions of the artisan community and enjoined them not to intermingle with one another. Though it was initiated from the people it was enforced by the king who fanned such feelings among them.

(2) There is another instance of caste prejudice manifested by Vijaya Ranga Chokkanatha who felt himself insulted at the Ceylon Embassy which carried a proposal for marital alliance between the two royal dynasties the reason being merely due to caste considerations.

(3) The king's interference in the case of dispute quoted above regarding the privileges between Kudumbar and Parayar and settling it by favouring Kudumbar shows how he wanted to maintain the superiority of one caste against the other.

(4) There is another instance in which members of one religious sect are punished for showing inclinations towards another and for wearing their symbols. As early as the time

of Rajaraja II* the assembly of Thirukadavur censured the conduct of their disciples (Maheswaras) who besides wearing and distributing among themselves the red lilies (செங்கழுநீர்ப் புத்தம்) distinctly exhibited their leanings towards Vaishnavism. The assembly seeing this outrage resolved to confiscate their lands in favour of the temple.

(5) Another inscription of Vira Pandya dated 1370 A.D. shows how a long-standing dispute between the Parayas and the caste people, which had ended in bloodshed, was settled by making the Parayas to beat drums for caste people and to receive a *Padakku* of paddy in return and how each resident was obliged to measure out a *Kalam* and *Tani* of paddy for the service rendered. Such instances show how the caste rules were regulated and enforced among the various communities.

VII. Change and Revision of certain Customs and Habits.

We often find that certain particular customs were newly introduced, altered or revised by the three-fold legislative authorities above mentioned. As it would be interesting to quote a few, I mention some selected instances hereunder :—

(1) Under the Mithakshara law the lot of a widow is very poor and miserable and we follow the same law even in the twentieth century. The limited nature of her estate has not been bettered even to-day. But in the twelfth century she seems to have had better legal rights. An edict of Rajadhiraja II† dated his fourteenth year (1185 A.D.) says that a woman who is wedded to a person shall, on the demise of the latter, become the owner of the lands, slaves, jewels or other valuables and the cattle of the deceased husband. But if before his death he had made default and his lands had been sold, the purchaser shall have the right over the lands and slaves that belonged to the deceased. Another inscription‡ during the reign of the same king says that a Brahman widow held proprietary right over the family property after the death

* No. 257/25, p. 84 of 1925, *Ep. Reports*.

† P. 97 of 19 *Ep. Reports*, No. 429 and 538 of 19.

‡ 494/13, p. 108/13 *Ep. Reports*.

of her husband. Can a Hindu widow expect such a right under the law as administered at present?

(2) During the days of Rajadhiraja I, dancing girls (தேவரடியார்) were married and lived like other family women. (No. 147/13, p. 29/13). We also find the existence of the practice of women selling themselves to the temples. Generally ladies volunteered their services to the temples in perpetuity. One curious instance is found of a lady selling herself along with six of her sons and grand-children to the God at Talai Chengadu. In such cases they dedicated their entire services for a small consideration. In one case fifteen persons were sold for as low an amount as 30 *Kasus* (p. 95/25, *Ep. Reports*). How different stands the present day dedication of girls to temples and how has society fallen now-a-days, for, now dedication means prostitution.

(3) The position of the Brahmans at various stages can be very well compared with that given in Manu. In the twelfth century it was enacted that a Brahman should not till lands with bulls yoked to the plough (97/29, *Ep. Reports*). But he could trade in the bazaar and enter into an agreement to supply sugar and other things in lieu of interest on the sum lent (147/28 *Ep. Reports*). One is surprised to find Brahmans allowed to trade in these days while the general notion is that a Brahman loses his caste if he is an “அரிசி விற்கிறீடும் அந்தணர்” (Brahman who sells rice). Certain Brahmans who turned traitors to the State and committed robbery and murder were dealt with as people of the lower classes would be dealt with and their properties confiscated and sold, and the proceeds deposited in the State treasury, (p. 88, *Ep. Reports*, 10). Here the special privileges given to that high class were, it may be pointed out, not shown to them by the rulers.

(4) Sometimes certain Non-Brahman castes were being honoured by special privileges, like giving gotram, Rishi origin and sacred thread, etc. Vanians were similarly given 1,000 rishi gotrams, 500 of them being given sacred thread, while Teligis of Andhra Desa were given 1,000 gotrams and other honorific privileges (90/12, *Ep. Reports*).

(5). A curious instance is mentioned in an inscription at Aragalur (99/14, *Ep. Reports*) that when there was a dispute over the management of the temple of that place, between the Chettis and Vanians (oil-mongers) it was decided that whoever bid most for the management was given the right. At first the Vanians did bid and they were given the management and when their work slackened, the others raised objections and recovered the management by offering a higher gift. Such ideas about management still occur in the country.

(6) Instances are found in which town-planning had been given much weight in this country. *Silappadigaram* gives a graphic idea of what town-planning was in those days. The main principle was that each community was allotted separate quarters for the purposes of communal, economical and social developments and for their happy living. Similarly in latter days we find the system being adopted and developed. There are innumerable records to show how the kings enforced communal quarters. An inscription of Soundra Pandya I very clearly describes the foundation of a new village and gives details of distribution (92/14). According to it each community is given separate quarters and separate privileges, and rules are enacted to prohibit encroachments of any kind. Such ordinances promote communal happiness greatly but unification and nationalization are killed. Under such conditions the rigidity of the caste system and communalism were fostered and as a result the present caste-ridden society has come into existence.

VIII. Conclusion.

From a study of the several examples quoted above, we may easily point out that there is sufficient material to prove that society was also kinetic in olden days, sometimes in relaxing and sometimes in enforcing rigour and was never in a static position and it is high time for the present generation to study the subject thoroughly so that they may adopt a similar attitude towards progressive policy.

KELADI DYNASTY.

BY S. N. NARAHARAYYA, ESQ., B.A., LL.M.

(Continued.)

IV. Chicka Sankanna Nayaka (1558-1570).

CHICKA SANKANNA'S days were very troublous. The days of peace were gone. Vijayanagara was tottering under the hostile combination and its vassals, too, shared the commotion. There were ever ready Bijapur Muhammadans to help the enemies of Vijayanagara and, with the help of an army under Manzar Khan of Bijapur, the enemies on the frontier rebelled and gave him much trouble. It was not difficult to vanquish the frontier rebels but Manzar Khan persisted in opposing him. And, after a long contest, he too was defeated and expelled. At about this time the Muhammadan confederacy fell on Vijayanagara, defeated and killed Rāma Rāja who was the last at the head of Vijayanagara affairs and overran the country. The great Meshapala dynasty of Vijayanagara was gone and some of their representatives ran to Penugonda and Chandragiri. The Keladi rulers thus became practically independent though they formally continued to owe allegiance to the representatives of their overlords. Chicka Sankanna vanquished Gaura Deva and Baira Deva and exacted tribute from them. He had a son called Siddappa whose son was Sivappa Nāyaka of whom we shall hear later.

Sadāsiva, the second of the line, during the infancy of his sons, installed his brother Bhadrappa and Bhadrappa in turn installed Doddā Sankanna on the throne when he came of age. It is curious to note that Bhadrappa reigned as a ruler and not as regent. Possibly Keladi had not yet attained the full status of a kingdom in which case primogeniture alone ought to have guided the succession. It might also be that the emperors would perhaps have wished that, as the chieftains of Keladi were their vassals,

there should be a competent person at the head of its affairs who could be ready to serve them. In any case, it is to the credit of the Keladi royal house that no chieftain sought self-aggrandisement to the exclusion of the rightful heir when he could have done so. This remarkable absence of court intrigues was a source of strength to Keladi as contrasted with the affairs at Poona especially in connection with Raghoba, who is rightly described as the sole cause of the loss of Mahratta rule.

V. Rama Raja (1570-1582).

Now that Rāma Rāja had come of age, Chicka Sankanna installed him duly on the throne. Rāma Rāja's rule does not seem to be of any special importance though it lasted for twelve years. Chicka Sankanna who seems to have been yet alive placed his younger brother Venkatappa on the throne and went into retirement.

VI. Venkatappa Nayaka I (1582-1629).

Then began the reign of Venkatappa Nāyaka, *Hiri Venkatappa* as he is known, there being another of his name on the throne subsequently. Hitherto, there was the consolidation of Keladi territories. Now time and circumstance could make them independent rulers. Venkatappa Nāyaka's dominions extended to Masuru, Shimoga, Kadur and Bhuvana-giri (Kavaledurga) to the east and carried to the sea at Honore, and south as far as Malabar. Being now firmly established, he was able to add fifty per cent to the land revenue throughout the great part of Kanara.

He had a son, whose name was Bhadrappa. Though very young, he was married to the daughter of Venkatādri Nāyaka of Belur, a kinsman of the Vijayanagara emperors. This inter-sect marriage between the two houses seems to have been prompted by reasons of policy. Vijayanagara had fallen and the representatives of the Meshapala dynasty had to retire into insignificance and needed strong support and connection to avoid extinction of all claims to royalty. But the Keladi chiefs, though vassals of the empire, having

escaped the scourge of Talikote, had grown powerful and important though formally at least owing allegiance to the Vijayanagara house. It might have been deemed necessary to cement the friendship of the two houses by blood union so that the Keladi vassalage at least might continue to them and be of some support. The Keladi rulers were Lingayats and the Vijayanagara family is said to have been of the Yādava race. Somehow, all sect-distinction seems to have been abandoned on both sides by long intimacy and friendship. We have seen Dodda Sankanna naming his sons as Rāma Rāja and Venkatappa (Vishnu names) which generally Lingayats do not bear. Besides, it has also been seen that he sojourned for rather a long time at Vijayanagara itself, and there perhaps either copied the manners, etc., of his overlords or tried to commend himself to them by these little acts,—a fact often observed wherever there are feudatories and overlords. Again, Venkatappa seems to have done much to revive the position of Sringeri Mutt, and in one of the inscriptions of Sringeri (No. 5, Mr. Rice's Collections) he is described as "Venkatappa Nayaka, grandson of Sadasiva Nayaka of Keladi, revives Sringeri, etc.," and considering that the Vijayanagara houses also were the creatures of Vidyāranya (who graced the seat of Sankarāchārya at Sringeri) both the houses seem to have cherished the same sort of religious notions and practices. Further, it will be seen that the Keladi rulers performed Vājapeya and other sacrifices, and in respect of spiritual philosophy too both seem to have had the same principles, and Venkatappa in a Koppa inscription (No. 61, *ibid.*) is described as "*Visuddha-vaidika-advaita-siddhānta-pratishthāpaka*, establisher of pure Vedic and Advaita conclusions". It will also be seen that the rulers of Keladi donated both Siva and Vishnu temples, also built some temples for both deities and made land grants to Brahmins and also favoured Jangamas. Whether they were prompted by policy or were without any bigotry or sense of distinction in all this, it is immaterial or the present. It is enough to say that of sectarian leanings

or revulsions there hardly seem to have been any between the two houses. Though in this respect there seemed to be no impediment for a marriage of the sort, yet in like cases tried for the first time there seems to be some strange agency at work if religious scruples too are preserved intact on both sides. Also some sense as of *mea culpa* seems to secretly gnaw the core of the married on both sides and though each submits to the other, it is hardly likely that any passionate attachment would exist between the two. There is seen some sort of miserable indifference and sufferance on both sides. Bhadrappa got a son by that princess. However for no explicable reason he conceived a spirit of non-attachment (*Vairāgya*) though he was very young and was surrounded by all that royalty could present and became an ascetic. The task of bringing up that son who was known as Vīrabhadra devolved on Venkatappa.

The king (we can call the Keladi rulers so now) had a military career as well. While once he sojourned at Holenururu and was unsuspectingly sleeping, one Hanuma Nāyaka with the help of an extensive Muhammadan army under the generalship of Manzar Khan suddenly came and surrounded the walls. The king heard the news and rose, mounted his horse and rode alone out of the town. There he collected what men he could, dashed on the chief enemy, and slew him, and ordered pursuit of his men. Manzar Khan held out longer but only to be defeated and driven back. The king celebrated the victory by planting his flagstaff at Hanegallu. The elder son of Hanumappa sued for peace, offering Lakkuvali, Gaujanuru and Shimoga. The king warmly received his surrendering ally and had him for some time with him in his camp on the Tungabhadra. Hanuma's younger son did not like his brother's action, arrived with a large force and attacked them both. He was, however, overpowered and had to fly and hide himself at Bānāvāra.

The king returned home but was soon called to quell the risings of his enemies at Dānivarā, Kumbesi and other places. Then at Hebbē, Jagara and other places which were his

strongholds, he built strong and impregnable fortresses. Other enemies assuming titles of Maṇḍalikas (rulers of provinces) and Sāmantas (tributary chiefs) gave him trouble. He curbed and subjugated them, and for purposes of protection he built strong fortresses in places infested by them. He had to march against Bhaira Devi, queen of Tulu country. She was mighty and powerful and tyrannically oppressed her people. He captured her, made her a prisoner and annexed all her territories. Next, he had to oppose Sankaranārāyaṇa Bhatta, a Brahman of Bidanur (Venupura, properly Bjdarur) who caused disturbance on the outskirts of Keladi. He deprived him of his power and, recognising that he required no more punishment as loss of honour was complete death to a Brahman, he ordered that whatever enjoyment or food he might ask for should be provided. He then marched on Kauravadurga and, vanquishing the enemies who had occupied it, repaired and strengthened their fortresses. Vanabhudurga shared the same fate and at the top of it he built a series of temples both of Siva and Vishnu. His last work was to espouse the cause of the queen of Olaya against the Bangar Raja who was an ally of the Portuguese, and came into conflict with them. He actually ousted the Bangar Raja, but the Portuguese were content to conclude a treaty with him (1623) and protect their interest in the pepper trade.

Venkatappa was a type of Hindu ruler as pious and generous at home as implacable and fierce in the field. At Sringeri, he built a Mutt for the accommodation of the venerated Swāmi (then Abhinava Narasimha Bhārati), presented an Agrahāra to Brahmins, and it is this that gave him the name of "Sringeri reviver" as already noticed. He built a Mutt for Jangamas also and allotted suitable land grants for their upkeep. He built a fortress at what was formerly called Anantasivapura within the territories of the great emperors, and called it Ānandapura. There in the temple of Tāndavesvara he installed a Sivalinga and built a new temple for the deity Rāmabhadra providing both as usual

with land grants for purposes of worship. He also built there a big Mutt called Champasaras for holy Jangamas. Hitherto, Ikkeri was but a camping place, and under Venkatappa it became a second capital. He built a gorgeous palace there and at Sangola he sank a tank and raised a beautiful park. He built a city called Sadāsivasāgara with a palace and a swimming resort, and another called Visvanāthapura on the Varada. His presents of Agrahāra to the learned were several. He is also said to have performed Vājapeya and other sacrifices. One of the Agrahāras was called Vīramma-Agrahāra in memory of his mother, and another of the same name in honour of his wife who was also named Vīramma. Several other temples and particularly that of Mūkāmba, their tutelary deity, received his full attention in making provision for detailed worship.

An Italian nobleman Pietro Della Valle who had been wandering through Turkey, Egypt, Arabia and Persia accompanied an ambassador to Ikkeri and has left an account of Ikkeri. There was a fine level road from Sāgara to Ikkeri which had a splendid avenue of trees on either side. These are the magnificent *dhūpa* trees which can be seen even to this day. "He (Italian nobleman) travelled alone through the country marching at his pleasure; and as the roads throughout the dominions of Venkatappa were very secure he descended the ghats slowly" (Rice).

He was a patron of learning and literature, and caused several works to be written by the learned,—on poetry, drama, Dharmasāstra and the like. He patronized music and the art of Dance (Nāṭyasāstra) and built a theatre to encourage them. Two events, viz., his son's life and the death of Siddappa, his uncle's son, filled him with feelings of non-attachment (Vairāgya) and brought him an aversion to all mundane enjoyments. He devoted himself to the good of the people in this world and in the next. He began to study Adhyātma philosophy and to listen to Purāṇas. In the Uttara-Khanda (latter part) of the Padma Purāṇa, there is a theme called Śiva-gītā, which like the Bhagavadgītā consists of

eighteen chapters and is said to have been tought to Rāma-chandra by Paramesvara. He got it translated by one Tirumala Bhatta into Kannada Vārdhaka Shātpadis and it is said that that work is printed and published. He seems to have got written by the same author two other works in Sanskrit,

(1) Siva-ashtapadi, and

(2) Tantrasāra, a work on Āgama, on which one Ranganātha Dikshita is said to have written a commentary.

The king, it seems, dreamt of a veterinary doctor one night and one resembling the figure he saw in his dream met him the next day. He caused a work to be written by him.

It is said that one, by name Rāmānujāchārya, a staunch Visishta-advaitin (not the founder of that faith, but some learned scholar of the same name) lived in his court. He was famous far and wide as an exponent of Visishta-advaita and had won many titles and marks of honour. The grammarian Bhattoji Dikshita arrived there on his return from Benares. Bhattoji Dikshita had two grievances against Srīvaishnavas. *First*, a Srīvaishnava author (Ranganātha?) had written a criticism on his work *Manorama* giving it the indecent name of Manorama-kuchamardana, and *secondly*, the same person had heaped insults on the great Appayya Dikshita whom he would refer to by nicknames as Lambakarna, etc. He at once challenged Rāmānujāchārya and prevailed in the controversy that followed and Rāmānujāchārya had to relinquish all his honours, etc., in favour of his adversary. This is said to have taken place in 1578 Srīmukha year. In that case it must have been in the previous reign, or there is some inaccuracy in the attempted chronology itself. The king bestowed on Bhattoji Dikshita the title of *Visishta-vaidika-advaita-siddhānta-sthāpanācharya* besides extending to him other usual marks of honour and court presents.

As he grew old and death seemed near, he installed his grandson Virabhadrapa (Bhadrapa's son) on the throne and placed at his disposal all the grandeur of the State. Besides,

there were Sivappa and Venkatappa, the grandsons of his uncle Chikka Sankanna, and during the reign of Virabhad-rappa, Sivappa had management of all the affairs.

VII. Virabhadrapa Nayaka (1629-1645).

During this reign, there was peace for a long time but the king was suddenly opposed by his cousins who came with large forces. This is possibly due to the fact of his birth by the sort of marriage already referred to. Though reluctant, he had to vanquish them for the safety of the kingdom. Again, Hanuma Nāyaka of Basavāpattana marched unchecked as far as Ikkeri. As he was retiring with booty, he was pressed and defeated, and after a siege Basavapattana fell, when all Hanuma's territories and their belongings were annexed. There was a formidable invasion by Ran-dulha Khan of Bijapur assisted by the Rajas of Sunda and Bilgi and the Chiefs of Tarikere and Banavara, but Virabhadrapa was able to successfully stave it off. He had an able general in Sivappa who subsequently subdued Tuluva Tulava and Bairasa Odeyar of Karkala invading Malayāla and entering Coorg. The king had no children. This and the remorse he felt for the slaughter of kinsmen in war made him despondent and indifferent to worldly affairs. He retired to a life of meditation, installing his cousin Sivappa on the throne.

VIII. Sivappa Nayaka (1645-1660).

Sivappa Nāyaka's rule began next. As it is an eventful career, it is hoped to give it as a sequel to this though as part of Keladi dynasty a brief account of him is given here. His predecessor had removed the capital to Bidanur (Venupura). It is so called because extensive bamboos had grown there which Sivappa Nāyaka caused to be cut and removed; it ought to have been Bidarur: after Hyder Ali captured it he changed its name and called it Hyder-nagara after himself, and it is now known simply as Nagara and Sivappa Nāyaka greatly extended it. He was the most distinguished of the line and his expeditions in Mysore extended to Balam, to Vastara, Sakkarepatna and Hassan. He had a standing army

of forty to fifty thousand and his territories extended from the Tudry river to Kasargod and Nilesvara. Srī Ranga Rāja was a rightful scion of the Vijayanagara Meshapala line. The chieftain of Belur had grown very powerful and was a professed enemy of the Meshapalas. Srī Ranga Rāja fled to Sivappa Nāyaka for refuge in 1646. The Keladi rulers had not forgotten that they owed their all to the Vijayanagara Meshapalas, and Sivappa Nāyaka too, feeling likewise, thought it was his sacred duty to subdue him and restore Belur to its rightful sovereign and to this he was rightly urged by his brother Venkatappa. Accordingly, he marched and took Belur (Velāpura) and captured the enemy there with his unarmed hand (1646). Srī Ranga Rāja heard of this and went to meet Sivappa Nāyaka at Belur alone. He bestowed on Sivappa Nāyaka several titles, an elephant called Ramabana, ear-rings of sapphire and a pearl of immense value, an umbrella of honour called *Jagajjhampa* (literally, world-leap), honours of Sankha and Chakra emblem, and rich dress—all of which Sivappa loyally received at the hands of his overlord, though now a nominal and impoverished overlord. Having secured Belur and also Sakkarepatna for Srī Ranga Rāja, he next attacked Srirangapatna on his behalf, and it is there that he gained the sobriquet of *Ikkeriya Pinda Mysūra Minda*. There were several and frequent conflicts between the Mysoreans and the forces of Bidanur and also several invasions by Bijapur armies, in all of which he came out successful.

Sivappa Nāyaka built an Agrahāra called Sivarājapura after his own name on the banks of the Tungabhadra. He too granted Vrittis to Brahmins and performed Vājapeya sacrifice. He built several fortresses in Kerala, repaired old wells and restored dilapidated temples. He made sufficient arrangements for worshipping deities at important shrines, of Siva and Vishnu from Rāmesvara to Kāsi, and made extensive gifts to Brahmans and fed Jangamas. He introduced a land assessment called *shist* and it is said that he collected extensive treasure when he invaded Kerala. He had over thirty thousand Christian subjects too who were

originally the natives of Goa and Salsette. A Mussalman merchant Shah Bhandari Isak was his favourite and traded in the western coast and at Bidanur. He installed his younger brother Venkatappa on the throne and, entrusting his two sons Bhadrappa and Somasekhara to his care, he became a Yogin.

IX. Venkatappa Nayaka II (1660-1661).

This Venkatappa Nāyaka is called *Kiri* Venkatappa Nāyaka as distinguished from the *Hiri* Venkatappa Nāyaka whose reign is described above. This was a short reign marked by justice and piety. He encouraged Lingayats and Vaishnavas alike. When his nephew Bhadrappa grew competent to rule, he installed him on the throne and went into retirement.

X. Bhadrappa Nayaka (1661-1663).

Bhadrappa Nāyaka who ascended the throne next had the reputation of being just and generous. A chief on the eastern frontier rose in rebellion and occupied some fortresses on the border. He removed the fortresses, drew back the enemy and also took Sīrya. Similar disturbances arose on the western frontier too and when the king marched, the rebel chief surrendered and true to his renown Bhadrappa allowed him his territories intact. When he was thus engaged, Bijapur armies are said to have taken Bidanur and besieged Bhuvana-giri. But, with his return, they were overawed and peace was eventually concluded. The rebel chief on the western frontier, smarting under a sense of humiliation, intended to try a chance again and applied to Bijapur for help. But Bijapur had many a lesson at the hands of Keladi rulers and, being refused help, he had to rest satisfied with the treaty concluded.

The other notable acts of Bhadrappa are those relating to piety and munificence. He made Hiranyagarbhadāna (gift of a dummy of sesamum cake filled with gold in the interior) at Tirtharajapura, and Tilapurushadāna (gift of one's own weight of gold) at Rāmachandrapura on the banks of the Sarasvati. He built there three Agrahāras,—one Sivarājapura

to commemorate the memory of his father, a second Venkata-pura to the memory of his uncle, and a third Bhadrarājapura in honour of himself and provided them all with suitable land grants. He also arranged for special worship of Sri Krishna (at Udipi), of Guha (at Subrahmanya), of Kotisvara (at Sankaranārāyana), and of Mūkāmba. He also built Mutts for Jangamas with land grants attached thereto.

XI. Somasekhara Nāyaka I (1663-1671).

Bhadrappa was followed by Somasekhara Nāyaka on the throne. Somasekhara had extensive renown in the art of wielding various weapons. His rule was one of peace except for one event that Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta empire, made a sudden descent on the coast of Kanara, sacked Barcelore or Kundāpur and sailed back to Gokarna levying contributions on the rich mercantile tracts (the English factory at Kanara paid 112 pounds). It was a misfortune that Somasekhara went mad and committed great enormities. He is said to have ripped up pregnant women with his own hands and found gratification in seizing every beautiful girl he met. He is said to have been assassinated by a Brahman Somayya, who in turn shared the same fate at the hands of the Lingayats, in revenge for having killed their king. He is known as *Huchcha*, lunatic and his effigy is represented at the Aghoresvara temple as manacled and fettered as already noticed. Nevertheless Channamma, his able consort, maintained order throughout the kingdom and it is due to her wisdom that there was prosperity everywhere. Basavappa Nāyaka or Basarāja was the son, some say adopted son, of Somasekhara Nāyaka.

XII. Channamma (1671-1679).

Channamma herself ruled, as Basavappa was young. Apparently, there was no other male descendant of the royal line. Though Somayya would otherwise have won the respect and gratitude of Lingayats for ridding them of a monster, it is said that Lingayats murdered him for the sole reason that he killed the last male of the royal line who professed

their faith. Channamma, however, ruled with ability and strict adherence to duty, statecraft and reputation. Seeing there was a woman at the head of affairs in Keladi, the neighbouring chiefs began to open predatory campaigns on the frontiers and occupied several fortresses. She quickly sent armies to quell them and their elephants and horses and valuable ornaments were all taken away. Thenceforward, she took care that the frontier chiefs were all kept under control.

The most notable event of the reign was the defeat of the Mughal army headed by Aurangzeb in person. They pursued Rāmarāja (Rājārām), son of Sivaji, and in evading and flying from them he arrived a fugitive in Keladi. Channamma treated this refugee with kindness and due respect, and promised him protection. Aurangzeb was furious at this and sent her an ultimatum to surrender Rājārām at once, failing which, he threatened, his powerful forces would overrun and annex Keladi. Great was his chagrin to hear that, undaunted, the heroic queen refused to surrender Rājārām and repulsed his threat with contempt. War ensued, and for the first time in the history of the Great Mughal, his army, which had succeeded in reducing to subjection the proudest princes of Rajaputana, was utterly routed and fled back with great loss : it was a cup of deepest humiliation to Aurangzeb that it should have been so by the armies of a petty kingdom ruled over by a woman. Channamma's fame as the vanquisher of Aurangzeb spread far and wide and will descend to posterity.

She built an Agrahāra known as Channammāgrahara after her own name. Her forces took Basavapatna and she fortified Harikere which she named Channagiri after her own name. She also granted Vrittis to Brahmans and built Mutts for Jangamas. She is said to have once fed 196,000 Lingayats.

It is not easy to estimate her character especially as she had a mad husband who was eventually assassinated and (if the account that Basavappa was an adopted son be true) had no child of her own and nevertheless was able to keep clear of the troublous elements and maintain the dignity of her

State even against Aurangzeb. However, the following which are alleged to be her last words to Basavappa would give a key to it:—"Do not change the words you once utter and do not neglect your duty anywhere. Take care you ever talk sweet words and disclose not your heart to a dissembling knave. Tread not an unworthy path and make no difference among kinsfolk. Avoid acts of sin, practise noble deeds, and meditate upon the feet of the Almighty. Show mercy to living beings and shield those that seek refuge. Do not speak revilingly of others, and do not move in the world without self-restraint. Overcome the defects of lust and the like and loathe the cycle of births and deaths. Leave fear in adversity and shun haughtiness in prosperity. Ponder over the basic principle of truth and realize the esoteric Advaita. Miss not an opportunity and honour those proficient in the Vedic lore. Regard life as but a dream and reflect on the question, 'Who am I?' Laugh without making yourself laughable and speak words unsurpassed. Live as an object of people's praise and resort to the path that knows no return. Propitiate Siva in various ways and enjoy eternal bliss, and take care you do not forget this at any time." Noble words indeed of a heroic queen!

XIII. Basavappa Nayaka or Basavaraja (1679-1714).

Basavappa was the next ruler. His acts of liberality and mercy were manifold. All ascetics, irrespective of their sect, were provided with an umbrella and a blanket, and wayfarers were fed at the *dasahoras*. At nightfall, men were sent into the streets with cooked rice for wanderers and milk and butter (*halu-benne*) for children. All orphans and the helpless were picked up and maintained in due manner. He did not forget that his father was murdered and as a public atonement for it he imposed an extra assessment of 1/160 of the standard rent and the amount realized thereby was spent in erecting *Celtras* (Inns) for feeding pilgrims. Like his ancestors, he too had no bigotry of any sort and favoured alike Jogis, Jangamas, Paramahamsas and Fakirs. But one account is connected with his name and that is, he is said

to have imported two Brahman boys from Parasurāmakshetra (possibly Mangalore) and got them converted to Lingayatism. They were then given the names of Shadakshari and Panchākshari. He maintained and gave them good education and they in time became the famous ministers of the State. It may incidentally be noted here that the Keladi family buried their dead bodies and often queens chose to be buried alive with their lords as self-immolation (*Sahagamana*).

Basavappa Nāyaka was a patron of literature and caused the following works to be composed or compiled under his name, *viz.* :—

(1) *Sivatattva-ratnakara*, a work of an encyclopædic kind, and (2) *Suradruma*, both of which are in Sanskrit, and (3) *Sūkti-sudhākara* which is partly in Kannada and partly in Sanskrit.

His patronage for learning was so extensive that he was styled “Sūri-nikara-kalpadruma”, a wish-yielding tree of the group of poets (or the learned).

XIV. Somasekhara Nayaka II (1714-1739).

Somasekhara Nāyaka who succeeded him seems to have attacked and taken Sira and Ajjampur.

XV. Basavappa Nayaka II (1739-1754).

Basavappa Nāyaka II was the nephew of Somasekhara Nāyaka II (his father's name being Virabhadrappa). He was a wise ruler and is distinguished as “Buddhi” (‘wise’,—some say, Būdi, white ashes, possibly because of his excessive love for sacred white ashes). General prosperity seems to have reigned everywhere during his rule and Bidanur was called “the granary of India”. The following passage might be quoted in full as of interest :—“The Bednore prince is much more magnificent and powerful than those of Malabar. His kingdom produces many peculiar commodities such as sandalwood, which is found there in great abundance as well as rice...The city (Bidanur) where the Rāja holds his court lies some leagues inland and is connected with the sea-port by a fine road

planted with trees which the inhabitants are obliged to keep in excellent order. The road is so secure that any stranger might go and sleep with his bags full of money and nobody would molest or rob him. For if such a thing occurred the people in the neighbourhood would not only be punished but would be forced to make good the money." (Jacobus Canter Visscher, cited in the *Mysore Gazetteer* (1897), Vol. II, p. 435.)

These were the days when we hear of Chanda Sahib in connection with the troubles in Karnataka. In 1748 Bidanur was at war with Chitaldroog. Chitaldroog was completely defeated and, in a hand to hand fight on elephant's back, Somasekhara Nāyaka and Madakeri Nāyaka of Chitaldroog met, and the latter was slain after a very-hotly-contested combat. Chanda Sahib himself became a prisoner and his son was killed. He was being taken to Bidanur. But informing his Mussalman guards of his prospects, he escaped with them to the French instead. In 1751, the chief of the English factory at Telicheri concluded a treaty with the king to safeguard their interests.

XVI. Channa Basappa Nayaka (1754).

Channa Basappa Nāyaka was the adopted son of Basavappa Nāyaka II. His reign was nominal, for he remonstrated with his adoptive mother for her amours which had become a public scandal and for that reason he was soon put out of the way by a Jetti (athlete) who dislocated his neck in the bath.

XVII. Viramma (1754-1757).

This was the mother of the murdered Channa Basappa Nāyaka and she succeeded in her own name as his adoptive mother and adopted another son whose name was Somasekhara.

XVIII. Somasekhara III (1757-1763).

The two reigns may be considered together. Viramma was a notorious character and the heroism of the Keladi house departed with Somasekhara Nāyaka II. At the time, there was an invasion of the Mahrattas which threatened the country and the foolish queen had to impose 50 % additional tax to buy

them off. This completely estranged the sympathy of the people to the royal house and her adopted son was unable to control the hostile elements. The advisers of the State including the prime minister were kept in prison ; there was chaos everywhere ; and the time was ripe for the fall of the Keladi house.

By this time, Hyder Ali appeared on the scene and was extending his conquests everywhere. He finished his conquest of Chitaldroog in 1763 and the conquered chief of Chitaldroog introduced to him a pretender who professed to be the prince Channa Basappa who was thought to have been murdered. The crafty Hyder knew how to make use of the opportunity and marched on Bidanur ostensibly to restore him to his rightful throne but in fact to serve his own ambitious designs. The queen tried to get back the imprisoned minister by offer of money which was raised as Hyder approached the capital, but it was too late. Hyder secured the minister's aid and by a secret path revealed by him entered the city and captured it (1763). All hope being gone the queen, her paramour and her adopted son fled to Belladurga leaving orders to set fire to the palace. But Hyder extinguished the flames and, scaling up the houses, acquired a booty estimated at twelve million sterling. All the three were seized and sent to Maddagiri together with even the pretender whose cause Hyder had ostensibly espoused. They were liberated when the Mahrattas took Maddagiri. Viramma died on the way to Poona and Somasekhara ended his days there unmarried.

THE LIFE AND WORK OF KESIRĀJA.

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA ARTHASASTRA VISHARĀḌA

DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY, B.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S.

STUDENTS of Kanarese language and literature are quite familiar with the name of Kesirāja. They know that he is the author of *Sabdamanidarpana*, a well-known work on Kanarese grammar. Beyond that they know very little. Their ignorance of such matters is not due so much to their lack of desire for such information as to the absence of biographical works. Want of political, literary or religious histories of India has wrought such a havoc that in the matter of "who is who" our information is either legendary or incomplete. The result is either plagiarism or robbing Peter and paying Paul, either intentionally or ignorantly. The attribution of *Gadāyuddha* (a Kanarese literary work of a Brāhman poet called Ranna) to a Jaina poet of the same name is an instance in point, as shown by Mr. Srinivāsa Rangāchār (the distinguished Sanskrit and Kannada Pandit of the Training College, Mysore) in the pages of the *Mythic Journal*. The same research scholar has now unearthed a second instance of robbing an author of his credit and paying it to another, no matter whether the latter was in existence or not. In the former case, there was however a Jaina poet of the same name and of no less charming poetical capacity. But in the second case which has a bearing on the authorship of the *Sabdamanidarpana* the author, though a Brāhman, was somehow or other allowed to pass for a Jaina.

Before proceeding with the reasons marshalled by Mr. Srinivāsa Rangāchār to prove his case, it must be stated that this investigation is entirely free from religious or sectarian bias. The Sanskrit and Kanarese literary world is quite aware that neither the Jainas nor the Brāhmanas are in need of acquiring glory by such false ascriptions. Scholars of both the communities have established their reputation for

learning and admirable authorship by producing works, the genuineness of which is beyond question. Mr. Srinivāsa Rangāchār confesses that his attempt is only to find out the truth and not at all any partiality towards the Brāhmanic sect or hatred of Jaina scholarship. If he fails in his attempt, he will be all the more pleased, because it will end in settling the question once for all. Besides, he says that he is not the first to enter into the field. On pp. 128-149 of his "Thoughts on the Life and Time of Some Poets" (*Keluvu Kavigala Jivana Kāla Vichāra*) Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah, M.A., Ph.D., has discussed the question at some length and come to the conclusion that Kesirāja, the author of the *Sabdamanidarpana*, is not a Jaina but a Brāhman. Rao Bahadur Prāktanavimarsavichakshana R. Narasimhāchār holds the opposite view and has questioned the conclusions of the Doctor. The latter gave a reply and published it in his work. Mr. Srinivāsa Rangāchār's attempt is to add to the reasons of the Doctor.

To begin with, the author of the *Sabdamanidarpana* gives very little hint as to his genealogy, religion, etc. In the colophon of his work, he says that the *Sabdamanidarpana* composed by Kesirāja, professor (*Āchārya*) of Kannada language and literature and its merits, is, as it were, a magnetic needle to the iron nails of doubts clinging to the heart of Kannada grammarians. Nor is any one of his other works mentioned by him in the grammar yet discovered. His other works are: (1) *Chōlabhūpālacharita*, (2) *Subhadrāharana*, (3) *Prabōdhachandra*. Dr. Venkatasubbiah is, however, of opinion that they are of Brāhmanic culture. To say anything decisively of their contents without seeing the works is to paint a wall without it.

It is equally far from convincing to say that his Vedic quotations point to his faith in the Vedas. Besides, he has also quoted from Jaina literature.

But his description of Sarasvati, the Goddess of Speech, as conceived by the Brāhmins, and with no mention of the same Goddess, as conceived by the Jainas, is a proof that he

was a Brāhman. Speaking of the Goddess in the introductory verse of the grammar as "possessed of pure body" (*nirmalācruti*) he gives to her a corporate existence, while according to the Jainas she is merely an abstract conception. This is made clear by Pampa in the ninth verse of the first canto of his *Ādipurāna*. There he says—"Different is the Goddess who presides over the speech of the great Jinendra. The same Goddess, having taken a feminine form, bestows on millions of Her devotees who contemplating on Her read, hear, and worship with deep devotion. I bow to Her. May She endow us with power and capacity of speech." Still clearer is the distinction drawn by Āndayya, the author of *Kabbigara Kāva*, between the Brāhman and Jaina conceptions of Sarasvati. The former he describes as the consort of Brahma, the Creator, and the latter he describes in the second verse of his *Kāva* as "the fountain of knowledge, nursery of beauty, the goal of magnificence, the abode of love, the boundary of knowledge, the source of greatness, and the chief object of praise; and he prays to such Sarasvati for the successful execution of his proposed *Kāva*." Likewise, Bhattākālanka describes Sarasvati "as the embodiment of all kinds of speeches proceeding out from the lotus-like mouth of the Vardhamāna" (first verse of the *Sabdānusāsana*). As Kesava or Kesirāja explicitly refers to the corporate form of Sarasvati as distinguished from the incorporate form of the Goddess of the Jainas, and as he makes no mention of the same as conceived by the Jainas, it follows that he was not a Jaina.

(2) It is true that like the Jainas, the author regards sound and speech as a kind of matter, white in colour, and gives expression to it in *Sabd.* 1, 9. In his commentary on this verse Nittūr Sanjīvayya speaks of it as a Jaina conception and implies thereby that the author was a Jaina. But mention of this theory in the work cannot be taken as a proof that the author was a Jaina. For, there are many philosophic schools among Brāhmins who have expounded and accepted the same theory. In his *Nyāsiddhānjana* (p. 143) Vedānta

Desika describes spoken letters having various colours—red, yellow, white—and Bhattōjīdikshita holds the same view in his *Kaustubha* (p. 8). In his *Sabdendusekhara* Nāgojīdikshita holds the same theory (*vide* p. 17). Rangarāmānuja, one of the ancestors of Mr. Srinivāsa Rāgāchār, has stated in his *Pratitantraprakriyā* that as sound is found to destroy wall and other material objects, it should be regarded as material. Moreover, the Sphota-vāda of Brāhman grammarians is based on this theory. Hence, it is no proof of the author being a Jaina.

• (3) Again Kesirāja cannot be a Jaina for the reason that, following the view of Brāhman grammarians, he says in *Sabda*. 1, 10 that the attainment of *Mukti*, emancipation, is dependent on the study of language, as stated in *Harikarikas* :—

Sabdamanidarpana :—

Vyākaranadindepadamāvyākaranada padadinārtha marthādi
tatvalokam |

Tatvalokādīnākānkshipa muktīyakkumadebudharge phalam. |

[From grammar one knows the formation of words and their meaning. From the knowledge of word-meaning one understands the nature of Tatvas (the 25 Tatvas). From the knowledge of the Tatvas one attains *Mukti*.]

Harikarikas :—

Arthapravrittītatvānām sabda eva nibandhanam |

Tatvāvabodhassabdānām nāsti vyākaranādrite |

Tadvāramapavargasya vagmālanam chikitsitam |

Pavitram sarvavidyānāmadhividyam prakāśate |

(Right meaning of words is dependent on the correct form of words. Correct formation of words is dependent on grammatical knowledge. Hence through grammar, which cleanses speech of all its impurities, there comes the knowledge of the sacred texts which is the cause of apavarga, *Mukti*.)

(4) Again Kesava cannot be a Jaina inasmuch as he lays claim (*Sabda*. 6, 38) to the knowledge of the Vedas and the Sāstras which are Brāhmanic, as evidenced by the names themselves. The verse runs as follows :—

Kavitāpraudhiyolabjasambhavane kartāram kriyākausalam,
 Stavanīyam tadadhīnavādakhilāśāstrāmnāyamam kūḍo,
 Ballavarillennadirorvanimdabhinavabrahmam gadembarte
 Tōruvanātmīyavāchōvichitrataravidyāvēśavam kesavam.

"In poetic art Brahma, the Creator alone, is an efficient doer, possessed of dexterity, and therefore worthy of all praise; there is none who can have pretension to the knowledge of the Vedas (Āmnāya) and Śāstras, which depend upon Brahma for their very existence. Do not say thus, for poet Kesava shows himself like a new Brahma and is an abode haunted by all kinds of literary and other knowledge." The word Āmnāya in the above verse as elsewhere means the Vedas. No such names as Āmnāya, Veda, and Śruti are given by the Jainas to their sacred literature. Śāstra, however, is a word used to denote by the Brāhmins and the Jainas alike their respective mandatory religious writings. The revealed texts of the Jainas are called Āgamas and Sruti and those of the Brāhmins Āmnāya, Veda and Sruti. Hence, it unquestionably follows that in virtue of his study, knowledge of, and devotion to, the Vedas Kesava must be a Brāhman of Brāhmins and none but a Brāhman. The Vedas are regarded by the Jainas and followers of other religions as a mass of writing of no acceptable authority and deserving of no study. (*Vide Prameyakamalamārtānda*, p. 112 of Prabhāchandra, famous Jaina scholar.)

(5) To illustrate the application of his grammatical rules, Kesava makes quotations from the Vedas as one who is thoroughly familiar with them.

(6) Unlike Bhaṭṭākalanka who shows no respect to Pānini and in his commentary on the *Sabdānusāsana*, a Kanarese grammar in Sanskrit, criticises Pānini rather dogmatically than with any cogent reasoning, Kesava respectfully and strictly follows Pānini. (*Vide Sabdānusāsana: Sūtra*, "Avadhau apaye".)

(7) In his "Lives of Some Kanarese Poets," (*Kelavi Kavigala Jivita Kāla Vichāra*, p. 189) Dr. Venkatasubbiah says that Kesirāja, Mallikārjuna, his father, Kavi Sumanobāna, his

maternal grandfather, were all Smārtha Brāhmins of the Kamme sect. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhāchār says in his *Kavi-Charite* that Kesava was a Jaina. This opinion is perhaps due to the meaning (according to him) of a verse of Janna's *Anantanāthapurāna*. The verses connected with the genealogy of Kesava and Janna are as follows:—

Kavisumanobānana yādavakatakāchāryanaseva dauhitranenām,
Kavikesavanem yogipravarachidānandamallikārjunasutanem.

(*Sabda*. 1, 2.)

Sankaraputram kavikammevamsanadhikagnam kāsyapam,
Sankarāsuddhāntanganāgangegenudayam geydano kasyapod-
bhava karam sāhityaratnākaram.—(*Anantanāthapurāna*.)

Bhālalochanam kavisumanobānana maganendakhila kshonige
pesarāytu.—(*Yasodharacharita*.)

Jannangupādhyāyanindunrisimhakshitipālanalli katakopādhyā-
yanāremba sūktinavinōjjvalabānanappa sumanobānam kavi-
sreshtharol.—(*Anantanāthapurāna*.)

I, the son of the daughter of the poet Sumanobāna, professor of military art of the army of the Yādava kings, the Hoysalas; I, Kavi Kesava by name, am the son of Chidānandamallikārjuna who is the best among Yogis.

I (Janna) am the son of Sankara of the Kamme sect and of great knowledge, and of Kasyapa-gotra; and am born of Gange, the wife of Śankara, and am an ocean of literary knowledge.

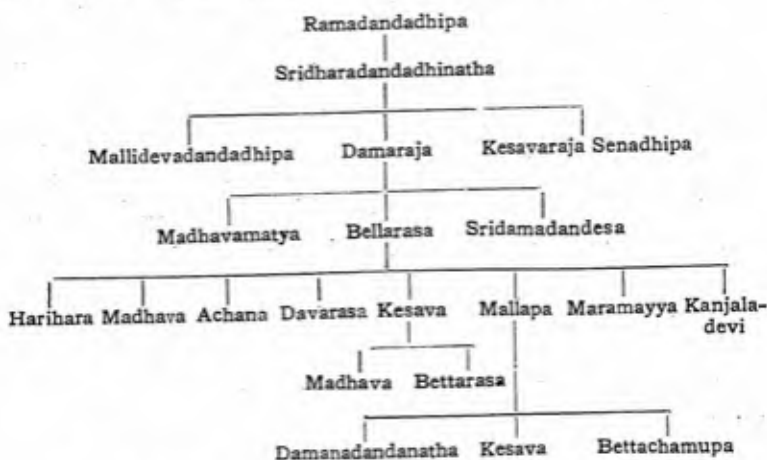
That Bhālalochana, that is, Janna, is the son of Kavi Sumanobāna, is (another) world-wide name.

Janna's teacher and professor of military art in the army of the (Hoysala) king Nrisimha is Kavi Sumanobāna whose wise sayings are like brilliant arrows and who is the best among poets.

From the above verses, it is clear that Kavi Kesava or Kesi-rāja was the son of Chidānandamallikārjuna and maternal grandson of Kavi Sumanobāna, who was the teacher of Janna, the son of Sankara, a Brāhman of the Kamme sect. In accordance with the Hindu custom of a teacher looking upon his faithful student as his own son, Janna, the student of Sumanobāna,

was also called the son of Sumanobāna. Thus though his father and teacher were Brāhmins, Janna seems to have become a Jaina, as shown by his writings. So far as Kesava is concerned, there can be no doubt that he was as much a Brāhman as his father whose Brāhmanical religion is evident from his Sannyāsa title "Chidānanda", knowledge and bliss, which characterise Brāhmanical Brahma.

(8) The most conclusive proof of Kesava or Kesirāja being a Brāhman is furnished by the inscription found on the left wall of the Īsvara temple in Belguli in the Taluk of Chennarayapatna, Hassan District (H. 244). According to the inscription, the genealogy of Kesava is as follows :—



From the inscription, it is clearly known that Kesava was known by such names as Kesavadandanātha, Kesavachamupa, Vīra-Ballala's Mantrimandanaśiromani and Kesirāja.

In inscription No. 242 found on the east side of the same temple, Kesava is praised as "punyāśrayavirpantirdapam srisrutivihitapurāṇoktamargakke", a meritorious shelter for the religious path chalked out in the Vedas and the Purāṇas. The inscription is dated 1252 A.D. For want of space, the inscription is not copied here. It is probable that the Kesava Dandanāyaka of the Chālukya king, Satyāśraya who is said

to have revised the *Gadāyuddha* of Ranna, is connected with the family of our Kesirāja. One important fact that deserves notice here is the brilliant part played by Brāhmins as generals of the armies of the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas. The inscriptions speak of the brilliant success they have achieved in various battlefields and of the title of Rāja conferred on many of them.

It is very well known that Mallikārjuna, Kesirāja's father, wrote his *Sūktisudhārnava* for the entertainment of the Hoysala king, Virasomesvara. Thus a number of the Brāhmins in the time of the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas were not merely unrivalled scholars both in Sanskrit and Kanarese, but also brave generals famous for their victories in many battlefields. Their monumental literary works are even to-day our every-day text-books. As regards their warlike spirit and bravery, the following verse of the inscription referred to above speaks for itself:—

Mālavadandanāthagajakesari cholachamupasailadambholi
varalasainyapatisagarabadatīvravahni nepālabalessanjavana-
kunjaranembudu dhātri vīraballālana mantrimandanaśiromani
kesavadandanāthanam.

Kesirāja's kinsmen are thus extolled in another Kannada verse:—

Ballālanripanarājyadolellarolavaradhikapunyanupamaśauryar
Kalladavidyeyumavargalgelladaripubalamumillabhūmandaladol

Into what a condition the modern Brāhmins have fallen from the high summit of glory of the Brāhmins of the Chālukya and Hoysala times! Would they look back and advance forward?

To sum up, like his ancestors, Kesirāja was a Brāhman scholar learned in the Vedas, Sāstras, and Kannada literature. He was not merely a pious religious scholar but a brave general of the Hoysala army famous for his victories. In recognition of his civil and military services, he won the title of a Rāja. As a literary man, he composed the *Sabdamanidarpana*, the best grammar of the Kannada language.

To say that he was a Jaina scholar well versed in Jaina secular and religious literature is inconsistent with the military profession which as a Dandanātha he exercised. The combination of religious and military knowledge and functions in one man is against the history of the Jainas. Moreover, the Belaguli inscription says in clear terms that Kesirāja followed the path chalked out in the Vedas and the Purāṇas.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. XXXV.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On an Ao Naga Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the
Cock's Crowing before Sunrise.]

THE red jungle-fowl (*Gallus ferrugineus* Blyth) is clearly the ancestor from which the domestic fowls are descended.

The domestic fowl is well known for its habit of crowing before sunrise. It, in fact, heralds the approach of the dawn. It is for this reason that Shakespeare has called it "*the bird of dawning*". In his "*Elegy written in a Country Church-yard*", Gray has referred to the aforementioned habit of the domesticated cock in the following stanza :—

"The breezy call of incense-breathing morn,
The swallow twittering from its straw-built shed,
The cock's shrill clarion and the echoing horn
No more shall rouse them from their lowly bed."

The Ao Nagas are a tribe of the Naga race. They live in that part of the Naga Hills, which is bounded by the Dikhu river on the south-east, the edge of the plains on the north-west, the Konyakas on the north-east and the Semas and the Lhotas on the south-west. These Ao Nagas must also have been struck by the domestic cock's habit of crowing before sunrise and, thereby, heralding the approach of dawn.

They narrate the following myth to account for the origin of this habit of the cock :—

Once upon a time, all mankind complained of the sun's heat. This displeased the sun very much, as he did not like that men should talk about him in such a disrespectful way. He, therefore, set in the evening as usual and refused to rise in the morning. The earth was, in consequence thereof, enveloped in darkness; and all men were in great distress and despair. Deputations were sent by men, beasts and birds to

the sun for entreating him to come out ; but their solicitations were to no purpose. The sun refused to listen to their prayers and entreaties. At last, they besought the cock to go to the sun and persuade him to come out and shed his rays upon the earth again. The cock agreed to do so. But he very reluctantly started on his journey, as he was afraid of a jungle-cat who, he feared, would eat him up on the way. He, however, reached the sun and tried to induce him to come out, saying : " You have six doors to come through for your rising every morning. As you will open each door, I shall crow so that all men may know that you are coming." But, in spite of this cajoling, the sun very sternly refused to come out. At last, the cock said : " I have come so far to see you. You must, at least, promise to do this much for me. If I am attacked by a jungle-cat on my way back, I will crow ; and you must come to my rescue." To this the sun agreed ; and the cock went back on his way. When he had gone a short distance, he crowed though there was no jungle-cat anywhere in the neighbourhood. Hearing the cock's crowing, the sun, in fulfilment of his promise, came out from the underworld to help him. It is for this reason that the sun rises every morning when the cock crows.*

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that—

(1) The cock got the better of the sun by practising a fraud upon him.

(2) But this fraudulent act of the cock is justifiable on the ground that it was done for the good of all mankind.

(3) Even in the great Indian epic the *Mahābhārata*, a fraudulent act of this kind has been justified. The great Kaurava hero Dronāchārya was performing prodigies of valour. His opponents—the five Pāndava brothers—found no possibility of vanquishing him except by fraud. As Drona had said that he would be vanquished only when he would be stricken with a great sorrow, the eldest Pāndava prince

* *Vide The Ao Nagas.* By J. P. Mills, M.A., I.C.S. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1926. Page 314.

Yudhishtira falsely informed the former that his son Ashvatthāma was dead, adding, in an inaudible undertone, the words "Ashvatthāma the elephant". On hearing the first portion of Yudhishtira's assertion, Dronāchārya was stricken with great sorrow and was easily killed by a Pāndava warrior. By means of this justifiable fraudulent act done by Yudhishtira, the whole plot, which had been concocted by Sri Krishna, of destroying the Kauravas, was carried out.

As regards the parallels of the aforementioned Ao Naga myth, Mr. J. H. Hutton, in a note to the foregoing story, says: "The Santals have the same story. (Macphail, *The Story of the Santal*, page 20.) In the Thado legend, the sun was recalled after the Thimzing, when the world was engulfed by a cataclysm of fire, flood and a great darkness by a white cock which, as far as I remember, danced on a flat stone."

So far as my own knowledge goes, the central idea contained in the foregoing Ao Naga myth, with this much difference only, namely that the place of the cock has been taken by the planet moon, is also embodied in the under-mentioned Bengali nursery rhyme:—

Text (in Devanagari script) of the Bengali Nursery Rhyme.

- ১ চন্দ্র গেলেন্ সূর্যের বাড়ী,
- ২ বেসনে দিলেন্ चौकी-পিঁড়ি ।
- ৩ বেস্ব না আর বিড়িতে ;
- ৪ মানুষ মরে ভানে,
- ৫ গরু মরে ঘামে,
- ৬ তাই, গুসেছি তোমার বাসে—
- ৭ আমার কথাটি যেন থাকে,
- ৮ কালকের রৌদ্রে যেন বসুমতী ফাট!

English Translation.

1. The Sun, having, for some reason or other, become angry and refused to rise and shed his beams upon the earth, the (planet) Moon went to the Sun's house (for the purpose of coaxing and cajoling the latter to rise).

2. (On the Moon's arrival there), the Sun offered him a wooden plank-seat to sit upon.

3, 4, 5 and 6. (But the Moon refused to take his seat thereupon, saying:) "I shall not sit upon the plank-seat, (because) men are dying for (want of) rice (and) kine are dying for (want of) grass."

8, 9 and 10. (The Moon further said): "It is for this reason that (I) have come to your house. So be good enough to carry out the request that I am making to you, (namely), that (you should rise to-morrow and shine brilliantly so that) the earth may get heated by to-morrow's sunshine."

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS.

No. XIII.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Modern Indian Ætiological Myth about the
Evolution of the Tobacco Plant.]

THE tobacco plant (*Nicotiana rustica* and *N. tabacum*) was introduced into India about the year 1605 A.D. and is now cultivated all over this country and largely used in the same way as in other countries. It is smoked in the pipe, chewed alone or with the betel-leaf, or taken as snuff. Smoking in a pipe made of cocoanut-shell or of metal is, however, practised universally. Tobacco thus smoked is called *gurāku* and is prepared by mixing pounded tobacco-leaf with unrefined sugar and fragrant substances like patchouli leaf and otto of roses.

Its Bengali name is *Tāmāk*; in Hindi, it is called *Tāmāku*, and in Burmese *Tsha*. As this plant has been recently introduced into this country, there is no name for it in Sanskrit.

The undermentioned myth about the evolution of the tobacco plant is current in some parts of India:—

Once upon a time, there lived and died a young lady whom no one wanted to marry. Among the Hindus, it is considered highly disgraceful for a girl to remain unmarried. It is further narrated that, on account of the fact that nobody wanted to woo and wed her, she died of a broken heart. It is stated that the benign gods felt great compassion for her sorrowful end. They decided that, as no one wanted to marry her while she was living, they should arrange matters in such a way that everybody should ask for her, now that she was dead. Having come to this conclusion, they metamorphosed her ashes into the tobacco plant. Ever since then, men have come from far and near for its leaves. In this way, it

came to pass that one, who had been neglected while she was living, was wanted by all men after death.*

[It is to be regretted that the authoress Śrīmatī Sovanā Devī has not stated in what part of India the foregoing myth is current. Should any reader of this *Journal* be aware of the locality in which it is current, he will greatly oblige the author of this paper by communicating the information for publication in the pages of this *Journal*.]

From the study of the foregoing myth, we find that:—

(1) It is considered a great disgrace among the Hindus for a girl to remain unmarried.

(2) The benign gods felt compassion for the unfortunate girl who died of a broken heart at her disgraceful condition.

(3) The gods gave expression to their appreciation of her by metamorphosing her into the tobacco plant.

(4) They also indirectly punished all mankind by obliging them to make ample amends for their neglect of her while she was living by compelling them to seek for her after she was dead and gone.

(5) In a myth from Sylhet, it is stated that the benign gods took pity on a girl who died of grief on the death of her brother and metamorphosed her into the Indian cuckoo or the Jack-fruit bird. Similarly in Greek mythology it is narrated that the gods changed the girl Philomela into "the light-winged Dryad of the trees"—the nightingale.†

(6) In Greek mythology, there are recorded instances of the benign gods having metamorphosed men and women into trees, out of pity for their distressed condition or as a reward for the genial and lavish hospitality with which the latter had entertained the former while travelling upon this mundane world.

**Vide Indian Nature Myths*. By Sovanā Devī. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1919. Pages 38-39.

† *Vide* my article entitled, "On a Bird-Myth from the District of Sylhet in Eastern Bengal" in this *Journal*, Vol. XIII, pages 665-669.

Take for instance the case of Daphne. She was the daughter of the river-god Peneus and was loved by Apollo while he was living in exile upon the earth. On one occasion, while Apollo was pursuing Daphne on the banks of the river Peneus, she piteously appealed for help to the gods who, feeling compassion for her in her distressed condition, metamorphosed her into the laurel tree.

Then again, there is the case of Philemon and Baucis. Philemon was a poor man of Phrygia and lived with his wife Baucis in a hut. While Jupiter and Mercury were travelling upon this mundane world, they took shelter in the hut of the aforementioned poor couple who entertained them very hospitably during their stay with them. As a reward for their genial hospitality and kindly treatment of them, the gods transformed their hut into a magnificent shrine dedicated to themselves and appointed their host and hostess to be their own priest and priestess. Here the poor couple lived happily. After their death, Jupiter and Mercury metamorphosed them into two trees which grew before the doorway of the aforementioned shrine.

The decision of the gods was quite right, for all people, at the present day, are fond of smoking and find solace in the pipe or the *hookah*, so much so that Lord Byron has sung its praises in the two following passages of his poems :—

- (i) "Sublime tobacco! which from East to West
Cheers the tar's labour or the Turkman's rest."
[*The Island*, Canto ii, St. 19.]

- (ii) "Divine in hook as glorious in a pipe,
When tipped with amber, mellow, rich and ripe;
Like other charmers, wooing the caress,
More dazzlingly when daring in full dress;
Yet thy true lovers more admire by far,
Thy naked beauties—Give me a Cigar!"
[*Ibid.*, Canto ii, St. 19.]
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REVIEWS.

Mahabharata.

CRITICAL EDITION.

(Published by the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.)

THE succeeding fascicles which have been issued under the able editorship of Dr. Sukthankar and his learned coadjutors have fully justified the expectations of the enlightened. The management have accomplished so far what they set out to achieve, *viz.*, a scientific and purified edition of the great Indian epic, the *Mahabharata*. The established text, which is a distinct contribution to the philological history of the epics of India and an addition to the glory of Indian scholarship, has been the result of a patient weighing of discordant readings and a dispassionate estimation of their relative value.

The get-up and illustrations are excellent and the parts are issuing in quick succession, considering the trouble involved in the publication.

We echo the appeal, made by the publishers and already referred to in the Journal (Vol. XIX, p. 238), that liberal donations will be forthcoming in support of this undertaking of international importance.

K. N.

Archaeological Report of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions for 1927-28 A.C.

EACH succeeding year, the annual report of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. The Nizam's Dominions, becomes more and more interesting and with the publications of the Hyderabad Archaeological Series and of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society reveal a mine of valuable information. And as if to supply the lacunæ, there is a miscellaneous series which includes guides to Golkonda fort and tombs, the Ajanta frescoes and the Ellora cave temples.

The work of Mr. G. Yazdani both in connection with these publications and with the Indo-Moslemica as well as with the

Ajanta Album is commendable. We are glad to observe the passage between caves III and IV at Ajanta was repaired and drainage of the footpath in front of the caves was improved as also the passage to cave I. The anxiety of the Government to maintain the antiquities in the dominions in a state of good repair will also be apparent from the circumstance that a grant of Rs. 25,000 per annum has been sanctioned for five years for a thorough repair of the monuments at Bidar.

A considerable amount of valuable work is being undertaken and successfully accomplished in the domain of Moslem epigraphy. In the field of Hindu epigraphy an inscription of the Kakatiya King Pratapa Rudra dated (1171 A.C.) has been found. The remains of the ancient Vijayanagara Empire are widely distributed throughout the dominions and we look forward to the enlightened department of the State to unravel the mysteries surrounding the foundation of that empire and the glory of Vidyaranya.

The illustrations and plates appended are excellently got up like the rest of the matter contained in the Report.

S. S.

Mysore City.

BY CONSTANCE E. PARSONS.

(*Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 3.*)

IT was over twelve years ago that a handbook for Mysore City was published and a valuable and instructive guide book to the garden city and capital of the Mysore State was a long-felt want. The book before us supplies that need admirably. Miss Parsons is well qualified for the task she has set before her and she has most successfully accomplished it.

It is no ordinary guide book for a traveller but an interesting, accurate, detailed and up-to-date study of Mysore and its environs, beautifully and picturesquely illustrated, that one meets with in the 'Mysore City'. Everything worth a visit within a radius of fifteen miles is included, with a vivid and historical narrative, in proportion to the importance of the place, from the old Kannambadi (Krishnaraja Sagara) to Sravanagutti and the outskirts of Chamundi. Of the history of the royal family and the several

objects of interest with which they are connected, there is also a correct and trustworthy account. The Wesleyan Mission Press, Mysore, is responsible for the splendid get-up and the letter-press.

S. S.

Yoga : Personal Hygiene.

BY SHRI YOGENDRA.

(Price Rs. 10.)

THIS work forms the second volume of the Scientific Yoga Series, designed in twelve books, to cover the entire field of personal training secretly taught in India during the past five thousand years. It is claimed that the practical and scientific measures of physical, mental and spiritual culture will be available in this series to the searcher after self-culture and that 'compared with the knowledge of our most modern sciences, this ages-old system of self-culture reveals an unusually practical and rational scheme of living to extend human life, not only as to length, but also as to breadth and depth.' The preface to the volume under review has been written by Dr. John W. Fox of America and the book which is excellently got up is printed in India. The illustrations are mostly taken from the various postures and *asanas* of Shri Yogendra himself and exemplify the practicability of putting his theory into actual practice.

How far Shri Yogendra is justified in saying that what he has described are those practised by the yogis from the aspect of personal hygiene may be a debatable point, although he inclines the reader to an impression, which gains additional support through the pages, that it is so from the extracts from *Goraksha Paddhati*, *Hathayoga Pradipika*, *Sivasamhita*, *Yoga Siddhanta*, *Yogasutra*, etc., quoted in the beginning of each chapter. The author has doubtless drawn his main ideas from them but the shape in which they are presented is the result of his own experiences and the changes which the ideas found in those works have undergone in the light of modern conceptions and notions, with the consequence that the system which Shri Yogendra propounds can hardly be called Yoga.

Nor can the practices recommended by him in the book be called strictly Yogic. It is somewhat curious and indeed

interesting to observe that while he has acquired these practices from His Holiness Paramahansa Madhavadasji, they happen to be widely different from those taught by his master and found illustrated in the *Yoga Mimamsa*, the well-known Yogic Journal edited by Sri Kuvalayananda.

The work forms a very interesting and instructive study ; the Sanscrit glossary will be found very useful ; and the index is full. It is done in a popular form so as to benefit the lay reader. The medical reports of cases treated by the author and the testimony of the patients might well have been omitted from the point of view of the cultural value of the publication.

N. I.

The Adichanallur Skulls.

BY S. ZUCKERMAN, M.A., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

WITH NOTES BY PROF. G. ELLIOT SMITH, F.R.S

(*Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Vol. II, P. 1.*)

THE pre-historic remains of Adichanallur provide the student of Indian History an important link with the earliest culture of the Deccan. This aspect of the problem has been the subject of the interesting bulletin of the Madras Museum written by S. Zuckerman of the London University under the auspices of Prof. G. E. Smith, F.R.S. Two of the Adichanallur skulls were sent to London for examination and the volume under review embodies the results of careful investigations by the foremost anthropologists of our time.

According to Prof. Smith, the two skulls represent the two-fold racial strata found in the southern end of the peninsula, Australoid and the Mediterranean, the latter being the predominant element in the South India of to-day. The Australian affinity to the Indian element was first emphasized by Huxley in 1865 and this general surmise receives added support from one of these skulls. Is the Dravidian, then, a later immigrant into the South where a mosaic of the Indian population is said to be found ?

R.

Sri Vaishnava Brahmins.

BY K. RANGACHARI, M.A., L.T.

(*Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum.*)

(Price Rs. 5-12.)

UNDER the editorship of its Superintendent, the Madras Government Museum has been issuing periodical bulletins and in the New Series, General Section, Vol. II, part 2 is devoted to a splendid and very readable account of the Sri Vaishnava Brahmins from the pen of Dewan Bahadur K. Rangachari, M.A., L.T., late Anthropological Assistant of the Madras Museum. Herein Mr. Rangachari has aimed at recording the customs of the people and does not purport to give a critical study of the traditions, customs and ceremonies of the Sri Vaishnavas. As a reputed scholar, an anthropologist and as a Sri Vaishnava himself, the author is well qualified for the task he has set before him.

The group of Brahmins known as Sri Vaishnavas appears to have had a separate existence according to tradition from the time of Nathamunigal at least but it was the great preacher Rāmānujacharya who gave body and shape to the Visishtadvaita doctrine as we now know it and attracted adherents from all classes of the population. The essential difference between the Smārtha Brahmins and the Sri Vaishnavas in the matter of worship lies in the fact that while the latter recognize Vishnu as the supreme deity in the Universe and do not recognize any other as such, to the Smarthas, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva are all manifestations of the Godhead.

After referring to the antiquity of Vishnu worship in section 2, Mr. Rangachari passes on to the Vaishnavism of South India in section 3. The Āzhvārs, twelve in number, belonging to B.C. 4203 to B.C. 2706 and whose writings are found codified in the Nālayiraprabandham are next described at great length and followed by the Ācharyas in the following section. Nathamuni himself is said to have been born in 3684 of the Kali Yuga. Then comes Rāmānuja who was born in 1017 A.D. of Advaitic parents, and his teacher was Yādavaprakāsa, an Advaitic sanyasin. While Sankara holds that Brahman is the only real thing and all else including ourselves and our experiences are non-existing and unreal; that the belief in our individual

existence arising from our bodily experience and its entanglement in the samsara is due to an error; that the higher knowledge shows the whole world and its inhabitants enveloped in ignorance and in the grip of illusion; and that therefore God is impersonal and consequently indifferent to the love or suffering of humanity, Rāmānuja considers that a Brahman thus devoid of all gunas (Nirguna Brahman) cannot be expected to satisfy the cravings of an intense religious insight, and that it is impossible to infer the existence of such a one by any means—perception, inference or scriptures. There is an Absolute Being but everything in this Universe outside it is not unreal or illusory. Everything is real. There is a very intimate relation between the soul, matter and God. God permeates and forms the basis of everything in this Universe. He is not merely a transcendental Absolute Being above and beyond the finite Universe but He is both immanent and transcendent. Although the conscious (chit) and unconscious (achit) objects of the Universe co-exist with God, they yet derive their existence from Him and are sustained through Him. The pluralistic Universe is real in precisely the same sense as God is real. Thus matter and soul are dependent on God as their ground and they are what they are because of the Brahman. God is the soul and controlling power of the Universe.

Incidentally, he refers to the contribution of the Sri Vaishnavas in the Hindu Revival of the fourteenth century. Vedānta Desika joined hands with Vidyaranya, a worthy rival who continued the work of Śāṅkarāchārya in opposing the spread of other religions. As both Desika and Vidyaranya were men of extraordinary intellect and encyclopædic knowledge, they preached and worked to establish the faith of the Hindus (39).

The two ways of worshipping God, the establishment of utsāvamurtis, and worship of gods in the temple according to the Pāṇcharātra Āgama are also described in great detail. The accuracy of the accounts and the wealth of detail for each description are marvellous. There are twelve plates in illustration of his texts, some of them referring to conversions. A copious index makes reference easy. We congratulate the author and the authorities of the Madras Museum on the excellent monograph on Sri Vaishnavism presented to the public.

S. S.

**Catalogue of the Musical Instruments Exhibited in the
Government Museum, Madras.**

BY P. SAMBAMOORTHY, B.A., B.L.

THIS book forms part iii of the Second Volume, New Series, General Section of the Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum. It is in seven sections, the second of which deals with the classification of the various instruments of Indian music while the first, third and fourth sections with the introduction, evolution and the place of music in Indian life. The latter could have been made more elaborate and informative. The development of the Indian musical instruments is an important subject and no amount of study could be too much for its analysis. A list of the various instruments in the museum is given for a guide to the visitor with interesting descriptions and illustrations of most of them.

M. V.

Pramana Samuccaya of Dinnaga.

(CHAPTER I).

EDITED BY H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR, ESQ., M.A.

FOREWORD BY RAJATANTRAPRAVINA

DR. SIR B. N. SEAL, KT.

(Rs. 3.)

THE famous Dinnāga represents the high water-mark of the Buddhist Logic and is its great protagonist. Opinions differ regarding the religion of Dinnāga. He was undoubtedly of Brahman parentage while perhaps he had marked sympathies and leanings towards Buddhism. The historical importance of this Buddhist work can hardly be over-estimated, while considered from the point of view of intellectual acuteness in founding a new system of logic, its place may be on a par with the work of Udayana or Gadadhara.

Though the publication is incomplete, containing only the initial chapter, yet the authorities of the Mysore University and the talented young scholar deserve to be congratulated for making a Tibetan work available in the Sanskrit Language. Along with its Sanskrit *tika*, an English translation would have rendered the book welcome to a wider circle of readers.

V. N. D.

Ramavarma Research Institute Bulletin.

VOL. I, No. I.

WE welcome this bulletin into the ranks of archæological publications in India. The object of the Institute under whose auspices it is issued is, like ours, to collect books, journals and unpublished manuscripts in the history of South India and of Kerala in particular; to afford facilities for research; and to publish a bulletin and a series of rare and important works: and we have every sympathy with it.

The bulletin opens with a nice line-sketch of Siva from a mural painting in the Mattancheri Palace, Cochin. Professor Winternitz writes on two new Arthasastra MSS. which again have been found in S. India. The second MS. No. 647 contains in Malayalam characters the complete text of the Arthasastra. Even though these refer to Kauṭalya and Kauṭaliya, the Professor still considers Kauṭilya to be the original form of the name, relying on the Purāṇa MS. The texts offer some new readings and support the better readings of the Lahore and Trivandrum editions, some of which have been noticed by Dr. Shama Sastry. Mr. W. Gampert of Prague writes on 'Old classifications of sins in South India' and Prof. Rama Pisaroti gives a study on Cranganur with reference to Makōtai on which an article appeared in *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XIX. He identifies it with Muzuris or Masuridevata (Goddess of Small-pox) [pp. 35-36]. The identification of Paralia and Purali is also attempted. In his essay on the Kilirur temple Mr. Krishna Menon says the worship of gods was unknown to the Vedic religion and it was copied by the Hindus from the Buddhists for purposes of adoration and meditation. There is an article on the alveolar *t*, *d* in Malayalam and Tamil by Mr. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar. Mr. Govinda Wariar writes an interesting essay on Goda Ravi Varma in Cochin history. The alphabetically arranged appendix shows about 650 books in the library, a good beginning for a new institution.

S. S.

Karnatak Historical Review.

VOL. I, No. 1.

WE welcome the first number of this review published under the auspices of the Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar, founded with aims and objects similar to our own. A melancholy interest attaches to its birth as its guiding spirit Dr. R. H. Shirahatti, a close and devoted student of Karnatak history, passed away before its publication. The place of honour is appropriately given to an article which discusses the date of the Gomata image at Sravanabelgola by Mr. M. Govind Pai. It is proved as Sunday the 13th March 981 A.C. Rev. Heras identifies Triparvata with Halebid, the ancient Dorasamudra of the Hoysalas, in his usual, lucid, thorough manner. Dr. R. Shama Sastri reverts to the authorship of the Gadayuddha in another article, (already published in *Q.J.M.S.*, July 1930). These are followed by other articles, by Messrs. Bengeri, Sharma, Karmarkar and Alur. The contribution of Virakals and Mastikals to history and literature is a very important subject and deserves a more detailed consideration than it has been possible for Mr. Alur to give in his short note. It is a vast field of study in itself and we trust a more comprehensive article will be forthcoming in subsequent issues of the Journal. We congratulate the Managing Committee of the Society on their very laudable endeavour. S. S.

Sayings of Vijaya Dharma Suri.

MISS CHARLOTTE KRAUSE, Ph.D. (Leipzig), a staunch devotee of the late Vijaya Dharma Suri, has translated, with admirable accuracy, a hundred and eight sayings of that Jaina monk into faultless English.

Who will not echo the sentiments contained in such sayings of the Saint as the following?—

"Let there be diversity in this world, but let there be no enmity! Let there be competition, but let there be no jealousy!"

This neat little booklet and other works of the learned Acharya which have appeared in the Sree Yashovijaya Jaina Granthamala, Bhavanagar, will amply repay a careful study.

K. N.

The Mysore Tribes and Castes.

VOL. III.

THAT renowned, learned and patriotic son of Mysore—Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya, M.A., M.L., C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Mysore University—undertook a detailed ethnographic survey of Mysore and published several interesting and instructive monographs on the various tribes of Mysore.

After his demise, the work has been entrusted to a well-known scholar of anthropology and ethnography—Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, B.A., L.T., who has, after carefully enlarging, revising and editing the matter, planned to publish four volumes of which two (Vols. II and III) have already appeared and two more are in the press.

How valuable and useful the publication is can be judged by the thoroughness with which each subject has been dealt with. The origin and early history of tribes including migration and distribution have been given; their habitation and social organization depicted; their physical character and appearance as well as dress and ornaments delineated; their dietary detailed; their religious customs respecting worship and rites of marriage and funeral as also fasts and festivals portrayed; their mythology noticed; and their contribution to history, literature and architecture recorded. In the revised edition of the *Mysore Gazetteer*, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao has given an abridged account on ethnology in Mysore, which is largely drawn from these materials.

We, therefore, look forward to the early completion of this great work by the publication of the remaining volumes.

K. N.

Apastamba Sulba Sūtra.

[*Mysore Oriental Library Publications.*]

Students of Vedic sacrifices will find the Sulba Sūtra a very useful guide regarding the entire technique of sacrifices including the construction of altars.

The Sulba Sūtra, which forms the last prāśna of Āpastamba Kalpa Sūtra, contains six patalas and twenty-one khandas and

has three illuminating bhāṣhyas by Kapardaswamin, Sundararāja and Karavinda.

The letter-press and get-up of the book is, as usual with these publications, quite good. Its usefulness has been further enhanced by the addition of a long list of manuscript variants in reading.

K. N.

Speeches of Sir Mirza M. Ismail.

(1926-1930)

THE speeches of Sir Mirza Ismail may lack the florid rhetoric of Sir Albion Banerji or the grand idealism of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, but they have a peculiar charm of their own : they are genial, gentle, and sincere. His life-long devotion and unequalled loyalty to the person of the Maharaja as well as his keen solicitude for the well-being of the State of Mysore can be read on every page of the book under consideration. He has struck a new note in Mysore politics. The cry of Mysore for Mysoreans is not enough : it needs to be supplemented by that of Mysoreans for Mysore.

This is not the place to exalt his works or to magnify his errors and he has his weaknesses like the rest of us, perhaps a little more, perhaps a little less. But judged from the speeches and the public career of Sir Mirza Ismail, few will deny the transparent earnestness and refreshingly easy manner which characterise all his actions and thoughts. The collection before us serves to remind us of the man in Mirza Ismail and the humane man that he is more than anything else. Public speeches generally are calculated to be a mirror of the life around at the time they are made and the prosperity of Mysore is writ large in the speeches of the friend and counsellor, loyal subject and obedient servant of His Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar of Mysore, who worthily represents his ruler and his country in the councils of the Empire.

S. S.

Visvakarnataka.
(YUGADI SANCHIKE)

MR. T. T. SHARMAN, the talented editor of the Kannada Weekly, published in Bangalore, has brought out this special number containing valuable articles on various topics of public interest from the pen of well-known men. On the cover is to be found a photograph of the famous Gandabherunda pillar at Keladi in the Shimoga District. The portrait of Mirabai is very appealing to the eye.

The object of the work is to supply the lay Kannada reader with information, accurate yet concise, on topics dealing with science, politics and literature. The success of the effort can be gauged from the fact that Rao Bahadur B. Venkatesachar writes on the progress of science and its application to life and points out how the genius of Seshadri Aiyar brought electricity to the doors of the people of Mysore. The contribution of the Indian to the scientific knowledge of the world is the theme of Mr. P. Srinivasa Rao. In the field of politics and administration, the love of liberty inherent in man, the relationship that ought to exist between the State and local self-governing institutions, and the Indian attempt for Swaraj with illustrations are admirably delineated by several writers. Eight articles have been contributed on literary matters and the leading lights of modern Kannada have been dealt with by Mr. K. V. Puttappa, himself a poet of a very high order. We wish the attempt every success.

S. S.

Bramhasutra Vriksha.

BY DR. A. VENKATARAMAPANDIT,

Principal, Meenakshi Ayurvedic College, Chidambaram.

(Price As. 4.)

MR. VENKATARAMAPANDIT has attempted to provide the busy learner with the Brahmasutras at a glance in the Kannada language. *Divyajyoti*, a Kannada Theosophical monthly, for November 1930 gives some details and Mr. Pandit evidently intends to append the present table to a short introductory study of the

Brahmasutras so as to be in a more permanent and enduring form. He appears to have already published 300 pages of the Brahma Sutras in Kannada with this object. The genealogical tree naturally divides the Brahmasutras into four chapters, *vis.*, (1) Samanvayadhyaya, (2) Avirodhadhyaya, (3) Sadhanadhyaya, and (4) Phaladhyaya. According to the first, which is again sub-divided, the end and aim of all Vedantic doctrines is Advitiyabrahma.

The second chapter, which is likewise sub-divided, propounds that with what is enunciated in the first chapter there is nothing inconsistent to be found in the Sankhyas or in the Vedanta Sastra. The remaining chapters are also similarly sub-divided. Moksha is said to be the attempt to attain perpetual and everlasting bliss through the abandonment of enjoyment or sorrow.

We congratulate the author on his excellent effort and we are confident it will be found a valuable guide by students anxious to study the Brahma Sutras but who are still unable to find sufficient time for it.

S. S.

NOTES.

Harshavardhana in the Karnatak.

(BY B. A. SALETORÉ, ESQ., M.A.)

THE authorship of this article has been ascribed to Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J., in volume XXI, No. 4, of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*.

Rev. Heras has since written to us (on May 2) that the article in question was written by one of his post-graduate research students, Mr. B. A. Saletore, M.A. who is now in London preparing a thesis for obtaining the Ph.D. Degree of that University.

We regret the error owing to inadvertence. In the index for Volume XXI issued with this number, the error has been rectified and the further instalments of the article will be continued in Mr. Saletore's name.

The statements made and the responsibility for them, so far as "Harshavardhana in the Karnatak" is concerned, are of course Mr. Saletore's and Rev. Father Heras is in no way responsible for them.

S. SRIKANTAIYA,
General Secretary,
Mythic Society.

EDITORIAL.

IN the *Indian Antiquary* for April 1931, the life and work of that distinguished Orientalist, Sir Richard Temple, is given in 'In Memoriam'. 'When the end was at hand he was not even feeling ill: death came to him quite suddenly, caused by a clot on the brain, while he was working with his papers actually in his hand.' His outstanding characteristics were 'his indefatigable industry amounting to a joy of work, his exceptional range of knowledge and interests covering almost all branches of oriental research, his wide personal experiences of all provinces of the Indian Empire, and his liberal and broad-minded outlook that enabled him better to understand and appreciate the cultures of the East as a whole.'



The *Mysore Blue Book and Publicity Journal* for March 1931 contains an account of half a century's progress of an Indian State. That is the story of Mysore since the Rendition. Of the subjects dealt with attention may be drawn to (1) Railways and Irrigation Works, (2) Mining and Geology, (3) Electric Installations, (4) Mysore Economic Conference, (5) Industries and Commerce, (6) Agriculture, (7) Education—University, Secondary and Primary, (8) Mysore Iron Works, and (9) Constitutional Development. Under Ruling Family, regarding Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar, it may be said, 'Dignified and unassuming, his bearing was that of the English gentleman. An accomplished horseman and whip, fond of sport, a liberal patron of the turf, and hospitable as a host, while at the same time careful in observance of Hindu customs, he was popular both with Europeans and Indians. He was devoted to his family and of a cultured and refined taste which led him to take special pleasure in European music and works of art. He was also diligent and conscientious in attending to business. He had, further, travelled much and been brought into intercourse with most of the leading men in India, who were impressed with his high character.' Under the able guidance of Her Highness the Maharani Kempananjammani Avaru, Vani Vilasa Sannidhana, at a time of great trial and personal sorrow, the advancement of the country found no interruption. His

Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar IV was installed on 8th August 1902. The Silver Jubilee of his reign was celebrated on 8th August 1927 with an enthusiasm unparalleled in the State. During this period, the State has made considerable progress, notably in education, irrigation and electric power development, and in measures calculated to awaken the people to a correct sense of their duties and responsibilities. His Highness is a keen sportsman, a fine polo, tennis and racquet player and a liberal patron of the Fine Arts.

Lily Dexter Green gives a very interesting picture of the Nature Study in the Sanskrit drama, *Sakuntala*, in the March and April issues of the *Indian Antiquary*.

The origin of caste in India has been the subject dealt with by several hands from time to time and the latest effort is that of Dr. Biren Bannerji. He considers there is no equivalent to it known to the Indian and that 'caste' is derived from the Portuguese 'Casta'. After discussing the occupational, somatological and totemic theories in succession, he finds the occupational suggestion to be puerile in the extreme. Regarding the somatological basis, it was due to a wrong interpretation of varna meaning colour. The colour complex was more the result of the nature of the avocations and the kind of life led by the people. The only distinction in the ancient books was between the literate Arya and the aboriginal and illiterate Dasyu. He then proceeds to discuss the correspondence of caste to race from the statement of Risley wherein a man's caste is said to be known from the inverse ratio of his nasal index,—only to reject it. Even the cephalic index of the different castes is not helpful towards a solution. As several anthropological types are met with in each particular caste, it cannot be taken as a somatological division. The colour is equally elusive as the skin in every family varies from light olive to dark brown and black is rarely found. Thus, the totemic theory, though beset with some difficulties, yet holds the field. Caste was probably a Dravidian institution adopted by the Aryan conquerors of India. Magic, in which the Dravidian priest had something to do, was connected with caste. Even this is only partly true, because there was a caste system in Greece. His final conclusion is that caste is not

an anthropological division, but is the outcome of primitive superstitions. One may well ask: Is caste a pontifical denial of the brotherhood of man?

The *Man in India* for January-March 1931 has an article on the Goddess Bhāṭṭarikā by Kalipada Mitra and Ghanashyam Das in which it is said that the male form of Bhāṭṭaraka and the female form of Bhāṭṭarikā occur in the names of gods and goddesses in the Vajrayana cult of Buddhism. Bhāṭṭarikā means the venerable old lady. The authors suggest that the cult of Siva was not originally Aryan, that Sakti worship was imported from the non-Aryans and that the Aryans were patriarchal in religion and government.

In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for March 1931, Mr. Stutterheim Willem dilates on the meaning of the Hindu-Javanese caṇḍi and says that the so-called 'Hindu temples' of Java are not temples nor are they built by Hindus. According to him they were built by the Javanese and at most the Hindus were their teachers in preceding times. The close affinity generally regarded as existing between the Hindu and the Javanese styles is similar to that in Europe, where buildings of the Gothic style in England and Germany were not necessarily the work of French artisans from the Île de France. This view is sought to be supported from the variations in canonical rules, ashes and other relics found beneath the statues of images and others.

Mr. Nirmal Kumara Bose writes on 'The Aboriginal Inhabitants of Western Orissa' in the April issue of the *Modern Review*. It is interesting to observe that an organization of the bachelors' club exists amongst most of the tribes, though in rules and functions they differ. Mr. G. E. Watts dealing with India's sacred rivers naturally gives pre-eminence to the Ganges which is reputed to wash off the endless sins of man by its one bath. His attention evidently is not attracted to the rivers of the South or the sacred Kaveri would not have been omitted.

The *Jaina Gazette* for March and April 1931 contains some sayings of Lord Mahavira, extracted from Dr. Jacobi's translation of the Uttaradhyāyana Sutra. Of these, one may be given. "One does not become a Sramana by the tonsure, nor a Brahmana by the sacred syllable Om, nor a Muni by living in the woods, nor a Tapasa by wearing (clothes of) Kusa-grass and bark.

One becomes a Sramana by equanimity, a Brahmana by chastity, and a Tapasa by penance.

By one's actions one becomes a Brahmana, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya, or a Sudra."

Mr. R. E. Enthoven, C.I.E., I.C.S. (Retd.), read a paper on 5th March 1930 before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 'The Tribes and Castes of Mysore' and the same has been published in Vol. XIV, No. 5. After complimenting the Risley scheme for a systematic survey of the tribes and castes in India, he gives an appreciative note on the recent work on the 'Mysore Castes and Tribes' Vol. II, by Mr. Anantakrishna Iyer.

Sir J. J. Modi read a most interesting paper on Swastika as a symbol. According to him, the symbols play a very large part even in enlightened civilizations in the life of the people. As peacock is the emblem of immortality, the fish of activity, the palm of victory, the anchor of hope, and so on amongst the several peoples of this earth, so Swastika which is a kind of mystical mark on persons and things denoting good luck, is a very familiar protective symbol in India. He says it was a world-wide symbol also, found in various parts of Asia, Europe and America.

In Vol. XV, No. 1 of the *Karnataka Sahitya Parishat Patrika* Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar continues his study of Kannada Poets—Santinatha (? 1120), Trivikrama Pandita (1149), Maramarasa and others. Bhasa's *Abhiseka* is translated into Kannada. Mr. Bhujabala Sastri gives a sketch of the life of the well-known king Chavundaraya, remembered, more than for anything else, for his colossal statue of Gomata. Among the village songs, the popular songs of the grinding stone (ಬೀಸುವಳಿ ನ ಪದಗಳು), their prosody, their different types and the manner of singing them are given by Mr. B. Krishna Sarma, with some choice selections. The

subjects dealt with comprise such topics as mother-father, son-daughter, brother and sister, marital love, the life of a girl in her mother-in-law's house and her wailings, and worldly experience. In No. 2 the Sringeri Kaiffiyat is continued from Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 72, by Mr. B. Rama Rao, in which a letter from Gen. Mathews to Tippu Sultan is referred to. A short account of the rulers at Nagara is given. A description of the total hundred and six agraphars left to the Jahagir, including seventeen which have been discontinued, is found. *Jaiminibharata* translated from the Sanskrit text is continued from previous issues.

Vol. IV, No. 1 of the *Triveni* has a coloured portrait Pushpalankara by Damerla Rama Rao, of whom Mr. Oswald Couldrey gives an interesting account in the sequel. Mr. V. Narayanan in his short essay on the Ancient Tamil Civilization says that the evidences of an independent Tamil civilization are inconclusive. Prof. Venkatarangaiya says in another article, 'the task of the historian consists not merely in the assembling of facts arranged in chronological order, but in their interpretation with a view to explain the nature of their sequence and the vital factors that guided the motives and actions of persons responsible for the events' (*ib.*, p. 51). In addition to the concluding account on the Sittannwasal Frescoes, Mr. Sundar Sarma contributes a note on those discovered at Kanchi by Prof. Dubreuil in the Kailasanatha temple. These pictures are rightly described to be marvellous and executed in the very critical and definite style of the Sittannavasal frescoes.

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2. Chronological List of Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State.

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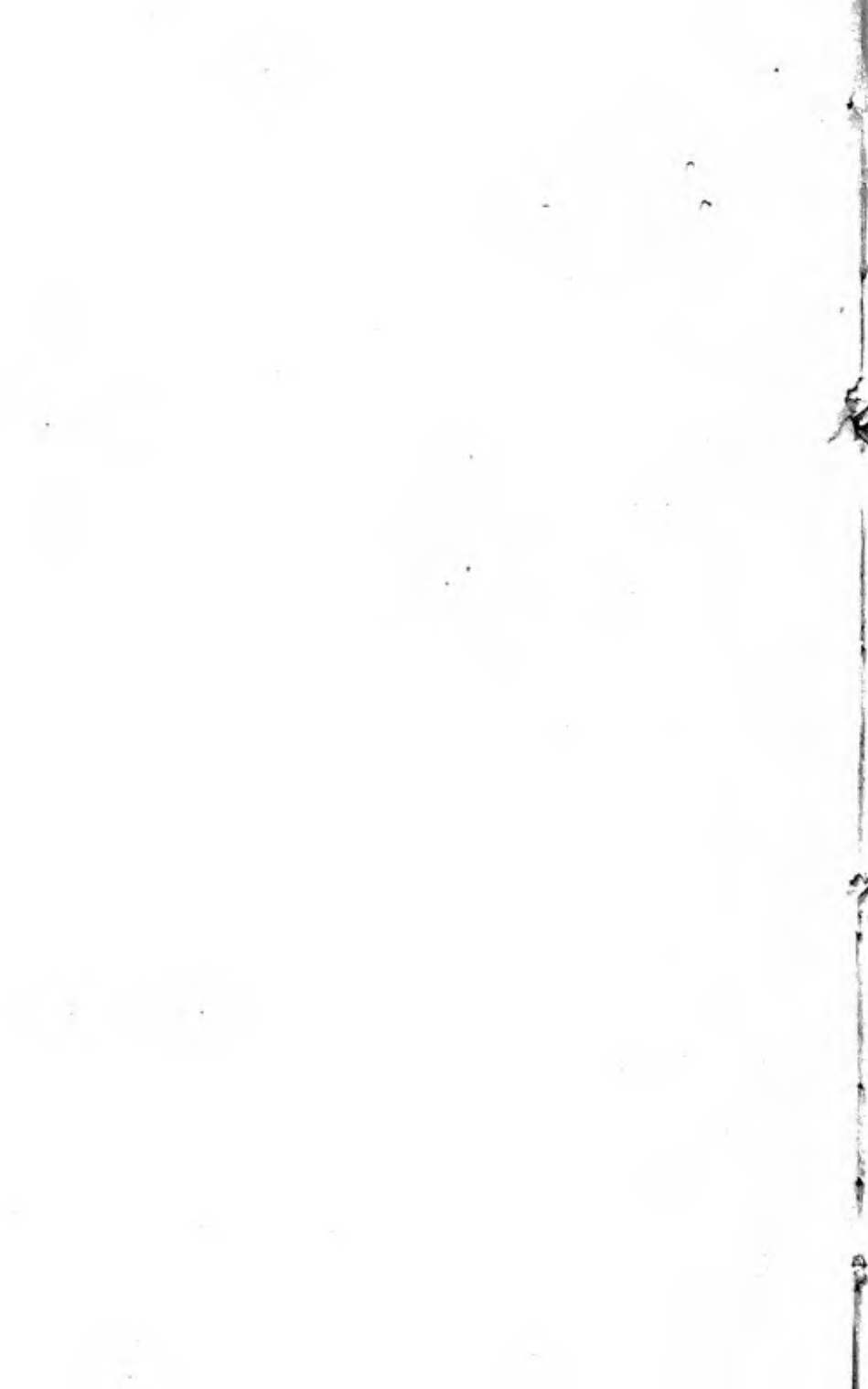
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The
Quarterly Journal
of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XXII

OCTOBER, 1931

No. 2

**GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES IN THE
CEYLONESE CHRONICLES.**

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.T.

THE Ceylonese Chronicles incidentally refer to a large number of countries and localities, important in the history of Buddhism, in India and Ceylon. Most of them come in for mention as a result of their association with the life and religion of the Buddha or in connection with the historical inter-relation, or the part played by them in the history of India and Ceylon. Most of these places and countries are already known from other, mainly Buddhist, sources, and few of them require any new identification. Even then, they add to our geographical knowledge, and not a few of the references are of more than usual interest. Such are, for example, the references to Alasanda in the city of the Yonas in the *Mahāvamsa*, or to Yonaka in the *Dīpavamsa* in connection with the building of the Great Thūpa, and the sending of Missions by Moggaliputta respectively. Alasanda, as is well known, is Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, probably the town founded by Alexander in the country of the Paropanisadæ near Kabul. The Chronicles refer in common to the following places and countries in India and Ceylon :

North and North-West India—

- Gāndhāra=modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts.
 Yona or Yonaka=the foreign settlements on the North-Western Frontier, perhaps identical with the Græco-Bactrian kingdom.
 Anotatta lake=one of the seven great lakes in the Himalayas.

Western India—

- Aparāntaka comprises modern Gujrat, Kathiawar and the sea-coast districts.
 Suppāra (*Dīp.*) or Suppāraka (*Mah.*)=Surparaka (Sans.), modern Sopāra in the Thānā district, north of Bombay.
 Mahārātṭha=modern Mahārāshṭra.

Mid-India and Eastern India—

- Kapilavatthu=the birthplace of Gotama, and capital of the Śākya tribe in Nepal.
 Kusāvatī=identical with later Kusinārā.
 Kusinārā=a town of the clan of the Mallas in modern Nepal.
 Giribbaja=Rājagriha, modern Rajagiri in Bihar.
 Jetavana=a park and monastery near Sāvattihī in the Kosala country.
 Madhurā=another name for Mathurā, modern Muttra.
 Ujjenī=now Ujjain in the Gwalior State; old capital of Avanti.
 Uruvelā=in ancient Buddha Gayā in the Gayā district.
 Kāśī=modern Benares district.
 Isipatana=the famous deer-park of Benares where Buddha first turned the Wheel of Law.
 Tāmalitiya (*Dīp.*) or Tāmalitti (*Mah.*)=Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk in the district of Midnapore, Bengal.
 Pāṭaliputta=identical with modern Patna and the adjoining region.
 Pupphapura=Pushpapura identical with ancient Pāṭaliputra.

Bārāṇasī=modern Benares.

Mithilā=modern Tirhut in Bihar.

Rājagaha=modern Rājgir in Bihar.

Vaṅgā (*Dīp.*) or Vaṅga (*Mah.*)=identical roughly with Eastern Bengal.

Vesālī=modern Basār in Muzaffarpur, north of Patna.

The Deccan and South India—

Viñjhā (*Dīp.*), Viñjhaṭavī (*Mah.*)=the Vindhya mountain with its dense forests.

Damiḷa=the Tamil country.

Ceylon—

Suvaṇṇabhūmi=not in Ceylon, generally identified with Lower Burma comprising the Rammaññadesa.

Malaya=central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon.

Abhayagiri=outside the north gate of Anurādhapura.

Sīlakūṭa=northern peak of the Mihintāla mountain.

Jetavana=a park monastery near Sāvattthī in the Kosala country.

Kalyānī=modern Kaelani, the river that flows into the sea near Colombo.

Cetiyaṇṇapabbata=the later name of the Missaka mountain.

Nandanavana=between Mahāmeghavana where now the Mahāvihāra stands, and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura.

Laṅkā=identified with the island of Ceylon.

Missakagiri (*Dīp.*),—pabbata (*Mah.*)=modern Mihintala mountain, east of Anurādhapura.

Dīghavāpi=probably the modern Kandiya-Kattu tank in the Eastern province.

The *Dīpavaṃsa*, however, exclusively mentions several countries and places which are not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.

North and North-West India—

Kurudīpa=probably identical with Uttarakuru.

Takkasilā=modern Taxila in N. W. Frontier province.

Sāgala (reading doubtful)=modern Sialkot in the Punjab.

Western India—

Bharukaccha=modern Broach, an ancient seaport in Kathiawar.

Lālaratṭha=identical either with Lāta in modern Gujrat or Rāḍha in Bengal.

Sīhapura=capital city of Lāta or Rāḍha country.

Mid-India and Eastern India—

Aṅgā=identical with modern Bhāgalpur region in Bihar.

Campā=modern Pātharghātā in the district of Bhāgalpur.

Magadhā=a tribe dwelling in the territory now represented by modern Patna and Gayā districts in Bihar.

Mallā=a republican tribe of ancient Kusinārā and Pāvā.

Vardhamānapura=Vardhamānabhukti of inscriptions, modern Burdwan.

Veḷuvana=the famous bamboo-garden monastery in Rājagriha, modern Rajgiri.

Vedissa=Vidisā, modern Bhilsā in the Gwalior State.

Hatthipura=Hastināpura (Sans.)—generally identified with an old town in Mawāna Tahsil, Merat.

Indapatṭa=Indraprastha, near modern Delhi.

It may be noticed in this connection that in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Aṅgā, Magadhā, Vaṅgā and Mallā are mentioned in the plural, not as Vaṅga in the singular as in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The tribal significance was maintained in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, whereas in the later Chronicle it was overlooked.

Ceylon—

Anurādhapura=ancient capital of Ceylon, now in ruins.

Ariṭṭhapura=in North Central province, north of Habarana.

Naggadīpa=probably an island in the Arabian sea.

Tembapaṇṇi=most probably identical with the island of Ceylon.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* likewise refers exclusively to several countries and places not mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa*.

North and North-West India—

Alasanda=Alexandria, the town founded by Alexander in the Paropānisadæ country.

Uttarakuru=a country north of Kasmīra, mentioned in Vedic and Puranic literature.

Kasmīra=modern Kashmere.

Mid-India and Eastern India—

Avanti=the region round modern Ujjain in Gwalior.

Madda=see Dr. B. C. Law's "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India"—*Chapter on the Madras or Maddas*.

Mahāvāna=a monastery in the ancient Vajji country; mentioned also by Fahien.

Dakkhinagirivihāra=a vihāra in Ujjenī.

Payāga=modern Allahabad.

Pāvā=a republican state inhabited by the Mallas.

Kosambī=modern Kosam in Allahabad, on the Jumnā, capital of the Vatsas.

South India and the Deccan—

Coḷa=the ancient Choḷa country whose capital was Kānchipuram, modern Conjeeveram.

Mahisamaṇḍala=identical with Mandhātā island on the Narbada, ancient capital—Māhiṣmatī. A district south of the Vindhya.

Vanavāsīn=modern Vanavāsī in North Kanara, preserves the older name.

Ceylon—

Ākāsa Cetiya=situated on the summit of a rock not very far from the Cittalapabbata monastery.

Kadamba nadī=modern Malwatṭe-oya by the ruins of Anurādhapura (Kadambaka nadī in the *Dīp.*).

Karinda nadī=modern Kirinda-oya in the Southern province where must be located the Pañjali-pabbata.

Kāla Vāpi=built by Dhātusena by banking up the river Kaḷu-oya or Goṇa nadī.

Gambhīra nadī=seven or eight miles north of Anurādhapura.

Gona nadī=modern Kaḷu-oḃa river.

Jetavanārāma=near Abhayagiri dagoba in Anurādhapura.

Tissamahāvihāra=in South Ceylon, north-east of Hambantota.

Tissavāpi=a tank near Mahāgāma.

Thūpārāma=a monastery in Anurādhapura.

Paṭhama Cetiya=outside the eastern gate of Anurādhapura.

Manihīrā=now Minneriya, a tank near Pulonnaruwa.

Mahāgaṅgā=identical with Mahāwæligangā river.

Mahātitttha=identical with modern Mantota opposite the island Manaar.

Mahāmeghavana=south of the capital Anurādhapura.

Dvāramaṇḍala=near Cetiyaḃabbata (Mihintale), east of Anurādhapura.

Pulindā=a barbarous tribe dwelling in the country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains (Geiger—*Mahāvamsa*, p. 60, note 5).

Ambatthala=immediately below the Mihintale mountain.

Besides these, there are a number of references to countries and places of Ceylon of lesser importance. They have all been noticed and identified in Geiger's edition of the *Mahāvamsa*.

THE VIVEKA-ŚĀRA OF SANKARANANDA.

BY ARTHASASTRA VISARADA MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA

DR. R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4.)

How Misery Arises

THE cause of misery is explained as follows:—

The Ātman appears reflected in an impure form owing to the impure state of the intellect, just as a rope appears as a snake. Though the Ātman is identical with happiness, still in his objective appearance he appears as miserable or uncomfortable. Hence there arises the feeling of misery in the mind. Since the Ātman is liable to no change, he can be the cause of neither happiness nor of misery. When he is in his own state, then happiness or pleasure which is his nature is perceived. Though happiness is his nature, still the rise of innate eternal happiness is not felt, and the real nature of the Ātman is not known. Man is accustomed to feel happiness only in the presence of agreeable objects. Just as a barren woman cannot feel the happiness of embracing a child, so a man who is ignorant of the real nature of the Ātman cannot understand Ātman-happiness or self-pleasure. Only at the sight of the moon in the full moon-night of a summer day, his light is felt to be comfortable. If the moon is covered with clouds, no pleasure is felt. Primordial ignorance like darkness covers the real nature of the Ātman. When this cover is removed absolute happiness which is the nature of the Ātman is experienced. That the Ātman's nature is happiness and light has been already referred to. That his nature is light is proved not only by the Vedas but also by experience and reasoning. The sun, for example, illuminates all things on the surface of the earth. Without the sun's light nothing is seen. The sun and the things lighted or illumined by him are seen with the eyes. Without the light of our eyes neither the sun nor the things illumined by the sun are seen by us.

Hence our eyes are the illuminator of the sun and the world. Then it is the mind that shows us the eyes, the sun, and the things. Hence the mind is the illuminator of the eyes, the sun, and the things. Then lastly it is the Ātman that brings to light the mind, the eyes, the sun, and the things. It is in the experience of all that in thought a mental picture of all these things is formed, though the eyes are closed. The illuminator of such mental pictures is the Ātman and Ātman alone. The perception of the sun is dependent on the eyes; the perception of the eyes is dependent on the mind, the perception of the mind on the Ātman; but this perception does not depend upon anything else. For he is self-illuminator. To indicate his existence, as implied in the expression 'I am', he does not need the aid of anything else,—neither lamp-light nor the sun, neither the eyes nor the mind. To prove his existence neither the Vedas nor the evidence of syllogistic reasoning, neither analogy nor the evidence of implication is needed. He is all-pervading and shines himself, illuminating everything. Whatever is non-self is visible. Hence it does not shine nor does it illuminate other things. Matter that is associated with the Ātman borrows light from him and illuminates the rest. Just as lamplight resting on the wick illuminates the wick, the oil-can, the house, the pillars, and all other things over which the light falls, so the Ātman not only shines himself but also illuminates everything else; coming in contact with the intellect, he illuminates it and its work; likewise he illuminates the mind and its workings, the eyes and their actions, the sun and his form and action and the material objects and their qualities. Himself remaining as immutable and unchangeable, he makes everything knowable. In the work of illuminating material objects, the sun's function is limited to the removal of darkness. The indication of form, name, genus, number, colour, quality, birth, growth and decay,—all this is due to the light of the Ātman himself. Never can the sun indicate the shape and name of things as the Ātman does. Hence the Ātman alone is the illuminator of all things in their entirety. Neither the body

nor the limbs, neither the senses nor the mind nor even the intellect can bring the objects home to the understanding of man, unless there is the light of the Ātman to illuminate those objects. When a man is dead or asleep, there are the body, the senses, the mind or the mental organ, still there is no perception of anything at that time. If they were themselves capable of perceiving things, they could have done so in sleep or after death. Hence it follows that they are not capable of illuminating either themselves or anything else. When these organs are active, they illuminate things not by their own light but by the borrowed light of the Ātman. Just as an iron ball, when red hot, acquires or rather borrows the power of heat and light, so the body and the organs acquire the power of illumination by virtue of their association with the Ātman.

Buddhi or the intellect is not the Ātman. For it is changing every moment, and cannot therefore be expected to recollect what was done long ago. Hence an immutable and unchangeable intelligent being there must necessarily be to recollect and retain past and present impressions and their connecting link. That being is known as the Ātman.

Complete Definition of the Atman

The Ātman is one alone; he is knowledge solidified; not illumined by anything else except by himself; he is invisible; pure; all-pervading; immutable and unchangeable; witness of all things; like an anvil he bears the brunt of all physical and mental actions and retains their impressions; he is not tainted with the contact of anything else; he is imperishable; and perfect.

The Atman in the Three States

In the waking state the Ātman brings home to the mind the sun and other visible objects.

In the dream state when all the senses are inactive and when only the intellect is active and when the whole of the objective world together with the sun's light is cut off, the Ātman shows to the intellect only the impressions of the

internal or the external world. These impressions are only imaginary and not at all real.

In deep sleep, however, the intellect also is inactive and the Ātman enables the mind after waking to recall its unawareness of anything during the sleep state.

The Sruti also says that because the Ātman knows what takes place in the three states of waking, dreaming, and deep sleep, he is the revealer of all things. He is the meaning of the pronominal word, "I". "I dreamt, slept, and now am awake"—this is the experience of every one touching three different states of three different times. This experience comes to him who is the meaning of the word "I". Hence it follows that the Ātman is eternal and revealer of all things.

The Witness of the Three States

The experiencer of the waking state is called Viśva ; the dreamer is called Taijasa ; and the experiencer of deep sleep is termed Prāṇa. None of these, however, is to be mistaken for the eternal Ātman who is called Sākṣin or witness of all. The distinction between the true Ātman called Sākṣin, and the pseudo-Ātmans called Viśva, Taijasa, and Prāṇa is as follows :—

Viśva, the knower of the objective world together with his objective world, is not at all cognized during the state of dream ; nor does he know the objects presented in dream. For, he does not see the distinction between the objects of the waking and dream states together and feel them. Hence Viśva must be taken to be different from the Taijasa and Viśva must necessarily be non-existent during dream. As Viśva does not exist in dream and does not know what happens in dream, it follows that he cannot be the meaning of "I". Likewise Taijasa with his fancied world does not at all exist during deep sleep ; nor does he know what happens at that time. If Taijasa were existent during deep sleep there would be no difference between dream and deep sleep. Likewise Prāṇa, the presider over deep sleep, does not exist in dream or waking state. If he were there, neither the

dream state nor the waking state would differ from the state of deep sleep. Hence it follows that Viśva, the presider over the waking state, is aware neither of the dream state nor of the state of deep sleep; that Taijasa, the presider over the dream state, is aware neither of the waking state nor of the state of deep sleep; and that Prāṇa, the presider over deep sleep, is not aware of the other two states. Hence it also follows that they are different from each other and that none of them is aware of all the three states; and that none of them can therefore be the Ātman who knows all those three states. The Ātman, however, does know all those states, hence it follows that he is existing, witnessing what happens during each of those three states. Hence he alone is the meaning of the word "I". Ātman called the Sākṣin, however, presides over each of the three states and enables Viśva to know the objects of the waking state; Taijasa to know the fanciful world of the dream state; and Prāṇa the dark bliss of the state of deep sleep.

The Three Bodies

The body consists of three different bodies; the visible physical body consisting of head, hands and other limbs, is called the Anna-maya sheath and is composed of the five gross elements. The presider over this body is called Viśva and his state is the waking state. The five subtle sense-organs, the five subtle work-organs, the five subtle Prāṇas or vital winds, the mind, and the intellect,—these seventeen constituents of the body form the subtle body composed of subtle elements; the presider over this body is called Taijasa and his state is that of dream. The third body is called the causal body. It is the seat of nescience which has no beginning, indescribable, possessed of the three qualities, called Satva, Rajas, and Tamas, and undifferentiated. This nescience called Avidyā, a pseudo-form of sentience, is the third body presided over by Prāṇa. The Viśva, Taijasa, and Prāṇa are all pseudo-forms of the Ātman, mutable and changeable, inasmuch as each of them has its own conditions, and one does not appear in the condition of the other.

Since they are conditioned, they are all transient. He who witnesses the three states, the presiders over those states, their changes, and their functions, himself remaining entirely unaffected, is the Ātman called Sākṣi, known also as Kūṣastha, an anvil or a summit witnessing all, itself being unaffected. The Vedas also declare that he who dreams, falls into a sound sleep and is awake, is one. This statement should not be understood to mean that Viśva, Taijasa, Prāṇa and Ātman are all one with different names. For Viśva or waking-consciousness, Taijasa or dream-consciousness, and Prāṇa or sub-consciousness of deep sleep are, as already shown, different from each other on account of their circumscribed conditions. If they were regarded as one, there would be no difference between the states. Since the states are different, as experienced by all, the forms of consciousness conditioned by those states must necessarily be different. If then an Ātman different from all these three is not acknowledged to be existing, there would be no possessor of continued experience, since Viśva and other presiders over the three states are all momentary, not cognizing each other. Hence it follows that there must necessarily exist one who possesses the thread of all past experience coupled with that of the present. This possessor of life's experience is called the Ātman. Likewise the Upanishads distinguish between the Ātman and the presiders over the three states. Explaining the nature of the Ātman, they say that he is not antah-praṇa, meaning that he is not Taijasa whose sense is inward; that he is not bahih-praṇa, meaning that he is not the Viśva whose sense is only objective; that he is not ubhayatah-praṇa, meaning that he is not mere sensation, a pseudo-form of consciousness; that he is not praṇa, meaning thereby that he is not buddhi or the intellect; that he is not apraṇa, meaning a state or condition; that he is not pragnānaghana, meaning thereby that he is not solidified sub-consciousness called prāṇa; that he is not *drishta* or seen, distinguishing him thereby from the visible world; that he is not vyavahārya or describable in positive terms; that he is not grāhya or knowable to the

senses; that he is not lakṣaṇa or inferable; that he is achintya, meaning thereby that he is not thinkable in alternate ways, as done in ignorance; that he is not vyapadeśya or definable as doing this or that; but that he is ekātma-pratyaya-sāra or the essence of continued sentiency. From this long description it is clear that he has no difference in himself, that is, he is unvaried; also by the words prapancho-paśama and advaita he is described as having no difference from a dissimilar or similar thing. Hence it follows that the Ātman is alone; that he is the meaning of the word "I"; that he is quite different from Viśva and others; that he is a witness of all the three states; and that he is the possessor of all experience.

The Atman is Immutable

From the statement that the Ātman shows everything and knows everything, one may be led to think that the Ātman acts inasmuch as he shows and knows things, just as a man is seen to act, when he is seen moving. It is a rule that whatever acts, is mutable and changeable. Hence it follows that as the Ātman acts, he is mutable. It follows, therefore, that the Ātman is transient and not at all eternal. The reply to this objection is as follows:—

When we say that the Ātman shows and knows things, the meaning is that the intellect shows and knows everything with the light borrowed from the Ātman, with whom it is in constant association. When a king goes on a procession mounted on an elephant, we are accustomed to say that the king moves. But on a little reflection we see that the king does not at all move, but it is the elephant that moves. Again when we say that a stone stands or a gem throws light, we must understand that there can be no action of standing or arrest of motion in a stone; nor can there be the action of throwing light on the part of a gem. Things are, however, seen in the light of the gem; but no action on the part of the gem is, however, seen. The action of throwing light is merely apparent but not real. In the case of the Ātman also, action is merely apparent but not at all real. Hence it follows that

the Ātman is immutable and unchangeable, but self-illuminating like the sun and a gem. In the light of the sun the eyes see colours of things and the sun seems to do the act of bringing them to light; but the sun does no such action. All that the sun does is that he sheds his own light and the colours manifest themselves though there is no movement on the part of the sun. Likewise in the presence of the Ātman, the intellect comes to see and know everything; but in this act of seeing and knowing on the part of the intellect, there is no action whatever on the part of the Ātman. He is perfect and immutable, and it is only in his light that everything is lighted and manifested. Without the light of the sun no material object can reveal itself. Likewise without the light of the Ātman nothing of the world can reveal itself. Just as a red-hot iron is said to give out light and heat only in virtue of its association with fire, so the intellect shows and knows things only by virtue of its association with the self-illuminating Ātman. Just as the thickness, length, movement and other acts of a red-hot iron ball or rod are attributed to the fire itself, so the actions of the intellect are attributed to the Ātman. Like the fire the Ātman is devoid of all kinds of qualities and actions. Just as heat and light are the natural characteristics of the fire, so light and knowledge are the characteristics of the Ātman. Just as the fire on an iron ball or rod, burns grass and other things, so the Ātman on the intellect reveals and knows the whole world. The Upanishads also declare that he knows everything and that there is none that can know him. The Bhagavadgīta also says that he knows both the past and the present. It should not, however, be objected that since the Ātman is said to be the agent of knowing, he becomes an actor in the act of knowing and that therefore according to the principle that whatever possesses action is transient, he becomes transient like every other thing. This objection has already been explained away. Just as the sky seems to move by virtue of the ascription to it of the movement of something else, so the Ātman who is eternal, complete in himself and devoid of parts appears to act by

the action of something else. Knowing is his nature. His knowing becomes manifest in association with the intellect. In the manifestation of his knowing the intellect plays the part of spectacles to a man of short or long sight in reading. Thus with the aid of reasoning, experience and the Upanishads it is proved that light, knowing, bliss, eternity, and knowledge are the nature of the Ātman. It is only to render the nature of the Ātman clear that he was elsewhere identified with Prāṇa or sub-consciousness of deep sleep. It is usual with people to point to the branch of a tree and tell a young child to direct its eyes across the branch pointed out towards the sky straight and see the moon. Likewise here the identification of the Ātman with the Prāṇa or sub-consciousness of deep sleep is only to show where to look for recognizing the presence and nature of the Ātman. Now it has been made clear that the Ātman is different from Viśva, Taijasa and Prāṇa who are all conditioned and that the Ātman is not at all conditioned like them and that he is immutable, changeless, pure, and witness of all and that he is the meaning of "I". What is implied in the Upanishad in identifying the Ātman with the Prāṇa is to point out the nature of Moksha or emancipation. The state of emancipation is almost like the state of deep sleep, in that both are undifferentiated states of bliss; the only difference between them is that while deep sleep is a state of ignorance, Moksha is a state of pure knowledge. This is the only aim of the Upanishad in identifying the Ātman with Prāṇa or the state of sub-consciousness in deep sleep, but not really the identification of the Ātman with Prāṇa.

The Ātman is One, but not Many

It is usually held that there are evidences such as (1) perception, (2) inference, (3) the Vedas, and (4) the Smritis to prove that instead of one there are many Ātmans. It is evident to each and every person that he has a self or Ātman different from that in the body of another. There are so many species of beings, each of which has a self. For the difference of the body indicates the difference of the self also;

the syllogistic reasoning is that the Ātman or self is different in each body, because the bodies are different. By saying that there are Aditi, the Devas, the Gāndharvas and so on, the Vedas make it clear that there are many Ātmans. By saying that one in a thousand attempts for Moksha, the Smritis also declare that there are many Ātmans. Again if there is only one Ātman common to all, there will be no difference between a happy and a miserable man. For on the hypothesis that, though the bodies are different, the Ātman in all of them is one, all persons should be happy or miserable, one feels happy or miserable. Again if there is only one Ātman common to the bodies of angels, wise men, and idiots, all have to be omniscient, wise or idiots; but the experience of the world is of the reverse nature. Hence it follows that there are as many Ātmans as there are bodies.

The above objection does not hold good: the reasoning that there are as many bodies as there are Ātmans, or that there are as many Ātmans as there are bodies, is not valid. For though the body of a child is different from that which the child will have as a youth, and though the body of a youth differs from that which the youth will have as an old man, no difference in the Ātman is acknowledged. If there were as many Ātmans as the stages of the body, then a youth would not be able to recall what he experienced as a young man, nor would an old man be able to remember what he experienced in his childhood or youth. Hence it follows that the principle that there are as many Ātmans as bodies is not at all valid. It holds good on the other hand that though the bodies may be different, the Ātman is one. Similarly though the bodies during the states of waking, dream, and deep sleep differ from each other, the Ātman who witnesses them all is, as pointed out already, one. The body is like an environment, and is a condition. It is a principle accepted by all that when the environment and conditions differ, experience also differs. Accordingly the experience of happiness or misery is not the same to all, for the bodies are different. The body is known as bhogāyatana or seat of

enjoyment or suffering. Accordingly as the bodies are different, the experience of happiness or misery is also different. Just as a red-hot pot changes in its colours owing to heat, though the heat remains the same without any change, so though the body or bodies may be and are changing from time to time or from man to man, the Ātman remains the same. Variation in the experience of happiness or misery according as the bodies are different is all due to difference in deeds done. The intellect and the mind which are material in their form do, however, vary with the bodies. The function of the intellect (buddhi) is knowledge (gnāna) and it does not go elsewhere leaving the person to whom it brings knowledge of things. Just as the flame of a light or fire changes from time to time and does not remain in the same form, so the intellect and the mind are changing from moment to moment and do not remain constant. Since the intellect and the mind do not come in contact with all things, the knowledge they bring in to their possessor is limited. Hence no man can be omniscient. Just as the sky and the atmosphere convey the waves of light and sound only to a limited place around where a light is kept or a drum is struck, though the sky and the atmosphere are pervading the whole universe, so though the Ātman is one and omnipresent, the knowledge which the intellect and the mind arouse in the light of the Ātman is confined to that body and those things with which they are associated at the time. Since the mental functions vary and are confined to a few things at a time, no one can be omniscient. Just as happiness and misery are due to good and bad deeds respectively, so emancipation and bondage are due to knowledge and ignorance respectively. A man may be standing in the ocean of nectar; still he will not be immortal unless he drinks the nectar. Likewise though the Ātman is one and all-pervading, still it is only he who has drunk the nectar of true knowledge of the nature of the Ātman that gets emancipation. Hence it is clear that the objections raised above are all groundless. Again perfection and

completeness of the Ātman is accepted by all. If there are many Ātmans like lamp-lights, then the Ātman would not be all-pervading. It is admitted that he is all-pervading like the sky. The Vedas also declare that the learned describe the one as many; that one god is hidden in many; that he appears as many, though he is one; that ignorance drives many a man to regard him as many.

The Atman is Advitiya, Secondless.

It may be questioned that when there are the sky and other things perceptible to the eyes, it is against reason to say that the Ātman is one alone and that he has no second thing similar or dissimilar to him.

This question will not arise, if the nature of our perception and other evidences are well considered. The whole world is like the appearance of silver on a conch-shell and like the blue colour of the sky. It may be now questioned:—whether the world consisting of the sky and other things remains in the form in which it appears to us, or whether its true form is quite different from that in which it appears to us? If it is held that it remains in its apparent form, the reason for holding that view should be stated. Is it perception; or inference, or analogy, or the Vedas, or the evidence of implication, or the evidence of negation (abhāva), or tradition or some other evidence? It is not, however, perception (pratyaksha), for perception does not represent things in their own form. For example, looking at the moon and the sky people usually say that he is as long as a span in his diametrical length, and that the sky is blue. But the moon is far bigger than a span and the sky is not at all blue. Our perception in these and other matters is as false as our perception of silver on a conch-shell. Looking at the form of an elephant carved out of wood, we call it an elephant; likewise though a pot or a wall is mere earth, we give it a different name and distinguish it from the earth. There is no syllogistic evidence to infer the existence of the world in its own form. Nor can there be the evidence of analogy, for we have not seen or heard of anything with which we can compare

the world in respect of its existence in its own form. In the analogy of an animal called gavaya with a cow, both the animals compared exist. There is no Vedic Vākya to prove the existence of the world in its own form. On the other hand the Vedas declare that duality is mere appearance. As to the implication inferable from the sayings of people that "this is the earth, this is the sun, this is the river, this is a mountain", that implication, namely, the earth, etc., must exist in its visible form, as otherwise the sayings of people will have no basis, is not at all valid; for though there is nothing corresponding to whatever is seen in a dream, dream-vision of things is not held to be a valid evidence about the existence of things seen in a dream. Nor can negation be an evidence here; for the question of existence of the world in its own form at issue is a positive hypothesis, and negation proves only a negative hypothesis, as for example, Devadatta is dead, because he is nowhere seen. In such a doubtful question as the existence of the world in its own form, no popular tradition can possibly be an evidence; for people may even say that "here walks the man, the son of a barren woman, holding a bow made of the horn of a hare". As to the evidence of probability, referred to by other evidence mentioned above, it cannot hold good here:—For the statement that the world exists in its own form, because it serves all our working purposes in its own form, cannot be valid. For even in the absence, in any form, of things seen in a dream, they are seen to serve our working purposes: men are seen to die of snake-bite fancied in a dream. The world may after all be like a world dreamt of. For these reasons the world cannot be believed to exist in its apparent form.

Compare the above with the conclusions of Kant: "The thing in itself is not at all seen,—Das Ding an sich ist nicht gesehen."

Again if the world be believed to exist by virtue of its being talked of, there arise two alternative questions, (1) whether it is self-existent or (2) whether it derives its existence from something else. It is not self-existent, because in

deep sleep it is not seen to exist, and because its existence is contradicted by the exclusive existence of that which is its basis. Just as a rope is the basis of a snake for which it is mistaken, so the Ātman or Brahman is the basis of the world which like a phantom appears on its basis. Just as a fancied snake is super-imposed on a rope, so the world is super-imposed on Brahman.

The World, a Creation of Brahman ?

It is a mistake to suppose that because the world is seen to exist by the young, the old, and all, and because the Vedas also declare that the world has evolved out of Brahman, like a pot out of clay, the world must necessarily exist. For it has already been shown that perception, or *pratyaksha*, is misleading and that our eyes and other senses do not represent things as those things are in their own form. As to the Vedic statement that the world is the creation of Brahman, it means that Brahman is the material cause of the world. It is known to all that the effect of a material cause is identical with its cause, and it is never different from it. Even if it is held that an effect is different from its material cause, even then it must mean that the effect differs from its cause only in its form and appearance, but not in its essence. It follows therefore that the effect is identical with its cause. The difference between a material cause and its effect is only in appearance of the latter, which is not at all real. Just as clay, the cause of a pot, and pot, the effect, differ only in form, so the world, the effect of Brahman, its material cause, differs from Brahman only in regard to its form; and that form is only artificial and unreal, that is, not eternal. Hence it follows that Brahman only is eternal and permanent. Just as clay mixed with water is transformed in the form of a pot, so Brahman by virtue of its nature to appear variously transforms itself or appears in the form of the varied world. The Vedas also declare that form and name are only verbal and not at all real. This explanation is based on the theory of transformation of Brahman in the form of the world. In the theory of transformation the cause is held to disappear in the form of its effect.

Hence it will follow that Brahman, the material cause of the world, disappears and transforms itself in the form of the world. As it is against the view that Brahman is eternal to hold that Brahman disappears and changes itself in the form of the world, others resort to the theory of Vivarta to explain the evolution of the world. This theory is almost similar to the theory of transformation or *Parīṇāmavāda*. The difference between the two theories is that while in the theory of transformation, the cause losing its own form appears in the form of its effect, in the latter the cause remaining in its own form brings about its effect in a different form. For example, when the ocean is disturbed, there appear waves and foam. Here the ocean is said to be the vivarta-cause of its waves, foam, bubbles. Here the ocean is seen to retain its own form distinct from its waves and foam. Similarly when a conch-shell appears as silver, the former is said to be the vivarta-cause of the latter. Here, though unperceived, the conch-shell retains its form and gives rise to the appearance of silver. Likewise Brahman retains its form, while giving rise to the evolution of the world. It follows, therefore, that the world is unreal in its own form, and that it is merely phenomenal. It also follows that Brahman or *Ātman* is the only entity that is real, and that the world is mere appearance. The Vedas also declare the same idea, saying that Brahman is one alone without a second. This can be proved by the evidence of perception. It is known to all that in deep sleep there is nothing except Brahman or *Ātman*. It is in the experience of Yoga-practisers that in *Samādhi*, a kind of deep contemplation with the mind absorbed in the *Ātman*, nothing but the presence of the *Ātman* or Brahman is cognized. There is also the syllogistic reasoning in support of the same view:—Brahman is one alone and secondless, because it is all-pervading, because it is the one basis of all kinds of phenomena, because the visible world can exist till it is negated by cognition of Brahman, its eternal basis, and because there is no possibility of anything else to remain, when the whole space is occupied or pervaded by the omnipresent Being, Brahman or *Ātman*.

Whatever cannot be spoken of in this way cannot be Brahman; a pot, for example, cannot be spoken of as omnipresent, etc., hence it cannot be one alone without a second. Whatever appears as a distinct thing from another in name, form, colour, in its class, or action should be considered as Brahman in its essence, its distinction due to its name, etc., being rejected as phenomenal.

(To be continued.)

MR. V. N. NARASIMHA IYENGAR'S DIARY.

Introductory Note.

THE late Mr. V. N. Narasimha Iyengar, after serving in the several departments of the State, finally retired as Palace Comptroller (?). His papers were left with me several years ago. I regret I was unable to go through them and make them available to the public, till now.

Mr. Narasimha Iyengar was a prolific writer with an incisive style. His correspondence is copious: he had friends in all parts of India and England with whom he maintained a continuous stream of correspondence in literary and historical studies and on social and political matters. He was also a reformer in religion. His connection with the Survey and Census operations in Mysore and his intimacy with the giant intellects of the day gave him vast opportunities which he has utilized to the full.

On the 14th December 1872, Mr. Narasimha Iyengar left Bangalore on a pilgrimage to Benares. Some of the impressions which he gathered in the course of the journey as well his experiences of the tour deserve notice. In the Diary, which has been preserved and from which certain extracts are given in this issue, will be noticed the keen insight and the remarkable powers of observation which he possessed. The reader will get an insight into the conditions of railway travel in those days.

Mr. Narasimha Iyengar was, as he says, the first Mysorean who started on a prolonged tour through the classic north, with the object of enlarging his experience of the world and of looking at things with a critical eye, uninfluenced by any superstitious notions.

I am omitting from the Diary the writer's experiences regarding differential treatment between Europeans and Indians, the lack of accommodation in the trains and several other matters, as the lapse of half a century has seen marked progress in all these directions.

S. SRIKANTAIYA.

EXTRACTS.

14th December 1872. Started from Bangalore... on a prolonged tour through the classic north, with the object of enlarging my experience of the world....

The country around the railway wore a most enlivening and smiling aspect with paddy and sugarcane fields uncut and with their wavy, golden and green lands. The recent and unusual floods which characterized this year also lent to the scene a welcome addition. The heights of the eastern ghats, too, tossed about as they are in wild confusion forming a labyrinth through which the great serpent-like train wriggled its way to the plains, rendered me more than ever thoughtful...

As we progressed in our journey, we felt the heavenly climate we were leaving behind....

Arkonam (reached by 5-15 p.m.) seems to be entirely a creation of the railway. It is a busy town, the trade of which is fed by the travellers, whose necessity is the opportunity of the small traders. Rice was being sold at fourteen seers a rupee, and good ghee was also procurable... The charge in the Brahman chatram is two annas per ordinary meal, embracing rice, chāru, curry, an inkling of ghee and tyre.

Ducks are reared here in abundance by the ryots and sold at four annas each. A person exporting them to Bangalore would soon acquire a competence.

15th December 1872. Started for Tirupati, after a hasty breakfast about 9-50 a.m.

The Iron Road pierces a wild and picturesque part of the country. The works are very costly, crossing numerous rivulets and streams which were all running more or less on account of the unusual floods of this year. Several huge rocks too were blasted and cut through to make way for the invincible iron-horse. The cultivation is more in valleys which alternate with the hills. Ragi and javari flourish as we approach Tirupati which is a large station....

We got into a bullock cart which would not go faster than about a mile an hour, notwithstanding the twisting of

the tails of the bullocks. The heat was parching. After alternately walking and squatting in the cart for about three hours we arrived at the town of Tirupati, which is about six and a half miles from the railway station.

The town is imbedded in a wide valley, enclosed by the Tirupati and Chandragiri ranges of hills, which are a continuation of the Eastern Ghats. It is tolerably clean and populous. The houses are almost all terrace-roofed and built with brick-in-chunam. At the entrance, there is a Mari or Grama Dēvatē temple. At the front of it, two huge stone figures of Sṛī Dēvi and Bhū Dēvi, wives of Vishnu, are placed opposite each other, and the road runs between them. These belonged, it appears, to a revived temple and Mr. J. D. Robinson, the Collector, had them placed where they are. They are nicely carved but the breasts are too disproportionate. They represent the goddesses unrobed in a sitting posture. There is a fine park in the town called the People's Park founded by Robinson aforesaid. It is very gracefully planted with trees of all sorts, inclusive of the casuarina, and there is a small stream flowing through it from a small tank. There are good roads intersecting the town.....The chief attraction of the place is the temple of Govindarajaswami. It is a very spacious structure: the entrance is crowned with a stupendous spire or gōpuram of seven stories, with brass kalasās at the summit. It is of brick and chunam work, profusely ornamented. A great many of the figures are unfortunately most obscene. It is a feature inseparable from these structures and from the cars, a large specimen of which is also here. The road from the chief entrance to the second is lined on both sides by the houses of the temple officials and other smaller temples. Opposite the second gate, there is a very beautiful fountain fed from a nāla or spring about two miles off. The central work is out of order, but the water overflows the four sides of the cistern all round the year. It is deep and square. All the people wash themselves and perform their rites on its margin, though no one is allowed to dip in his body or feet in the water. Much of the water runs to waste, creating a marsh

in the neighbourhood...The temple seems to be a cluster of buildings of several classes and ages. Part of it is in disrepair and part under restoration. It cannot lay much claim to architectural beauty, excepting in the matter of a few stone pillars and a stone *mantapam*. The former are well carved, and divided into four sides, three being rounded and forming smaller pillars, and the fourth cut into a horse or lion rampant, the whole being a single block. There are a great many of these pillars in the temples. The *mantapam* is a most richly carved pavilion about twelve feet square, wrought out of gneiss. It is installed in a spacious court to the right of the principal idol. Owing to the vandalism of the temple people, it is completely covered by a thick coat of filth, very tough and ages old. The whole of the cluster of buildings up to the second gate forms a square which is fortified by substantial grey granite walls. The internal and external walls are built of slabs (some being of black stone) which are covered with inscriptions in Grantha, Tamil and Telugu. No one seems to have deciphered them.

Here the people are Telugu, and their manners and customs have a tinge of those of Madras.

About two miles from the town of Tirupati in a northerly direction is a picturesque waterfall called Kapila Teertham. A volume of water falls from a height about six feet from the summit of one of the Tirupati range of hills. The cataract falls into a large stone-faced oblong pond which is surrounded on three sides by several *mantaps* and temples. It is a very romantic spot, near enough to the town to be reached by a wholesome walk and yet far enough not to be defiled by the people.

The sight of the town in the moonlight is very charming. Mr. J. D. Robinson has shown much taste and skill in the laying out of the Park. There are several idols placed at the angles of the roads which pass through it, taken from the ruined temple aforesaid. One was a very large sleeping figure of Ranganatha very nicely carved, though not richly. There is a huge stone serpent with five heads and the hood extended. It is about six feet high.

16th December 1872.—*Tirupati*.—The first range of hills presents to the distant observer the form of a huge serpent, lying on the ground with its body extended in curves. This is due to the depressions in the surface of the range. Hence the whole is dubbed Seshachala or mountain of Sessa. The *sthala purana* goes to say that the hills are the *avatars* of the serpentine god.

The *dhooley* bearers keep singing one after another in a monotonous tone. The refrains are *noom* and *volee*. The ascent is very steep for the first two miles, the primitive road maker not having very extended ideas of road making. The whole way up is covered with stone steps, the smoothness of which bespeak the countless millions of devotees who have gone over them. The way up to the *ghali gopuram* is exceptionally steep and difficult. We hurriedly estimated the gradient to be in some places one in three. Almost all the steps are engraved with the names and particular acts of pilgrims. The engravings have been much worn off by the feet of subsequent visitors to the temple. The hill sides are covered with scrub jungle which, I was told, shelter all sorts of wild animals, excepting perhaps the elephant and lion. The first *gopuram* or gate is the *ghali gopuram* aforesaid. There is a Bhairagi Matha here which is richly endowed with inams for feeding the pilgrims. We did not observe, however, that there was any show of hospitality. The trees in these jungles, although proudly looked upon by the natives of the country, are pigmies when compared with the giants of the Western Ghats. In one part of the road, up to the top of the hills, there is a precipice with perpendicular sides, which reminded me of the Western Ghats. It was very grand, looking into it from the brink and as the road was not parapetted in some places, I could not help feeling exceedingly nervous and uncomfortable when the bearers hurried my *dhooley* close to the mouth of the yawning abyss.

One of the curses of the shrine is the number of unfortunate and threatening beggars who beset all the pilgrims and chance visitors.....

After a weary trudge of nearly ten miles over seven hills, the *dhooley* was at last deposited in front of a ruined gate. It appears no one is allowed, out of respect to the God, to proceed in *dhooley* or palanquin beyond the gate, the Svami of Sringeri being an exception so far as to be able to go a few yards further. It is a rule of the shrine that no one can ascend the hill with shoes on. We were all bare-footed. The small polyangular pebbles which pave the way up the hill made alarming gashes and cracks in our soles. After leaving the *dhooleys*, we proceeded on foot to the next gate which is still more dilapidated. To the left is a stone *mantap* with a thousand carved pillars, which was under repair when we visited the shrine. Turning to the left, we came upon a street which led us to the gate of the temple and which gradually descended to the level of another street running at right angles to it. There was a stream of water, the draining of the small settlement, running along this street.

There is a bathing pond, *Svami Pushkarini*, whose water was full of organic impurities and covered with a pretty thick green scum. The local *Purana* says that there are nine *teerthams* or holy waters in it.

The architecture of the temple is of the same style and age as that of the temple in the town of Tirupati. Some of the pillars were more richly carved and there is another *Kalyana Mantapam* of the same kind as the one below, only this is in a better state of preservation. There are several stone and bronze statues of bygone kings whose donations to the temple tend to swell its revenue.....In the inner compound, there is a well whose origin is mythological and it is said that flowers which would float in any other water would sink at once in this. We tried the experiment and it was not proved.

On gliding past the vestibule, leaving the outer gate, where a bell is incessantly being tolled, we could see the great God Srinivasa here visible in all its glory. It is an idol about seven feet high standing on a high pedestal, with four arms and cut of a fine-grained blackstone. It was coated

with gold armour, and bejewelled ornaments. The forehead was adorned by two large perpendicular streaks of *pachcha karpuram* in imitation of the tri-marks. The first two arms hold golden representations of the Sankha and Chakra which were not originally cut out of the stone block. They were, however, blackened so far as to appear to be stone to the uninitiated. This is the god which attracts so many devotees from all parts of India; which it is believed to be dire destruction to offend; which can only be propitiated by rich donations; which inspires the scoffer with dread; and which is believed to survive all the great deluges which will one day overtake the world. Looking at its expressionless face, we could not but be disappointed at the reality falling far short of reputation. The wealth of the temple is considered fabulous. The managers are the Bhairagees who have got unchecked sway over the vast wealth of the institution.....The chief guru of the Bhairagees is called the Mahant of the Math of Hatti Ram.....

The temple receives donations from men in all parts of India. The most careless idolator dreads this god.....The collections are estimated at four lakhs...

One of the sources of the temple revenues is the sale of the prepared rice.....Numerous grandees have instituted charities in this temple, by which the founders intended that the food after being shown to the god should be distributed to travellers and poor people. But what we see now is a direct violation of the intentions of the founders. In the first place, the food is not properly prepared....Our Maisur Raja has founded a charity by which one *gangala* or large vessel full of rich food should be daily offered to the idol and distributed to the poor and strangers. There is a chatram of the Maisur Maharaja on the hill...

The *Kalyana Mantapams* above referred to are used when the ceremony of the god's marriage is gone through every year. They are really very good pieces of sculpture.

The *Garbha-griham* or holy of holies is darkened by the fumes of camphor which is incessantly burned at the request

of devotees. One waving of the camphor called *Mangalarati* costs one rupee.

At the foot of the hills, there is a big spire part of which was, it appears, struck down by lightning. Numerous big pairs of shoes and wooden sandals are kept here and the legend is that they are used by the great God Srinivasa. On the top of the hill, no one is allowed to wear flowers in his locks in honour of the god. The tradition is that some ruffianly *pujari* had been formerly keeping a mistress to whom he conveyed the flower intended for the god. One of the Anegondi Rajas, who was at the period master of the country, enquired about the matter, when the *pujari* secretly transferred the flowers to the god from the head of his charmer. The Raja received it but noticed a hair in it which the *pujari* affirmed belonged to the god. In order to save his worshipper's neck, Srinivasa Svami confirmed the falsehood, but ordered that nobody should wear flowers hereafter while on the top of the hill. Within the second *prakara* or circle, there is a small cistern into which the washings of the god flow through a secret channel. There is a profuse waste of the scents and the water is impregnated with a solution of them. But, in other respects, it is very filthy and unfit even for our touch. Every pilgrim is required to swallow a handful of this filth, on pain of the direst consequences. Purnaiya, it appears, loathed to do this, and instantly lost his eye-sight. Some one advised him to do penance part of which consisted of washing his eyes with the *Thotti Teertham* as this cistern water is called. His faith was rewarded by the restoration of his eyes.

The descent is weary and distressful walking. Telugu is spoken throughout the country. The ethnology, manners and customs of this region differ from those of the Madras side.

17th December 1872.—From Tirupati, the railroad goes through a hilly and wild country and the survey was very striking, especially as we looked at it in the moonlight.

The knowledge that there is a police station on the top of the hill and that any injury to our person and property will not go unpunished were very reassuring to us.

The Bhairagi Math people have watchmen at intervals along the ascent. They are armed with antediluvian matchlocks, such as are found with the Hale Paika men of the Malnad.

The late Mr. Singriengar of Bangalore is a well-known character here. He has founded several charities and "sévéés" or services and his chattram at "Aitepalli", twelve miles from Tirupati is well known to most travellers. It was the ark of safety and comfort before the days of the railway.

We did part of the descent walking. It was very weary, and I felt the pain in my thighs and calves for days after. The descent from the *Ghali Gopuram* is very distressing and fearful. It was about 6 p.m. by the time we returned to the town of Tirupati, utterly exhausted and weary.

The town of Tirupati and the settlement on the top of the hills are full of monkeys. They thrive in the same manner as the Brahmans who are equally filthy. Mr. Darwin would have found a great many facts here in support of his theory of the descent of man, and the survival of the fittest.

In pursuance of our programme, started after tea, for Tiruchánur, about two miles from Tirupati. We were very kindly assisted by Shama Row, a local pleader and a very intelligent man. There is a temple at Tiruchanur dedicated to Lakshmi and it is in charge of the Mahant. It was under repair. The style of architecture is the same as at Tirupati. There is a very nice pond near the temple, which contains clear water, although people wash themselves freely in it. The vegetable matter in the pond absorbs all organic impurities and hence the clear water.

(To be continued.)

LINGUISTICA.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

IF in the final quarter of the nineteenth century the study of comparative speech-science or linguistics as built up by Indo-Europeanist scholars won for itself a unique place among the departments of learning, this science has, within the last thirty years, made still further strides in three directions particularly.

Intensive specialization is proceeding apace in Indo-European and connected fields. The work initiated in the last century is being pushed forward vigorously; and so numerous to-day are the branches in which intensive progress in research has been achieved that it has become next to impossible for any present-day scholar to acquire anything more than a generalized idea of the subject as a whole. New materials are being collected assiduously, old perspectives are being revised and enlarged, and our knowledge alike of the details and of the generalities is being enhanced. The acceptance of the principle that dialects and folk-speeches could illumine the truths of speech-science much better than literary forms of speech and standardized varieties has led to a partial revision of our methods of approach. Dialectography or linguistic geography is laying bare to us interesting new facts about the incidence of phonetic and semantic changes. 'Experimental phonetics' is trying to clarify our views about sound-changes from a novel and significant standpoint. The study of accentology has revolutionized the study of certain aspects of the history of languages. Investigations into comparative syntax are revealing new view-points of which we had but hazy notions hitherto. The importance of speech-psychology is receiving greater recognition than before, and in this connection the 'social' aspects of language-development have begun to claim attention. The development of the comparatively new subject of semantics is helping

forward the process of the reconstruction of the past history of forms. Thus we are witnessing to-day an extraordinarily rapid development in what a French linguist has called the 'diachronistic' and the 'synchronistic' aspects of Indo-Europeanist linguistics.

Greater interest is being shown to-day in the study of the language-families other than Indo-Germanic. While the work turned out here is admittedly meagre, scholars everywhere are agreed in recognizing the value of extra-*IGc.* studies both for the enlargement of our existing views and for the solution of the general problems of language. The language-families of America, of "Austro-asia", of Central Asia and China, the non-Aryan speeches of India, the Semitic and the Finno-Ugrian families,—all these are engaging the attention of linguists who have mastered the discipline of Indo-Germanist studies. It is yet too early for us to expect here the precision of method and the sureness of facts which we associate with *IGc.* studies; but the fact that many Indo-Germanists themselves have envisaged the importance of the new spheres of work is in itself a considerable step in advance.

Yet another direction in which a new outlook is becoming popular is in the application of comparative linguistics to the confirmation or correction of the results of comparative sociology and culture. Linguistics by itself cannot elucidate these things; but linguistic facts, if used with caution and reserve, might afford valuable confirmatory evidence of what history, archæology and ethnology might tell us of the pre-historic past. "Letzten Endes," says a German scholar, "ist die Sprachforschung eine Unterabteilung der Kulturgeschichte der Völker."

All this increased activity in the world of linguistics is reflected in some of the recent European publications.

The history of Sanskrit or old Indo-Aryan is of the utmost importance to the students of Indian Linguistics; and *OIA* being intimately allied to *IGc.* the progress achieved in the latter has had its reaction on our views of the former also. The revised second edition of Prof. Thumb's

popular "Handbuch des Sanskrit" (2 parts, Grammar and Texts, in the "Indo-Germanische Bibliothek" series, published by Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1930) embodies the results of the latest *IGc.* researches so far as they affect the history of Sanskrit. The popularity of Thumb's work was due to the fact that it brought together in a brief and systematically arranged form the descriptive and historical aspects of *OIA*. To the Indo-Europeanist who found himself forced by the lack of a synoptic handbook to restrict his attention to Greek and Latin, Thumb's volume was a god-send. There was indeed no want of comprehensive treatises of Sanskrit containing the exposition of details; but a concise *resumé* of a minimum of essentials useful for comparative study, synthesizing the descriptive and historical sides, was first furnished by Thumb's Handbook. The second edition has been prepared by the great master of *IGc.* studies, Prof. Hirt, with considerable improvements and notes incorporating the latest views. Prof. Hirt has rewritten some portions of the work (e.g., the whole of Ch. VII treating about Gradation), and he has added a *Nachtrag* of thirty-five pages of small print, containing a wealth of suggestions and references. Particularly noteworthy among these are those on the age of the *R̥g-Veda* (§27), the neutral vowels of *IGc.* (§§58, 59), Fortunatov's Law (§87), the origin and history of Sanskrit inflexional endings (§§230, 238, 244, 245), *OIA* numerals (§377), verb-endings (§418), the Conjunctive and the Injunctive (§§440, 441), Causatives as original combinations (§ 593), *samāsās* of the type of वशग (dependant) and कृतघ्न (thankless) (§667), the origin of *samāsās* generally (§670), etc.

Prof. Hirt's independent researches into many *IGc.* problems, particularly *Ablaut*, are well known. Further, unlike many another scholar, he has not fought shy of the problem of the origin of inflexional endings, verbal terminations and suffixes. His contribution to all these special topics is of unique value, notwithstanding the fact that some of his views may not be shared by others. All these new results which have a direct bearing on the study of *OIA* have

been indicated by Prof. Hirt in his notes and *Nachtrag* to Thumb's volume. The new edition of this work has therefore gained immensely by being revised by this *IGc.* master. Its popularity and usefulness have thereby been immeasurably increased. Students of Sanskrit Linguistics would find valuable guidance in the new edition of Thumb's work and in its latest orientation.

A sure index to the progress, in range and in depth, of *IGc.* studies is furnished by the two monumental etymological Dictionaries: Boisacq's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* and Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (both published by Carl Winter, Heidelberg). An indispensable condition precedent to the composition of a satisfactory etymological dictionary is the existence of linguistic research (extensive and intensive) in connection with the language concerned. Generations of scholars had well prepared the materials for Greek and Latin; and these only remained to be utilised by master-minds with correct powers of judgment and an accurate sense of proportion. Boisacq's work is a marvel of precision, judgment and scholarship in this line. The structural and the semantic contents of Greek words of all dialects are chronologically traced, the latest view-point in regard to loan-words is envisaged (*viz.*, Meillet's view that all Greek words need not have been *IE* in origin but may have been borrowings from pre-*IE* speeches), the most recent results of epigraphy and philology are requisitioned, the affinities are discussed exhaustively and copious references are made to the literature on each point. A mine of information is contained under each item, and the work is indispensable not only to students of Greek but also to all linguists who concern themselves with etymological studies that may have at all a connection with *IGc.* Walde's etymological dictionary is a work of equal merit and importance. It is passing through its second edition and already two parts of the work have been issued. The previous editions which evoked the encomiums of scholars, are being amplified and improved by the present editor, J. F. Hofmann. The results

of the latest researches (*i.e.*, the question of borrowings and Etruscan connexions) are as far as possible being embodied. The work, when completed, will prove to be as much a monument of the depth and range of Indo-Europeanist linguistic research as Boisacq's work mentioned above.

Specialist research in the ramifications of *IGc.* tells the same tale of minuteness and methodology. A short monograph for instance (published by Carl Winter of Heidelberg in the "Slavica" series) on "Slavische and Indo-Germanische Intonation" by K. H. Meyer attempts to reconstruct methodically the character and variations of *IGc.* accent by tracing them back from an analysis and comparison of accentual features of Greek and Ur-Slavonic on the one hand and the reverse peculiarities of Lithuanian accent on the other. The author demonstrates that Ur-Slavonic features are directly descended from and reflective of the *IGc.* traits, and that the Lithuanian peculiarities form a departure from the normal. This is the main thesis of the paper, while a few other questions are also dealt with, the most important among which, from a general point of view, are that the rigid demarcation usually drawn between dynamic accent (or stress) and musical accent (pitch) and the inferences drawn therefrom are unreal and that qualitative *Ablaut* in *IGc.* must have been brought about by dynamic stress and not by musical pitch which, unlike the former, is extremely inconsistent and shifting. In regard to this last point, a difference of opinion is possible as to whether it is proper to attribute (as the author does on page 43) to the older stages of language the conditions governing pitch in modern speech. However this may be, the thesis on the whole is an excellent illustration of what the younger European scholars trained in the discipline of scientific linguistics are achieving in specialist spheres.

We have already adverted to the increasing recognition by Western linguists of the need for studying language-families other than Indo-Germanic. The most conspicuous among the advocates of this new outlook belong to the "Anthropos" school of linguists headed by the eminent Catholic *savant*,

Father Wilhelm Schmidt. It is this enlarged perspective that underlies the monographs in the "Linguistische Bibliothek" series edited by Fathers Schmidt and Koppers. Volume IV of this series is a very bulky work on *Die nominalen Klassifikations-systeme in den Sprachen der Erde* by Dr. Gerlach Royen (published by "Anthropos"—Administration 1930). The exceedingly comprehensive outlook of the author is indicated by the following observations of his in the Preface, which mirror the attitude of the "Anthropos" school itself:—

"Es beginnt sich immer mehr die Erkenntnis durchzusetzen, dass ein Studium des Sprachlichen, die sich auf ein kleineres Sprachgebiet einengt, nicht nur im Stoff beschränkter bleibt, sondern auch ausserstande sein wird, in die tieferen Fragen nach Warum und Woher der sprachlichen Tatsachen entdeckend einzudringen. Die Ansicht, dass die Indogermanist dadurch, dass sie lauter Fragen rein formalistischer Art nachgeht, sich in eine Sachgasse verrannt hat, wird ohne Rückhalt von jenen Sprachwissenschaftlern vertreten, die ihren Gesichtskreis etwas weiter erstreckten als bloss auf indogermanisches Sprachgebiet."

The subject of the classification of nouns, when approached so comprehensively as in the present work, embraces quite a phenomenally large variety of problems each of which would demand a monograph for itself. Of this fact the author is not unaware, as we note from the beginning of chapter III:—

"Es ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, alle Schwierigkeiten zu lösen und noch weniger, alle Probleme endgültig zu behandeln.....Wir hegen indessen die stille Hoffnung dass unsere vielfach nur fragmentarische Besprechung junge Linguisten anregen wird, die verschiedenen Einzelfragen zum Gegenstand von Spezialstudien zu machen."

The author's object is only to put together, with critical remarks, the views of scholars on various topics and to adumbrate new perspectives of his own. This work, such as it is, has been well carried out, and the author is entitled to the gratitude of all linguists who will find in this

work valuable guidance for a critical understapding of authoritative views, and incentive for pursuing special topics further.

IGc. problems form the main centre of interest, as is only to be expected from the enormous progress achieved here; but under the inspiration of his *guru*, Prof. C. C. Uhlenbeck, the author has collected, classified and compared many interesting materials from other language-families also. The different theories (excepting "zu kühne Hypothesen oder unbeweisbare Phantasien" which are shunned) are reproduced as far as possible in the words of the respective opponents, and these views are critically analysed.

The views of scholars from Protagoras down to Schuchardt, Meillet and Wackernagel, on the origin and character of nominal gender, are reproduced in chapters *I* and *II*. This section covers two hundred and seventy pages and, besides the actual documentation, contains certain helpful critical viewpoints, though in the main it is more or less an objective chronological survey of the development of ideas in regard to *IGc.* gender and the gender-systems of other language systems alike. In fact, the author quotes approvingly the view of R. Gatti: "Viele würden zu anderen Einsichten gekommen sein, wenn sie 'un po' fuori dell'indoeuropeo', Umschau gehalten hätten." Objective on the whole as is the treatment here, the views of one great scholar, Prof. Meillet regarding *IGc.* gender are subjected to an exhaustive critical examination (p. 218 ff) because "Meillet's Autorität als Sprachwissenschaftler ist so gross."

The third part of the work (being the major portion, covering about 670 pages) deals with a very large number of topics connected with the classification of nouns. Some of the most interesting and striking among these are the following:—

1. Sexual Bilingualism and its possible relationship to the origin of gender: among others, the view of Fraser is dealt with here; but on the whole Fraser's theory (in the author's opinion) is a mere "card-stack in which hypothesis is

piled upon hypothesis and which may tumble down at the slightest breeze."

2. Gender-differentiation as the reflection of *Psychopathia sensualis*: Bildersleeve's fantasies, among others, are criticised here: Bildersleeve's methods are "die Karikatur einer ernsten Untersuchung, ein symptom der moralischer Dekadenz."

3. The possible influence of mythological personification on the origin of gender,—too frail a hypothesis (in the author's opinion) to support a convincing gender-theory.

4. The discrepancy between sex and gender: old views are fully discussed, and the author suggests a new explanation of his own (p. 436 ff.).

5. Nominal formatives and suffixes: Jespersen's theory of 'Syncretion,' Bloomfield's 'Adaptation' and other views are mentioned and illustrated.

6. Sound-symbolism, accentual variations, vocalic and consonantal inter-mutations, and their possible relationship to the origin of gender: these are very interesting topics from a general point of view, and useful materials from many non-IGc. languages are here collected and discussed. This is of course a field "auf dem das Irrlicht der Phantasie den Sprachwissenschaftler licht in den Sumpf locken kann"; nevertheless the subject, when cautiously handled, is not without unique importance in the clearing-up of many linguistic problems. It may be interesting to note here that some of the phenomena adduced in these sections have parallels in Dravidian.

7. Prof. Uhlenbeck's theory of *casus energeticus* and *casus inertiae* together with a discussion of other views on the origin of cases: the subject shunned by many till a few decades ago as belonging to the sphere of 'glottogony', has now, rightly enough, begun to engage the attention of even IGc. specialists.

While the above topics are of general interest and are discussed alike with reference to IGc. and to other language-systems, §§9, 10, 12 and 13 are concerned mainly with IGc.

problems; §§9 and 10 contain only summaries of the author's Dutch thesis on the *IGc.* nominal-system.

Helpful critical views are interspersed throughout the third part of the work, and these enable the student to adopt a correct orientation in regard to the many controversial topics.

Dr. Royen's work* is indeed a valuable symposium and a useful guide. Both as a book of reference in the department with which it is concerned, and as a thought-provoking guide to future specialist studies on the various aspects of the vast problem of nominal classification (which, be it observed here, touches and overlaps many another linguistic question), this volume will be welcomed by linguists. Reflecting as it does the enlarged outlook of modern researchers who postulate the necessity for studying other language-systems than *IGc.*, the book will also prove useful to students who may be particularly concerned with individual non-*IGc.* language-families.

All this phenomenal advance in the study of linguistics in Europe has had its reactions on Indian scholars also. A distinct impetus has been given to the study of Indo-Aryan linguistic problems by the works of European scholars like Profs. Bloch and Turner and by the completion of the great *Linguistic Survey of India* by Grierson. India is a vast linguistic museum and the problems awaiting investigation are countless in number. So far as Indo-Aryan is concerned, the brilliant pioneer work of Grierson has to be extended further by the collection of additional material and comparison of features. Individual scholars like Prof. S. Varma of Jammu, Prof. S. K. Chatterjee of Calcutta and Prof. Baburam Saxena of Allahabad—all of them well trained on Western lines—have taken up this work with commendable earnestness. The study of the non-Aryan 'Austic' dialects of India is yet

* We may observe here that the book, though provided with bibliographical lists and a good index, lacks a detailed table of contents, and this renders the handling of the book extremely difficult. Of course the topics are indicated at the beginning of Chapter III; but this is inadequate in view of the variety and complexity of the topics discussed.

in its infancy. Here too, individual scholars are busy collecting materials. Rev. P. O. Bodding of the Santal Mission is now bringing out a comprehensive lexicon of the Santâli language, while for Mundâri a lexicological encyclopædia is being published by Father Hoffmann in Patna. Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurthi, the veteran Savara scholar, is engaged in the composition of a grammar and a dictionary of Savara. We must not also omit to make mention here of the remarkable labours of Prof. Przyluski of Paris who has struck out a new path of inquiry in which the application of the facts of IA and Kolarian linguistics to the outlining of new historical perspectives is playing a prominent part.

So far as Dravidian is concerned, we must confess that much work has not yet been done. Among non-Indian scholars Prof. F. O. Schrader appears to have written a great deal on Dravidian but his work has not yet been published. Prof. Bloch is taking a keen interest in Dravidian studies, particularly in the sphere of Aryo-Dravidian connections; and Mr. E. H. Tuttle of America has published a number of papers which, while they cannot be said to have solved Dravidian problems finally, are certainly original and thought-provoking. At this stage, for Dravidian, far more important is the collection of materials than the adumbration of theories. Many of the lesser dialects still await analysis and investigation by trained scholars. For instance, we may mention here that there are no satisfactory accounts of Tōḍa and Koḍagu; Pope's short account of Tōḍa and Cole's sketchy grammar of Koḍagu, both written more than about three-quarters of a century ago, are totally inadequate and incomplete. The local and provincial peculiarities of even the major dialects require to be analysed further. Satisfactory vocabularies and grammatical records exist now for Kurukh and Kûi; but they are wanting for Gōṇḍi, Malto and Madras sub-dialects like Baḍaga, Iruḷa, and Vizagapatam Kōi. Notwithstanding the availability of materials in the major dialects, we have yet to possess connected historical grammars in which the features are traced chronologically from the earliest extant texts and inscriptions.

The recent formation of a Linguistic Society of India (organized by Profs. S. Varma, S. K. Chatterjee and A. C. Woolner) marks a milestone in the study of Indian languages. We may confidently hope that this Society will co-ordinate the activities of scholars all over India and help forward the study of Indian Linguistics in all its branches.

HARSHAVARĀDHANA IN THE KARNATAK.

BY B. A. SALETORÉ, ESQ., M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4.)

THESE ideas of a Dig-Vijaya are reflected in the "Ratnāvali", a drama written by Harsha.

(i) In the reply given by Vasubhūti, the ambassador of the king of Sindhala, to King Vatsa the king of Kausambhi, it is evident that the latter desired to marry Ratnāvali in order that he might become the emperor of the world.

".....In consequence of the prophecy of the seer, that whoever should wed Ratnāvali, my master's daughter, should become the emperor of the world, your Majesty's minister, as you are aware, solicited her for your bride."¹

(ii) From the speech of Yaugandharāyaṇa the same idea can be gathered.

"Please, Your Majesty, to be seated, and I will tell you. It was formerly announced to us by a holy seer that the husband of the princess of Sindhala should become the emperor of the world; we, therefore, earnestly applied to her father to give her hand to our sovereign; but unwilling to be the cause of uneasiness to the queen, the monarch of Sindhala declined compliance with our request....."²

(iii) The concluding portion of the king's speech bears witness to the same idea.

"What more is necessary? Vikramabāhu is my kinsman. Sāgarikā, the essence of the world, the source of universal victory, is mine; and Vāsavadatta rejoices to obtain a sister. The Kosalas are subdued: what other object does the world present for which I could entertain a wish?"³

When we couple what Bana has said together with the assertions of Harsha himself and with those of Huien Tsiang

¹ Wilson, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II, p. 310.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 315.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 317.

with the fact of Harsha's being called the Lord of all the Northern Way (Uttarāpatha) even in the Inscriptions of Southern India, we may give credit to the belief that Harsha did entertain, at the beginning, imperialistic designs, and that he did spend a part of his reign in extensive conquests in northern, eastern, and western India. But here, however, our supposition ends.

Before I give some reasons for rejecting the idea of a Dig-Vijaya by Harsha, and consequently of the idea of his having ever come to the south, it would be better if we understand the position taken by those who believe in the southern campaigns of Harsha.¹

The following may be given as the reasons for saying that Harsha came as far as Mysore :—

1. The internal evidence in the "Harshacharita".
2. The fact of Harsha being called "Lord of all the Northern Way".
3. The existence of a couplet in Sanskrit supposed to have been written by a man called Mayūra, *supposed* to have been the father-in-law of Bana.² In this couplet it is said that Harsha conquered the Chōḷa, Dravida, and Karnataka countries.
4. And finally, the discovery of a Viragal in the Shimoga District of Mysore, in which it is stated that Silāditya's general fell fighting against a Bēḍar king, causing, though, the flight of Mahendra.³

1. At the very outset it may be noted that in the "Harshacharita" we have a hint as to the line of action which Harsha intended to take after fulfilling his vow. The ashram of the great sage Divākaramitra cast a spell on the king, who after the completion of his vow, as we have already seen, intended to take to the red robes much in the same way as his sister promised to do then and there in the presence of the

¹ S. Srikanta Sastri, *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 487.

² Niharanjan Ray, *O.C.*, p. 78 *seq.*

³ Dr. Shama Sastry, *M.A.R.*, 1923, p. 83.

great ascetic.¹ This may explain why "every fifth year he convoked a great assembly of deliverance (Mahā-moksha-parishad) and distributed the stores of his treasures in charity."²

As against this it may be argued that the same objection which was put forth in the case of Huiien Tsiang, viz., that the information might have been based more on hearsay rather than on personal observation, might also be raised against the writer of the "Life of Huiien Tsiang" who compiled this "Life" many years perhaps after Harsha's death. But as I shall have an occasion to say, Huiien Tsiang himself bears witness to the great "Mahā-moksha-parishad", and in this instance, there cannot be a doubt as to the sixth quinquennial assembly held towards the end of Harsha's reign.³

2. Admitting all objections against the writer of the "Life," let us take Huiien Tsiang's testimony. Huiien Tsiang visited Harsha towards the end of his reign. He mentions various parts of India, and when he comes to Maharashtra he speaks of the unsuccessful attempt made by Harsha to subjugate Pulakesi, the great western Chalukya king.⁴ The Chinese pilgrim describes Andhra,⁵ Dhanakataka, Chola, Dravida, Kanchi, Malakuta, Malaya, Mount Potalaka, Konkanapura, Simhala, and then Maharashtra over which ruled Pulakesi II. If the memory of Harsha's invasion of the south was as green in the minds of the people of the Dravida land proper, as it was in Maharashtra, Huiien Tsiang would not have failed to remark about Harsha's advent into the south. If Huiien Tsiang could have noted a defeat which took place, as I shall presently endeavour to prove, nearly thirty years before the date of his visit to the court of Harsha, he could as well have noted the news of the southern conquests of Harsha about the same time. An objection might be raised against this—that Huiien Tsiang never personally visited the Chola and

¹ Bana, *O.C.*, pp. 257-58.

² Beal, *Life of Huiien Tsiang*, p. 83.

³ Max Müller, *Indian Antiquary*, XII, p. 232.

⁴ Beal, *O.C.*, II, pp. 256-57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-53.

Dravida lands, and therefore, could never have known about an event which did not shed honour on the bravery of the southern people. In the Chola and Dravida lands people were silent because of the victories of Harsha, and so Huien Tsiang could not have known about them; while in the Maharashtra the people were glad because of the defeat suffered by Harsha, which they remembered not only in their own generation but for hundreds of years to come. This sounds plausible enough. But on a closer examination we shall see that the people of the Chola, Dravida and Karnataka lands, especially near-about Shimoga, did not know anything about Harsha because he never came to the south.

The entire supposition of Harsha's southern conquests rests on a clear understanding of his relation with Pulakesin II. Dr. Muzumdar writes:—

“It seems, therefore, very probable that in his attempt to chastise the king of Malwa, Harshavardhana found himself confronted by a hostile confederacy of powers in and round Gujerat peninsula. Harsha probably scored some successes at first, for, as referred to above, the king of Vallabhi had to seek the protection of the Gurjara king of Broach against him. But the confederacy soon gained the alliance of the great Chalukyan king Pulakesi II and Harsha's discomfiture was complete.”¹ Dr. Mookerjee is of the same opinion. “Probably this conflict was brought about only by the aggression of Harsha, who after vanquishing Dhruvasena II, king of Vallabhi, felt tempted to extend his conquests still further and try conclusions with Pulakesin II, whose dominions he had to invade in the course of his conquests running smooth and uninterrupted so long.”² Mr. Niharanjan Ray is uncertain as to when Harsha came to the south—whether before or after his defeat at the hands of Pulakesi. “It is difficult to ascertain whether this advance of Harsha into the interior of the south was made before his defeat by Pulakesi or after. It might be that Harsha, like Samudragupta, entered the south first

¹ Muzumdar, *O.C.*, p. 317.

² Mookerjee, *O.C.*, p. 33.

by the eastern gate, and elated with success in his raid in eastern Deccan, tried to repeat the same in the west, where he met with an ignominious and disastrous defeat; or the order was quite the reverse, that is, being first defeated by Pulakesi II, he tried his luck in the east, and met with success."¹

3. To have some idea of Harsha's advent into the south, let us examine the third argument brought forward by the exponents of the theory of Harsha's southern conquests—the couplet attributed to Mayūra. It runs thus:—

Bhūpālāḥ Śasibhāskarānvayabhuvāḥ kenam nāsāditāḥ |
Bhartāram punar ēkamēva hi bhuvastvaṁ deva manyā
mahe |
Yenāṅgam parimṛṣya Kuntalamathākṛṣya vyudasyā
yatam |
Colam prāpya ca madhyadesāmadhunā Kāncyām karah
*pātitaḥ."*²

At the very outset it may be noted that the fact of Mayūra being the father-in-law of Bana is questioned by Mr. Sastri himself. It would have been better if more tangible evidence were given about the identity of Mayūra, and about the exact source from where this couplet was taken. But a reason which prompts me to reject this couplet, even granting that all that has been said about Mayūra to be correct, is the relationship of Mayūra with Bana. There is nothing strange in a father-in-law making public the fact of his son-in-law holding a very high post, like the one which Bana held at the court of Harsha. If this be granted, we may easily understand why Mayūra was so loud in his praise of Harsha—the greater was the fame of Harsha as the conqueror of the whole world, the greater would be the name of Bana as the court poet of a renowned royal patron. The evidence of the couplet may be rejected on the ground that it was written by an uncertain author, more with the idea of making his son-in-law loom large in public estimation than with the idea of

¹ N. Ray, *O.C.*, 789.

² Sastri, *J.R.A.S.*, *O.C.*

commemorating the victories of a monarch under whose benevolence the talented poet lived. It can only be regarded, therefore, as "praise in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet given to punning and without any reference to historical accuracy."¹

4. We shall now have to examine the last point upon which the supposition that Harsha came to the south is based. The Viragal, as it appears in the *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1923, is as follows² :—

"While Silāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest, ascended the throne of his empire, Pettanī Satyāṅka, a brave soldier capable of destroying his enemies in the battle-field, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Bēḍara Rāya, so as to cause frightfulness to Mahendra, and reached the abode of Svarga. Whoever preserves the field of crops (gifted to his relations) attains good and he who removes it will be guilty of five great sins."

In the original the inscription begins thus :—

*"Scasti Śrī Śīla-adityan disām-bharggan ākeṇālan aggaḷa Kanṭakan perālke vare Pettanī Satyāṅkan aṭṭuvala bhaṭan bedare Mahendran Bēḍara rāyara Malappara Kāleguḍule viṛidu Svarggālayakkēridan beḷeya māḷa Kādon Kalyāṇam akke aḷivon paṇcha ma."*³

Dr. Shama Sastry commenting on the above writes :—

"The inscription is in old Kannada characters, the formation of which is quite similar to those of the seventh century A.D. It is a Viragal or memorial stone set up to commemorate the death of one Pettanī Satyāṅka, a commander of the army of Silāditya, in his fight with a tribe of hunters forming the army of Mahendra. The inscription supplies no clue to ascertain who the Silāditya and the Mahendra mentioned in it were. On palæographic grounds I am inclined to identify the Silāditya of the inscription with

¹ *J.R.A.S., Loc. Cit.*

² *M.A.R., 1923, p. 83.*

³ *Ibid.*

Harshavardhana-Silāditya and the Mahendra with Mahendrarman I of the Pallavas, the contemporary of Pulakesin II of the western Chalukyas. It is not improbable that Harshavardhana's rule extended as far as Shimoga. The spelling of Silāditya as Sila-ā-ditya is, however, inexplicable."¹

And both Mr. S. Srikanta Sastri and Mr. Niharanjan Ray base their remarks on the identification of Silāditya with Harshavardhana and of Mahendra with Mahendravarma, the Pallava king, as given by Dr. Shama Sastry. With the latter, viz., the identification of Mahendravarma, I am not concerned for the present. But it appears to me that both Mr. Sastri and Mr. Ray have not quoted the inscription, or at least one important clause in it, as it appears in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* just cited. Mr. Sastri, whom Mr. Ray follows, has wrongly inserted the phrase "when Harsha came conquering, and Mahendra fled in fear", where it ought to be "*while Silāditya, etc., ascended the throne of his Empire* Pettaṇi Satyāṅka, etc., pierced through etc., so as to cause frightfulness to Mahendra." (The italics are mine.) I do not know what justification one could have in inserting the clause which Mr. S. Sastri has used for the correct interpretation given by Dr. Shama Sastry.

With this remark we shall look further into the Gaddemane Viragal. Viragals, as is well known, are not in the nature of elaborate inscriptions, and therefore, many of the details about the kings are missing in the Viragal. Śilāditya, mentioned in the Gaddemane Viragal does not refer to Harshavardhana of the North. The following are the reasons :—

1. There is nothing in the name of the king mentioned in the Viragal, except the word Śilāditya, to warrant our supposition that it refers to Harshavardhana. True Harsha was called Śilāditya. This we have on the authority of Huien Tsiang.² (But Huien Tsiang also gives another title assumed by Harsha, Kumāra. Moreover, Śilāditya was a name which was, as we shall see presently, common with certain

¹ *Ibid.*

² Beal, O.C., I, p. 213.

western princes of India. But this is not the only objection. Harsha was known either by the name of Harshavardhana or Sri Harshavardhana in all the inscriptions of Southern India, not only of his own times but even of the times of the Rāstrakūtas. It cannot be believed that the name "Harsha" or "Sri Harsha" which was so very well known to the people of South India, could have been omitted in a Viragal,—which, as is supposed, is the only Viragal we have yet discovered, of Harsha in the South—by the sculptor who thought of giving only one of the two names which the Chinese pilgrim gives to Harsha.

2. If we compare the titles given in the Gaddemane Viragal with the titles given to Harsha either in the "Harshacharita" or in the inscriptions, we fail to see why his name was not adorned by the same epithets in the South Indian Viragal as well. Bana gives the following titles to Harsha:—

"Of the king of kings, the lord of the four oceans, whose toe-nails are burnished by the crest gems of all other monarchs, the leader of all the emperors."¹ On the sonpat seal of Harsha, we have the titles as given below:—

"Paramabhaṭṭaraka and Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Harshavardhana."² In the southern inscriptions, Harsha is often called "Lord of Uttarāpatha".

3. Let us study again a little of the situation in North India at the time of the accession of Harsha, in order to understand the significance of the phrase,—“While Śilādityaascended the throne of the empire.” On the news of Prabhākara-vardhana's death, some feudatories seem to have rebelled against Thaneshvar. This is evident from the "Harshacharita". "My lord," the man with an effort said (to Rajyavardhana), "it is the way of the vile, like fiends, to strike where they find an opening. So, on the very day on which the king's death was rumoured, His Majesty Grhavarma was by the wicked lord of Malwa cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśri also, the

¹ Bana, O.C., p. 40; Muzumdar, O.C., p. 316.

² *Corpus Indicarum*, II, p. 232.

princess, has been confined like a brigand's wife, with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kanyakubja. There is, moreover, a report that the villain, deeming the army leaderless, purposes to invade and seize this country as well. Such are my tidings : the matter is now in the king's hands."¹ This was, however, but the beginning of the trouble. From Simhanada's speech we can gather something about the state of the kingdom. Says Simhanada :—

"Think not, therefore, of the Gauda king alone; so deal that for the future no other follow his example.....Remove the unhealthy rigidity of stiff unbending heads by forehead applications of sandal salve consisting of the gleam of toe-nails.....Like the autumn sun, set your forehead-burning footsteps upon the heads of kings.....Let your enemies with nail-scorching clouds of smoke from sighs all hot with the vexation of trembling crest gems, give your feet a dappled hue.....My lord's body, baked in the flame of humiliation, cannot without the cool application of the crimson sandal unguent of foes be relieved of this dire fever of pain."² The very fact of Malwa's threatening to invade Thanesvar shows us the dangerous condition of that kingdom. And Rājyavardhana refused, as we saw, to permit Harsha to accompany him in his western campaign, perhaps because, of another enemy in the east, the cruel Śaśāṅka of Gauda. Close on the heels, of the news of death of Rājyavardhana at the hands of Śaśāṅka, came the awful tidings of Rājyaśri's flight to the Vindhya. Harsha was beset with insurmountable difficulties which might be summed up thus :—

- (a) The immediate task of rescuing his sister ;
- (b) The next urgent duty of taking revenge on the Gauda king ;
- (c) And finally, the work of getting all those princes who had rebelled under his control.

¹ Bana, *O.C.*, p. 173.

² Bana, *O.C.*, p. 186.

In the face of such tremendous odds, it cannot be imagined that Harsha would have himself led an expedition, or as Mr. Srikanta Sastri says, that Harsha would have come conquering to the south; or that he would have sent a "brave soldier"—for that was what Pettaṇi Satyāṅka was, and not an officer of the status of a commander-in-chief—to the south, a region which being perfectly new, required greater tact than that which Harsha had shown in the subjugation of the east. If at all he came to the south, he would have come himself; and if he failed to come himself, he would have sent his most trusted general at the head of the southern expedition. But neither of the suppositions can be entertained because of the great difficulties which Harsha had to confront immediately on his accession.

If the Gaddemane Viragal inscription does not refer to Harshavardhana, then, to whom does it refer? The Viragal in all likelihood refers to the Valabhi kings of Saurashtra. The name Śilāditya, the titles given to this monarch, the mention of the Sahyādri mountains in the inscriptions of a Valabhi king, and finally, the similarity of the name of a Valabhi king, as found in inscriptions with that given by Huien Tsiang—all point out the fact that the Gaddemane Viragal was a memorial stone of the Valabhi kings, perhaps the only one of its kind as yet discovered in the Karnataka land.

1. *The name Śilāditya.*—The name Śilāditya, as it appears in the Viragal, strongly suggests that it belongs to the Valabhi kings amongst whom, more than in any other royal family in India, there were no less than eight Śilādityas. It is true that the name Śilāditya was also used by kings who were not of Valabhi. Huien Tsiang speaks of a Śilāditya of Malwa, who lived sixty years before the date of the visit of the Chinese pilgrim.¹

2. It is not so much the name as the titles assumed by the king called Śilāditya in the Gaddemane inscription, which make us believe that the Viragal belongs to the

¹ Beal, *O.C.*, II, p. 261.

Valabhi kings. Among the titles given to the king in the Gaddemane inscription are the following :—

“Śrī Śilāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest,.....” Even supposing we take a Śilāditya (son of Dharasena II) who is said to have ruled about 653 A.D., some of his titles—“who covered the whole horizon with multitudes of his wonderful virtues, which made the whole world rejoice, who carried a heavy burden of serious projects on the pedestal of his shoulders, the splendour of which was increased by the flashing of his sword, that possessed the lustre of victory in hundreds of battles”,¹ seem to be marked departures from the titles found on the Mysore Viragal—“the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest.” One of the Valabhi kings, Śilāditya V, the eighteenth king is said to have had the following titles :—

“His (*i.e.*, Śilāditya IV's) son is the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Śilādityadeva etc., etc.”²

Then again, the titles of a Sri Śilāditya are given thus :—
“.....who by his prowess in delivering the great world, which was sinking under the waves of weight of the agitated sea of Kali, manifested his being an extraordinary excellent individual; who thus was, as it were, a second philosopher's stone, accomplishing the desires of all people;.....who made a place for himself in the world,.....etc., etc.”³

The titles of Śilāditya VI surnamed Dhruvabhata are given thus :—

“His (*i.e.*, the fifth Śilāditya's) son is the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings, supreme lord, the illustrious Śilādityadeva, who meditates on the feet of the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings, supreme lord, the illustrious Bappa.”⁴

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 89-90.

² Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 16.

³ *J. B. B. R. S.*, XI, pp. 354-55.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 80.

The titles given to Śilāditya I are the following :—

" His (*i.e.*, Dharasena's) son was Śilāditya, the great Maheśvara, who meditated on his father's feet—who filled the circle of all the quarters by extraordinary virtues which were united in him, and which delighted the whole world—the burden of whose great desires was borne successfully by his shoulders, which were brighter than those of others, in consequence of his conspicuousness amongst the allies, who had obtained destruction by winning a hundred battles."¹ It is not so much upon these titles which do not admit, I confess, of complete verification, that the identification of the Mysore Viragal with a viragal of the Valabhi kings depends as on the examination of the first *birudu* which the Valabhi kings took, and which is also found in the Mysore Viragal. It is the title of Śri. It may be pointed out that dwelling too much on the word Śri which is used so commonly in all inscriptions, will not be of much avail in the matter of proving our point. But it may also be noted that the title Śri was a peculiarity of the Valabhi kings, and that they had good reason to adopt it in the place of the other *birudus* found in all inscriptions. It is true that "Śri" is also used in connection with Harsha. But then we are to remember that Harsha is always called "Śri Harsha" in all southern inscriptions, and never "Śri Śilāditya". With the Valabhi kings, at least with one branch of the family which was not of the main line, the *birudu* Śri stood for a royal title. "But it ought to be noticed that the grantor Dhruvasena II, called also Balāditya, does not assume the title of 'Maharaja', and that none of his predecessors receive any epithet but 'Śri,' 'the illustrious'. It may be that the omission is due to an accident, but considering the habitual grandiloquence of Indian princes, the case is suspicious, and it would not be surprising if it were found eventually that Dhruvasena II had some cogent reasons for being silent about his magnificence."² We know that Harsha was called

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 15.

² Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 13.

Śilāditya only by the Chinese pilgrim;¹ but we know from epigraphical evidence that there was a line of kings that had the *birūdu* of Śrī attached to their names.

But here two objections are to be answered:—

1. If the Mysore Viragal is of the Valabhi dynasty, why is it that a very important clause—"worshipper at the feet of the Maheśvara," which is found in all Valabhi inscriptions—is not found in the Mysore inscription?

2. If the Gaddemane Viragal really belonged to the Valabhi kings, why is it that the title "Mahārājādhirāja" given to many of the Valabhi kings is not found in the Mysore inscription?

As has been already said, the Gaddemane Viragal is not of the type of an elaborate eulogy of monarchs written in the shape of an inscription. Moreover, the king, whom we shall try to identify with one of the Valabhi kings, was not of the royal line. He could not assume the title of "Mahārājādhirāja," for various reasons—hence he used only the "illustrious Śilāditya".

3. The third reason which might be put forward to prove that the Gaddemane inscription belonged to the Valabhi kings, is the fact of one of the Valabhi kings having conquered the Sahyādrī mountains. Now it is known very well that the Sahyādrī mountains stand for the Western Ghats.² One of the Valabhi kings is said to have been the "lord of the Earth, whose (*i.e.*, Earth's) two breasts are the Sahya and Vindhya mountains whose tops clothed in black clouds appear like (her) nipples."³ This was Derabhāṭa also called Śilāditya.

But here it must be confessed that the chronology of the Valabhi kings is by no means a settled question. Dr. Fleet writing on the supposed identification of Derabhāṭa with the Derabaṭa of Huien Tsiang has remarked:—

"These passages present points which must be carefully considered before any final opinion is arrived at in respect

¹ Beal, *Life*, p. 83; *Corpus Indicarum*, III, p. 39.

² *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 474; Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 171.

³ J.B.B.R.A.S., p. 352; *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 91.

of the identity of the person, or persons, intended by Huien Tsiang; the more especially because the dates render it impossible that he should be Śīlāditya VII of Valabhi, the only one in the family for whom as yet we have obtained the second name of Dhruvabhāṭa; and because M. Julien tells us (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, 163, note) that the Chinese translation of the name Dhruvapātu of Valabhi was Teh-'ang-Jou, 'constantly intelligent', which of course supports the supposition that the termination of the Sanskrit name, the first part of which *dhruva* means 'constant,' really was 'pātu' 'smart, dexterous, intellectual' rather than 'bhāṭa' 'warrior.'" ¹ Could it be that the Śīlāditya mentioned in the Gaddemane Viragal was one of the Śīlādityas of Valabhi, and especially could he have been the Śīlāditya mentioned by Rao Saheb Mandalik? The following facts suggest the identification, although at present I am not in a position to assert this identification with greater confidence—

(a) Śīlāditya who is supposed to have had the Vindhya and the Sahyādrī mountains as the two breasts of the Earth over which he ruled, was a great general.

(b) He was not of the direct royal line.

These two points might explain why being not of the main line, Śīlāditya did not use the *birudu* of "worshipper at the feet of Maheśvara" which is found in all the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings; and why he used, instead, only the "Śrī" "the illustrious", thus keeping in conformity with practice of the Valabhi kings of appending the *birudu* of Śrī to their names, and also with his position as a great commander. We are to imagine that there must have been some cause for the extension of the Valabhi arms into the Karnatak which we are not able to find out at present. This would explain why "a brave soldier capable of destroying enemies in the battle field," like Pettanī Satyāṅka, could in the thick of the battle with the Bēdara king, who could only have been one of the forest kings of the Sahyādrī mountains, give up his life for the sake of his master. That there is

¹ *Corpus Indicarum*, III, pp. 40-42.

nothing improbable in a very close connection between Karnataka and Saurashtra, may be gathered from the successful attempts made by the western Chalukya kings in founding a western Chalukya branch in Kathiawad, in the times of which we are studying. It is true that the Valabhi dynasty may be dated towards the end of the fifth century A.D., when Senāpati Bhāṭṭāraka rebelled against his master, the Gupta king (Skandagupta), and established himself at Valabhi, not far from Simhapura (modern Sihor).¹ Some would place this Bhāṭṭāraka, however, in 629 A.D.² The dynasty thus founded about 485 A.D. lasted till 765 A.D. with about nineteen kings in all.³ Admitting the possibility of a controversy about the exact relationship between the word "Chalukya", as it appears in the history of the western Chalukyas, with the word "Solanki" as it appears in the annals of Gujerat, there seems much justification in the statement that Jayasimha (the second son of Pulakeśi II), the younger brother of Vikramāditya, was probably given the province of Gujerat, and that thus Jayasimha "became the founder of the Gujerat Chalukyas."⁴ If this be accepted, we have a situation in Pulakeśi's times, *i.e.*, in the times of Harshavardhana himself, in which the western Chalukyas made an attempt to carry their army into Gujerat. Could this have been done as a retaliatory measure by the great Pulakeśi's successors against the depredations the date of which we do not know, into the land of the Kanarese people? That the struggle between Pettanī Satyānka on the one hand, and the Beḍara Raya along with Mahendra on the other, was indeed a battle cannot be doubted. The Beḍara Raya I am unable to identify. About the identity of Mahendra we shall presently make a guess. We know very well that Pulakeśi swept his sword practically over the continent. We know too that

¹ *Arch. Survey of Western India* (Gujerat Architecture), Vol. VI, p. 3.

² Beal, *O.C.*, II, 26, note 72.

³ *Arch. Survey of Western India, Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ Bhagvanlal Indraji, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 5 XVI, ; *A.S.W.I.* (N.G.), (II) — Mulraja is given here as the founder of the Chalukyas in Gujerat.

the western Chalukyas held undisputed sway over the western parts of India, especially over Maharashtra and the Karnataka and Konkan, for a very long time after Pulakeśi II, although they could not escape the challenge of many a powerful Karnataka dynasty.¹ It may be argued that the designs of Pulakeśi's successors were merely the ambitious attempts of aggrandisement.

(To be continued.)

¹ Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (2nd Ed.).

DATE OF MANIKYAVACAKA.

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE date of Manikya-vacaka, a vexed question not only in the history of Tamil religion and literature but also in the political history of South India, has recently been discussed in English by two writers, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri¹ and Mr. K. G. Sankara.² The controversy is an ancient one and discussion has been abundant, though much of it is far from illuminating. Depending as we have to for our materials on a number of hagiographies and chronicles and on a series of hymns in all of which history is very much out of place, a solution is hard to reach unless, in interpreting them, we place ourselves *en rapport* with the spirit that pervades them: any attempt on other lines is bound to lead to results of a wholly misleading character. If only we would read the hagiographies in the light of the hymns we would get an unedifying glimpse into the mysteries which envelop the growth of these myths. For lack of such study, portions of the literary and the political history of the Tamils are very uncertain. So frequently have investigators into the Manikya-vacaka problem been lost in the mists that I would scarcely have thought it useful to hang out warning lights, were it not that the mental outlook from which Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri and Mr. Sankara view the problem and the methods which they adopt to solve it threaten to take us from the edge of the fog into the thick of it.

Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri brushes aside 'minor considerations' and rests his conclusions on answers to what he considers to be the three 'main questions': 'Was Manikka-vacaka the earliest of the Saiva saints who preceded the *Tevaram Trio*³ or did he come after them? Is it a fact that he is not mentioned in the *Tiruttonattokai*? If it is, how

¹ *JOR.* (1927 April) i, 127-130; practically repeated in his *PA*. (1929), 66-7 n.

² *QJMS.* (1931 July), xxii, 45-55.

³ Obviously, the Professor meant merely to ask: 'Did Manikya-vacaka precede the *Tevaram Trio*?'

can we account for this omission?' To the first question his answer is in the affirmative and to the second in the negative and, consequently, an answer to the third is not called for, though he has an answer ready—that an argument from silence cannot be pressed far. The answer to the first question is grounded on (a) the contention that the miracle of the transformation of jackals into horses mentioned by the earliest of the trio, Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, is definitely claimed by Manikya-vacaka to have been performed by Siva on his account, (b) the view that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu's mention of a Vacaka is a reference to Manikya-vacaka, and (c) the 'traditional belief' that Manikya-vacaka is several generations earlier than Jnana-sambandha, the contemporary of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, for which 'clear proof' is found in 'all the lists of the Pandya kings that have come down to us', though they 'are not perhaps very valuable to the historian'. The answer to the second question is based on the alternative contentions that Manikya-vacaka is referred to in a periphrasis and that if he is not, it does not matter, for Nambi-Andar Nambi and after him Sek-kilar might have gone wrong and 'continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite possible with a break in secular historical tradition'.

It is necessary to ask, at the outset, whether these reasons have been tendered after a careful consideration of the facts and the implications. Why are not alternative suggestions mentioned or examined? The authority of Mr. K. G. Sessa-Aiyar and Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha-Aiyar is invoked, but why ignore altogether the admirable rejoinders of Mr. S. Anavaratavinayakam-Pillai¹ and the late K. S. Srinivasa-Pillai?² Why is tradition accepted when it places Manikya-vacaka earlier than Jnana-sambandha and rejected when Nambi-Andar Nambi and Sek-kilar pass Manikya-vacaka over in silence? Is the first tradition more reliable than the second? Why should the traditional genealogy of the Pandyas be accepted when Manikya-vacaka's date is in

¹ *Peru Makkal Varalaru* (1922).

² *Tamil Varalaru* (1922), ii, i, 67-111.

question and be summarily cast aside when the history of the Pandyan kingdom is concerned ?

Mr. Sankara's line of argument is different. He seeks to establish a chain of synchronisms and his conclusions may be summarised thus : Jnana-sambandha was a contemporary of Nedu-Maran whom he converted to Saivism : Nedu-Maran had an *alias*, Varaguna, and dates c. 700 A.D. : Jnana-sambandha seems to have been a contemporary of Manikya-vacaka, and his friends included Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, Sirutondar (who was a general of the Pallava Narasimhavarman I) and Kulac-sirai (the minister of Nedu-Maran) : Sundara, Seraman-Perumal, Varaguna *alias* Nedu-Maran and Manikya-vacaka were contemporaries of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman II of the latter half of the seventh century A.D. : Pattanattup-pillai mentions Manikya-vacaka and must be assigned to about the same half of the same century : Periya-Alvar and Andal were contemporaries of Nedu-Maran : the Nak-Kirar of the Tamil Academy was another of Nedu-Maran's contemporaries : Manikya-vacaka could not have lived before the age of Nak-Kirar : the Tamil Academy was founded by Jayantavarman, the father of Nedu-Maran : Manikya-vacaka must, as a result, be assigned to the close of the seventh century A.D.

Here is a series of synchronisms which, though bewildering at first sight, would be put in a nut-shell if we said that the legendary Sangam was founded by Jayantavarman-Pandya and that Nak-Kirar, Tiru-Valluvar, Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, Jnana-sambandha, Kulac-sirai, Sirutondar, Pattanattup-pillai, Sundara, Seraman-Perumal and Manikya-vacaka are to be assigned to the period covered by the reigns of Jayantavarman and his son Nedu-Maran *alias* Varaguna, that is, the second half of the seventh century A.D. This conclusion is so startling that one would expect much more evidence and reasoning than could be compressed within the limits of a short article.

A consideration of the points in issue being dependent on an understanding of a portion of the legend of Manikya-vacaka, we may start with the issue about the tradition of

the miracle of the metamorphosis. Manikya-vacaka having been consigned to prison by his master the Pandya king for having diverted to superstitious uses the moneys which the king had put into his hands for purchasing horses for the cavalry, the Lord Siva collected the jackals of the wilds, metamorphosed them into horses and rode into Madurai at the head of an unending troop of cavalry. The king and his subjects were delighted and Manikya-vacaka was released. Overnight, the Lord remetamorphosed the horses into jackals and Manikya-vacaka fell again into disfavour.

The miracle of the metamorphosis is alleged by Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri, who merely follows earlier writers on this point, to be referred to by Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, a saint generally assigned to the seventh century A.D. The reference is all too brief: speaking of the Lord the hymnist calls him, 'He who would turn jackal into horse'.¹ The problem is whether this contains indeed a reference to any miracle that had been accomplished in fact. The plain purport of it seems to be no more than that the Lord in His omnipotence can make so vile a creature as a jackal into so noble an animal as a horse. No miracle actually enacted seems to lurk in these words. In the very stanza in which Tiru-Navukku-Arasu refers to the turning of the jackals into horses he mentions some other transformations as well² which, however, do not find a place in the Manikya-vacaka legend: the only possible inference is that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu alludes in the stanza to the Lord's omnipotence in general and not to the Manikya-vacaka legend in particular.³ Even if we take it that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu's reference is to a miracle which the Lord had actually worked in the past or in that hymnist's days, we have yet to discover the link which would

¹ நரிமைக் குதிரை செய்வானும்.

² நரிமைக் குதிரை செய்வானும் நரகரைத் தேவு செய்வானும்
விரதங் கொண்டாட வல்லானும் விச்சின்றி நாறு செய்வானும்
முரசதிர்த்தாண முன்னோட முன் பணிந்தன்பர்களேத்த
அரவரைச் சாத்தி நின்றனா மாகுரமர்ந்த வம்மானே.

³ See Srinivasa-Pillai, *Tamil Varalaru*, ii, i, 79-80.

connect the miracle with Manikya-vacaka. We see more in the verse than meets the eye for no reason other than that the tradition about the miracle sits on us to-day with all the grip of a tenacious incubus. If we could be sure that the tradition of the Manikya-vacaka miracles was current coin about the days of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, we may concede that that saint might have had the miracle in mind though he has not been explicit enough in the words he employed. Not a trace, however, of the tradition is to be found for centuries before or after him. There are of course the passages in Manikya-vacaka's hymns which are usually pointed to in this connection, but these will be dealt with presently. Two passages in another book of praise, the *Kalladam*, are often cited as records of this tradition,¹ and there are some who would have it that the work was inspired by Manikya-vacaka's *Tiruk-Kovaiyar*, and yet we do not find in those passages the faintest suggestion associating the miracle with Manikya-vacaka. The earliest work to record the association is the *Tiru-Vilaiyadal Puranam* of Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi, of whom we know very little except that he might have lived about the thirteenth century A.D. Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi might not himself have been the author of the myth and he might have only utilized one which was two or three centuries old even in his days, but how are we to hale the myth six or seven centuries back and assign it to the days of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu or even earlier? The words of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu are so bald and all the literature down to Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi is so silent that it is impossible to believe that the hymnist of the eighth century had in mind the tale of the chronicler of the thirteenth century.

¹ (a) வெடி வாற் பைங்கட்துறந்நி யினத்தின
 யேழிடங் தோன்றி யின்னூற்கி யையந்த
 வீதிபோகிய வாலுணப் புரலி
 யாக்கிய லிஞ்சைப் பிறை முடி யந்தணன்.
 (b) கூடற் பதி வகு மாடற் பரியோன்.

The next question is whether Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, when he speaks of a Vacaka, refers to Manikya-vacaka. The suggestion has been so fully examined and so completely refuted by the late K. S. Srinivasa-Pillai that one is very doubtful if Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri would have touched on it at all if he had been aware of the refutation. At any rate, till those arguments are met we may take it that the attempted identification has wholly failed.

We may now pass on to consider the view that Manikya-vacaka claims that the miracle was enacted for his benefit. If this view is well founded, it may be difficult to maintain that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu was earlier than Manikya-vacaka. Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri and Mr. K. G. Sesha-Aiyar, on whom the Professor relies, have both realized how essential the point is as a link in the chain of evidence, and have drawn attention to some verses in the hymns of Manikya-vacaka which they believe to support this view.¹ Mr. Sesha-Aiyar's exposition has been thus summarized by Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri: 'There are at least half a dozen references to this fact in the *Tiru-Vacakam*, among which attention may be drawn in particular to the *double entendre* in line 17 of the *Tiru-Ammanai*, the direct personal reference in line 45 of the *Tirupponnucal* and the vivid impressionist reference to the miracle in lines 25 and 26 of the *Anandamalai*.' The three examples cited specifically will repay scrutiny and render unnecessary an examination of the rest of the 'half a dozen references'.²

¹ See K. G. Sesha-Aiyar's paper in *TA*. (1909), i, No. 4, pp. 16-35.

² The following renderings are based on Pope's version of the *Tiru-Vasaham*, which appeared in 1900, that is, before 1905, the year from which, according to Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri, should date the present confusion about the date of Manikya-vacaka. Pope had undoubtedly before him the work of Param-jyoti in which the anteriority of Manikya-vacaka to the Tevaram Trio is set out, and yet Pope's translation assumed that Manikya-vacaka referred in his hymns to miracles which were ancient in his days and that he did not mean that any of them had been worked on his behalf. With the object, however, of helping my readers to look at those hymns from the point of view of Mr. Sesha-Aiyar and those who agree with him I have recast Pope's version in such manner that the English reproduces the almost colourless character of the original Tamil.

The portion of the *Tiru-Ammanai* relied on runs thus :

Ammanay, Look! Sing we the unending raptures

Given by Him who rode a horse to loose the bond.¹

A *double entendre* is detected in these lines as two interpretations are possible,—the thralldom from which deliverance is effected by the Lord being that of the bonds of existence (if we are content with a philosophical interpretation) or the bondage of imprisonment (if we would imagine that the miracle is alluded to). A number of objections, however, could be offered to the latter interpretation. The *double entendre* may be plain enough if we look at the lines in the light of the Manikya-vacaka legend, but to do so would be to assume that the legend was current centuries before Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi. That an ancient tale had it that the Lord had once upon a time performed the miracle of the metamorphosis and that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu was referring to that ancient legend may perhaps be admitted. What remains to be proved is that the miracle was worked for Manikya-vacaka, but the available evidence comes from a century much later than Tiru-Navukku-Arasu. Further, to grasp the true import of the lines we shall have to look at the setting in which they appear. No pastime is more familiar in South India than the 'Ammanai'—a game in which a girl or a group of girls keep tossing balls while they sing a tuneful song. Following an ancient literary convention, Manikya-vacaka has cast his hymn in the form of a song for the game, and the words of the song express, at least ostensibly, the thought of the girl or group of girls. Though in the hymn some philosophical truths are charmingly expounded and some devotional attitudes are aptly illustrated, the words come from the mouths of the girls and they embody their thoughts, feelings and experiences. As the legend does not tell of girls having been imprisoned the girls could not have said that they had been released from prison: the words could refer only to their emancipation from

¹ பந்தம் பறியப் பரிமேற் கொண்டான் தந்த
அந்தமில்லா ஆனந்தம் பாடுதல் காணம்மானாய்.

the bonds of existence. Again, it is very doubtful if a poet so finely attuned to the sublime as Manikya-vacaka would have yoked, though in a *double entendre*, the noble sentiment of a soul's emancipation to the incident of his release from prison.

Let us pass on to a study of the 'vivid impressionist' reference to the miracle in lines 25 and 26 of the *Ananda-malai*, the 'Garland of Rapture':

Thou mad'st the jackal a charger !
 Did'st work enchantments all !
 The mighty South King's Madurai Thou fill'st
 With madness, Perum-turai's Lord !¹

To a mind which is not biased by the Manikya-vacaka legend the hymnist appears to treat the miracle of the metamorphosis as an ancient one and to refer generally and vaguely to the numerous miracles which the Lord had worked in the world and to add that the presence of the Lord at Madurai,—enshrined as He is in its sacred fane,—is a source of infinite gladness to the people of the kingdom of the Pandya. The lines are perhaps susceptible of another rendering as well :

Making the jackal a charger
 And working enchantments all
 The mighty South King's Madurai Thou fill'st
 With madness, Perum-turai's Lord !

Even so, the words need not imply that the miracles were being worked at the time of the composition of the hymn, for otherwise we shall have no option but to conclude—with nothing in the Manikya-vacaka legend to support us—that the 'enchantments all' were also worked at the same time as the metamorphosis of jackals into horses. Further, Manikya-vacaka is a poet who was steeped in the contemplation of the Lord and the marvel of the Lord's 'enchantments all': so entranced was he by the abundance of the Lord's grace that he saw miracles in all that happened in the universe: he was confident that for the devotee's sake the Lord would work endless miracles and even re-enact ancient ones. When a poetic mind is so preoccupied with the miraculous and

¹ நரியைக் குதிரைப் பரியாக்கி ஞாலமெல்லா நிகழ்வித்துப்
 பெரிய தென்னன் மதுரை யெல்லாம் பிச்சுதேற்றும் பெருந்துறையாய்.

feels that the miracle is not an ever-present possibility alone but the merest routine of the Lord's ceaseless activity and grace, rarely does it take note of time in terms of the past or the present. It would, therefore, be no marvel if Manikya-vacaka's words left us in doubt whether a miracle of the Lord is dated in the long distant past or in the lifetime of Manikya-vacaka himself.

We may proceed to investigate the 'direct personal reference in line 45' of the *Tirup-Pon-Usal*,—the song of the 'Sacred Golden Swing':

From glorious mountain height to earth He came,
Ate plenteous food, arose upon the lower seas,
In magic form upon a charger rode, and made us His! ¹

The reference to Manikya-vacaka cannot be made out unless the 'us' in the last line means only 'me': it is not enough to say that he referred to himself 'honorifically' in the word 'us': it must be shown that the inclusion of others in the reference is impossible. These lines could be interpreted in two ways—to mean that the incidents of the descent, the feast and the ascent were the earlier scenes in the play in which the Lord 'upon a charger rode', or to mean that those incidents were distinct and unrelated. While it is obvious that the legend is not based on the first interpretation, the second would make it clear that Manikya-vacaka says that the Lord 'made us His' as much by descending from the mountain, eating plenteous food, and rising upon the lower seas as by riding the charger. It follows, then, that the mountain, the gastronomic and the maritime episodes were enacted for the person or persons for whom the equestrian miracle was staged. As we do not, however, come across any such incidents in the Manikya-vacaka legend, we have to infer that the reference is not to Manikya-vacaka but to a number of other persons. We are led to the same conclusion if we look at the context in which these lines are set. The hymnist has composed the

¹ கோலவரைக் குழிவந்து குவலயத்துச்
சால வழுதுண்டு தாழ்கடலின் மீதெழுந்து
ஞாலமிகப்பரி மேற்கொண்டு நமையாண்டான்.

hymn—the ‘Sacred Golden Swing’—as a song to be sung by girls as they keep rocking in a swing. The stanza in which these lines appear concludes with a refrain to be sung in chorus:

And while our full hearts melt, *move we the golden swing.*¹

In other stanzas too of this hymn we have a similar refrain:

Ye guileless, bright-eyed ones, *move we the golden swing,*²

Ye maids, whose jewell’d bosoms heave, *move we the golden swing.*³

When the words of the song express, as they ostensibly do, the thoughts of the girls who sing the song, how are we to discover in them an allusion to Manikya-vacaka? The girls say, ‘the Lord “has made us His”’: perhaps Manikya-vacaka might come within the scope of the word ‘us’, but the word cannot be so interpreted in the context as to exclude the girls and confine the reference to Manikya-vacaka alone. So much for ‘the direct personal reference’.

Thus, on an examination of the instances specifically brought up in support of the legend, we find that any reading of the legend into the verses of Manikya-vacaka is wholly unwarranted. His hymns are vivid records of the varied religious experiences through which he passed and, incidentally, of his abiding faith in the abundance of the Lord’s grace and, therefore, of the endless number, the infinite variety and the surpassing marvel of the miracles. He could work in proof of His grace, but nowhere does Manikya-vacaka say that any of the miracles he mentions was worked for him. The hymns are perfect in literary shape and many of them are cast in the conventional forms which are common in a highly conventional literature, and any reading of the hymns which fails to take note of the conventions is bound to be wrong. The attempts at reconstructing the Manikya-vacaka legend out of his hymns will succeed only when literary forms and conventions are wholly ignored.

Another argument in support of the anteriority of Manikya-vacaka to the Tevaram Trio is that the traditional lists

¹ பூலித்தகத் தழைந்து பொன்னுச லாடாமோ.

² போரார் வேற் கண் மடவீர் பொன்னுச லாடாமோ.

³ பொங்குலவு பூண் முலவீர் பொன்னுச லாடாமோ.

of the Pandya kings place Arimardana, the master of Manikya-vacaka, earlier than Kubja or Sundara, the contemporary of Jnana-sambandha. Of the traditional lists referred to, the most shining example is the one found in Param-jyoti's *Tiru-Vilaiyadal Puranam*, but none of the lists can be traced more than three or four centuries back with any certainty. Even a casual perusal of Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri's book on the Pandyas shows that as early as the eighth or the ninth century A.D. it had become difficult for the genealogists of the Pandyan court to frame a succession list of the Pandyan kings which was even approximately correct. Why then lay stress on a tradition which is far from reliable and why exalt it over other evidence not so nebulous or suspect?

As against the succession lists, it is instructive to turn to the *Tiru-Vilaiyadal Puranam* of Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi which might belong to about 1300 A.D. In narrating the Manikya-vacaka legend, Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi makes the Pandya king who was Manikya-vacaka's master allude to a miracle performed by Siva for the saint Sirut-tondar,¹ who is said to be referred to by Jnana-sambandha in one of his hymns as his contemporary. In the judgment of Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi, the poet Manikya-vacaka was not earlier than the Tevaram hymnists and his opinion is certainly entitled to greater weight than that of persons who came much later. His is the earliest of the works embodying the Manikya-vacaka legend and it is strange that later works should be considered more authoritative even though it is admitted that they 'are not perhaps very valuable to the historian'.

The only other contention of Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri which need be considered is that Manikya-vacaka is referred to by Sundara, one of the Tevaram Trio, in his *Tirut-Tondat-Tohai*, for which he relies on the arguments of Mr. Sesha-Aiyar: here again he does not even advert to the able refutation

¹ தொல்வல மா மன்ன னெந்தை சுத்தனா விதப்ப வேடன்
பல்லுறு மிறைச்சி நஞ்சும் பாலக னிறைச்சி யம்மை
நல்ல பிட்டுயிலக் கண்டே நல்லடி யார்க்கு நல்லான்
மெல் வியல் பாக னல்லால் யாருள ரென வியந்தான்.

of Srinivasa-Pillai. Perhaps, Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri did not think it necessary to explore fully how far Nambi-Andar Nambi and his successors are reliable. To justify his want of faith in the facts they record, Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri has lighted on 'the case of another saint', Serut-tunai, mentioned in the *Tirut-Tondat-Tohai* of Sundara. The argument is developed thus: 'This saint is referred to by Sundaramurti, as a king of Tanjore, *Tanjai-mannavan*. Nambi-Andar Nambi makes no mention of his having been a king at all evidently because in his days nothing was known about such a ruler of Tanjore. And a little later, Sek-kilar in his *Periya Puranam* actually makes a rich cultivator...of this king of Tanjore. It is thus clear that Nambi-Andar Nambi and his successors were not always able to interpret Sundaramurti correctly and there is therefore nothing unnatural in supposing that they went wrong over the interpretation of a phrase of Sundara which is alleged to be a reference to Manikya-vacaka. Now, this Serut-tunai is the saint who sliced off a queen's nose for the offence she had committed of smelling a flower intended for the Lord. Both Nambi-Andar Nambi and Sek-kilar agree that he was a native of Tanjai (Tanjore) of the Maruhal sub-division and Sek-kilar adds that he was a devotee of the Lord at Tiru-Arur. A well-known book¹ would have shown that in the periods for which inscriptions are abundant the city now known as Tanjore was not included in the Maruhal sub-division and that a sub-division of the same name covered areas adjacent to Tiru-Arur. Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri cannot be unaware that the hymnists Tiru-Navukku-Arasu and Jnana-sambandha have sung hymns on the Lord at a village called Tiru-Maruhal and that the village stands about ten miles north-east of Tiru-Arur. On these facts, the inference would have been justified that Serut-tunai's Tanjore is not the well-known city of that name which lies about thirty-five miles west of Tiru-Arur but is the village lying north-east of Tiru-Arur and not much more than ten miles away. A little further enquiry would have

¹ *SI.*, ii. (Intr.)

revealed the fact that almost due south of Tiru-Maruhai and only three miles off—that is, about seven miles north-east of Tiru-Arur—there stands a village bearing the name East Tanjore (Kilat-Tanjavur) and that the village plumes itself on having had Serut-tunai for one of its distinguished citizens. Perhaps, Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri fell into this error as he assumed that there could be only one Tanjore and that Sundara had styled Serut-tunai a king. Terms such as the one used by Sundara to describe Serut-tunai's occupation apply not only to kings but also to much lowlier persons such as headmen of villages or other minor celebrities.¹ The statements of Sundara, Nambi-Andar Nambi and Sekkilar and also local tradition would all have stood reconciled if only Serut-tunai had been taken to have been a notability of Kilat-Tanjavur instead of being elevated to the throne of the Cholas. Now that the only instance offered in proof of the dictum that 'continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite possible with a break in secular historical tradition' has proved a broken reed, we shall await other evidence in support of the generalization.

Let us now turn to a consideration of Mr. Sankara's contribution. Short as his article is, he has drawn into the discussion a large number of difficult and unsolved problems of South Indian history: on all those points he pronounces facile *ipse dixit*s and on a series of such decisions he bases his conclusions about Manikya-vacaka's date. To traverse his arguments is an impossibility within the limits of an article: the task would require almost a treatise. It should be enough for our present purpose to investigate Mr. Sankara's methods and outlook as evidenced by the article now under consideration.

¹ The word is மன்னவன். Jnana-sambandha, a mere Brahman, is called காழியர் மன்னன், கழமல நகர் இறை, கழமல மாநகர்த் தலைவன், சண்பைமன், etc., in the last stanzas of his hymns, and he is called பிரமா புர நகர் மன்னன் by Nambi-Andar Nambi in his *Aludaiyapillaiyar Tiru-Andali*, 2, and சண்பையர் காவலன் in his *Tiru-Sambai Viruttam*. The similar word கோன், for instance, is used for 'king' as well as for 'lord' or 'master' or 'headman'. The author of the Tamil *Kanakku-Aliharum* is called கோறுக்கையர் கோமான் புத்தன் புதல்வன் காரி யென்பவனே.

He contends that Manikya-vacaka refers to the miracle of the transformation, but he does not even notice that Manikya-vacaka nowhere alludes to the miracle of the re-transformation: is not an allusion to it necessary if we are to repose confidence in the traditional accounts of his life? He accepts legends set out in the *Tiru-Vilaiyadal Puranam* of the 'thirteenth century' A.D. to determine the outlines of the life of a saint whom he would assign to the seventh century A.D. and he accepts succession lists of the Pandyas which became popular about the sixteenth century to determine the chronological position of that saint. At the same time, he brushes aside these authorities when he finds it necessary to take the saint to Kerala at the dictation of a tradition of doubtful age and authority. To fix the date of the building of a temple which he admits was in existence about 600 A.D. he relies on the statement of a writer a full thousand years later. He accepts without demur the authorities which would appear to embody a tradition of a single Sangham—a tradition of late origin except for a very doubtful reference in one of the Sinnamanur grants—and he does not ask himself whether those authorities do really negative the possibility of other Sanghams having existed: he does not even allude to the other tradition of the three Sangams which was current from about 850 A.D. and he does not consider those very authorities when it comes to a question of deciding whether the poets of the Sangham were devotees of Siva without exception. He accepts the tale that surrounds the *Tiru-Valluva-Malai*, but he does not ask himself how old the tale is and on what authority it rests. He takes Nambi-Andar Nambi and Sek-kilar to be fairly reliable authorities but he would ignore them when they fail to make Jnana-sambandha, Seraman-Perumal and Nedu-Maran the contemporaries of the poets of the Sangham or Sanghams: he does not even suggest how such reliable authorities happened to err on this point. He accepts the traditional biography of Pattanattupillai when it makes him the preceptor of Bharttrhari without even hinting that while Bharttrhari lived about 650 A.D. the

author of the traditional biography of Pattanattup-pillai does not seem to have been earlier than about 1600 A.D.; nor does he allude to the tradition that Pattanattup-pillai's son was Arunagirinatha, a poet of the fifteenth century A.D. Nor does Mr. Sankara mention even that one of the biographies states that Sendanar was the contemporary of Pattanattup-pillai and that he has been assigned to the opening years of the eleventh century A.D.¹

Is it any wonder then that such methods lead him to varying conclusions? Down to about 1923, Mr. Sankara was of the opinion that the Sangham age was in the second century A.D.²; in January 1924 he said that the 'Sangham age must date 500 to 650 A.D.'³ but three months later he declared that 'all theories assigning to the Sangham age a date later than the third century A.C. must now be given up.'⁴ In 1931 he is convinced that it lay between 650 and 700 A.D.

The outlook and the methods of Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri and Mr. Sankara in regard to this problem are almost similar. Neither of them, in appraising a tradition, takes note of its age or persistence or the sources from which it springs, nor traces the tradition back through the centuries to its origin and examines how far, considering its birth and history, it is worthy of credence. Both of them read more into a literary piece than the words warrant and do not look into the context in which the words are set. Instead of starting a fresh discussion from the point to which previous discussion had brought us—except when a new interpretation of the facts is attempted—both of them on two vital points ignore the arguments and the conclusions of other scholars which prove inconvenient obstacles with the inevitable result that their conclusions prove scarcely tenable.

A different solution of the Manikya-vacaka problem might perhaps be suggested. Legends of the miracle of the

¹ *ST.* (1904), iii, 358-362.

² *QJMS.*, (1917 Oct.), viii, 60; (1920 Oct.), xi, 74, 83;

MCCM., (1919 Oct.), xxxvii, 134.

³ *QJMS.*, (1921 Jan.), xiv, 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, (1924 Ap.), xiv, 242.

metamorphosis, the Lord appearing as a cavalier and the Lord carrying earth must have been current even before Tiru-Navakku-Arasu and, in those days, they bore no allusion to Manikya-vacaka. Like the other hymnists, Manikya-vacaka too glorified the Lord for His many miracles but so fascinated was he by a few of the miracles, including those specified above, that he referred to them over and over again in his psalms. In the three or four centuries that perhaps lay between Manikya-vacaka and Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi a tradition must have grown up connecting those miracles and Manikya-vacaka—based on the circumstance of his being the only hymnist who has so insistently referred to those miracles—and the belief must have grown up that he would not have done so had they not been enacted for his benefit. Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi does not help us to discover the age or the reign in which the miracles were worked but he makes the nameless king who was Manikya-vacaka's master refer to Sirut-tondar : Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi must, therefore, have thought that Manikya-vacaka was not earlier than Sirut-tondar and his contemporary Jnana-sambandha. When Param-jyoti or the author of the *Halasya Mahatmya* recounted these legends, he must have noticed the reference in a hymn of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu to the legend of the transformation and must have concluded that the miracle, and with it Manikya-vacaka, must have preceded Tiru-Navukku-Arasu and, consequently, Jnana-sambandha. While Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi was wholly indifferent to chronology, Param-jyoti was bent on evolving a chronological scheme for the miracles and, having regard to the facts before him, he placed Manikya-vacaka earlier in the time-scheme than Jnana-sambandha. The only objection to his arrangement was the view of Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi but Param-jyoti must have thought that the wholly unchronological Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi was not a safe guide on questions of historical sequence.

MANISM.

BY M. A. SHUSTERY, ESQ.

WHILE Mithraism and Christianity were yet opposed to each other as two rival religions in Europe and Asia, the Romans attacked Seleucia and destroyed that city, the last stronghold of Greek culture in the East. Hence afterwards Aramaic became the *lingua franca* in Western Asia, particularly when King Abgar of Osroene was converted to Christianity and made that language the medium for the Christian literature. During this period religious and political revolutions took place in Persia. Balash or Volagasoes the Third caused the collection and edition of the long neglected Avesta. In the revival of Zoroastrianism princes of South Persia took the leading part, specially the family of Papak whose son Artaxerxes defeated Artabanus, the last Parthian emperor, and founded a new dynasty which lasted for over four hundred years. In the West though Christianity was gaining ground, Mithraism itself was undergoing important modifications. It was becoming a mixture of Neo-Pythagoreanism, Judaism and Mithraism and other cults of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. Christian gnostics such as Marcionites believed in the existence of two principles between which was a third intermediate one—a mixture of good and bad who was the creator of the world. The origin of the human soul was divine but entangled in the material world. In order to release the soul "full goodness" sent his son Jesus, whose task was to destroy other "full evil" and the creator of the material world. Valentinians believed that Jesus was an emanation of the Supreme Being. Ophitas of Egypt taught that the material world was created in opposition to the will of God; that the divine Christ was united with Jesus the man, to destroy the empire of evil. It was during this chaos and great upheaval of religious thought that Mani whose mother was a Parthian princess and whose father named Patak or Papak was a respectable gentleman of Hamadan (in North-West Persia) was born in a village named "Mardinu" situated

near Ctesiphon, the then capital of the Persian Empire, during the reign of Artapavana (Artabanus), the last of the Parthian kings, in about 215 A.D. He received a careful education and was brought up in the capital. At an early age he completed the study of astronomy, medicine, ancient philosophy, fine arts and music. Like other great Iranian saints, authors and reformers, such as Alberuni, Nasir Khusroe, Sadi and Rumi, he had made long journeys in search of knowledge. He had travelled in Transoxiana, Western China and perhaps India. According to one tradition, he received his first revelation at the age of thirteen, and proclaimed his new religion when he was about twenty-five or thirty years old. He gained many followers which naturally roused jealousy and hatred in the hearts of Zoroastrian priests, who next to the king were wielding great power in the country. They persuaded and induced the reigning king who was rather well disposed towards the young reformer to stop his further progress. Šahpur arrested and put him in prison, but after his death his son and successor Hormazd set him free. This freedom he did not enjoy long, for Hormazd died after a short reign of one year, and the new king Bahram again arrested and caused him to be crucified in the year 276-77 A.D. Thus died the first great historical reformer of Persia, who, as Mr. A. Bevan says, "had originality of conception which entitled him to be regarded as a genius of the first order". He lived for about sixty years and his missionary activity lasted for over thirty years. His followers were fiercely persecuted both by Zoroastrians in Persia and Christians in the Roman Empire and therefore were forced to take refuge in Transoxiana, Chinese Turkistan and even India.

His Philosophy :—Though deep and original it is presented in a dogmatic and mythical form and for a superficial reader it appears to be crude and illogical. His dualism is uncompromising but definite and positive. He believed that light and darkness are two elements opposite in nature. That the visible world and human existence which have the characteristics

of constantly changing are mixtures of light and darkness. In other words he was expounding the theory of Sankhya philosophy in Babyloian style and Persian language. He illustrates his philosophical views in a cosmological myth. That darkness which he thought a feminine principle was stationed below and light above. Darkness gave birth to evil who invaded the dominion of the light. The King of Light created primal man to repel the invasion. Primal man was vanquished and saved from complete defeat through the timely help of the King of Light, but lost a portion of his light elements which mingled with the darkness. To rescue this imprisoned portion of light, the King of Light created the Universe. In brief Mani's philosophy is based upon two eternal, independent opposite elements, which you may call light and darkness or Spirit and Matter. That worldly existence is material and evil but contains sparks of light. Human beings should strive to release themselves from the bondage of darkness or matter by abstaining from anything material. But in the Zoroastrian doctrine, the world with its living things is a creation of Ahuramazda and hence good in its nature. It becomes evil when Ahriman creates sin, misery and death. Therefore, man should not abstain from worldly pleasures but enjoy them in such a way as to prevent all Ahrimanic mischief in them. Zoroaster's view is optimistic while Mani is a pessimist. Zoroaster asks us to face and overcome the evil while Mani teaches to renounce the world. In formulating his ethics Mani has assigned twelve virtues to Light. They are the following:—Wisdom, Meekness, Fidelity, Faith, Love, Mystery, Understanding, Knowledge, Benevolence, Insight, Space (or Heaven of Light) and the Earth of Light. A similar number of vices should have been assigned to darkness. Again the Earth of Light contains five elements, *viz.*, mild breeze, cooling wind, bright light, quickening fire and clear water. The same number is found in the Earth of Darkness. That is mist, heat, gloomy darkness, scorching blast and vapour.

Mani's Religion :—A series of divine revelations have been made and wisdom conveyed from time to time to humanity by the messengers of God. Such were Zoroaster in Persia, Buddha in India, Christ in Western Asia and finally Mani himself the last prophet in Mesopotamia. His opinion about Jesus is very confusing and contradictory. His true Christ is the primal man whom God created out of his own substance and sent to the world of Darkness to release the imprisoned souls. Christ was not in need of food nor could he suffer death. He had a shadowy form as of a human being and hence his apparent crucifixion had no truth. Mani was opposed to the teachings of the Old Testament and was anti-Jewish to the extent of even condemning Moses and other Judaic prophets. Emancipation is possibly liberation of soul or the luminous element from the dark (material) element. He believed that worldly existence was an evil and therefore asceticism or renunciation of all worldly pleasures was necessary. Man's outer self is dark, wicked and criminal from which he should strive to release his inner self, the spark of light by repentance and abstinence. He thought that a number of souls are of luminous substance and hence strong enough to release themselves easily; others weak and hence should go through a longer process. And yet there are bodies not containing any light in them. These after their death have no salvation and remain for ever united with the darkness. This division of the human souls has resemblance to the Satva, Rajas and Tamas of Indian philosophy. On this basis, he divides humanity into three classes :— (1) The Elect, (2) The Hearers, and (3) the Wicked. The Elect are those who are capable of practising the teaching of renunciation. They are called "Siddiqin" and again in themselves are divided into three grades. They had to abstain from certain things which he named "Seals". The first Seal was abstinence from flesh and certain other kinds of food and drinks. They had to live upon food given by the Hearers. They were prohibited from killing animals or injuring a green plant or cutting twigs or even to pluck

fruits. They were forbidden to acquire wealth and property. They could not store for themselves more than one day's food and one year's clothing. They had to live in celibacy because according to Mani sexual relations strengthen evil propensities. The higher grades of Elect were called Moalammin (Teachers), Mushammasun (Administrators) and Qissiseen (Elders), corresponding to the Christian grades of Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops. There were twelve Elders and seventy-two Administrators and a comparatively larger number of Teachers. There was one supreme head to whom others were subordinate and who used to be elected by them. Hearers or ordinary followers of Mani, were permitted to marry, to enjoy the pleasures of life and even to eat flesh. They had to respect and help the Elect who were their teachers and guides in religion and they had also to follow the commandments of Mani, that is, to abstain from idol worship, falsehood, covetousness, murder, theft, magic, fornication, hypocrisy, neglect of duties in daily life and to believe in the four supreme essences, that is, King of Light or God, His light, power and wisdom. The Manists had to pray four or seven times in the day facing towards the sun where the primal man and pure spirits were supposed to live and carry on the work of the redemption of humanity or towards the moon where the mother of life was seated or towards the north the abode of life. They had to fast seven days in each month also; Sunday was the fasting day for the Hearers and Monday for the Elect. Thus about a fourth of the year used to pass in fasting. Ablution was necessary before each prayer.

Salvation :—The Elect who lead a pure life, after death, ascend to the moon, and passing from other luminous regions, their souls are carried by the Angels to the paradise of pitarevazarg (great father). The Hearer's soul had to be purified and undergo a longer process before joining the souls of the Elect. Prayers were addressed to the God of Light, Kingdom of Light, Angels and Mani himself in the style of Babylonian hymns.

End of the World :—The object of human life was to separate the light (the inner self) from darkness or the physical self and when this was done the necessity of a worldly existence was no more. The end is a complete separation of light from darkness the first remaining above and the second below.

Mani's Known Works :—According to Alberuni and other Muhammadan writers Mani and his successors had composed a considerable quantity of literature on religion. The following are said to have been written by Mani himself. The medium of language was Pahlavi or Syriac. When the seat of the Chief Bishop was transferred to Samarkand, Turko-Iranian dialects also were used :—

(1) *Sifrul-Israr* (the book of secrets) in which a description of various Christian sects and conception of the Old and New Testaments was given.

(2) *Sifrul-Jababerah* (the book of Tyrants or Demons).

(3) *Kitabul-hadye-vat-tadbir* (the book of guidance and precept) in which fundamental principles of Manism were explained for the Hearers. This book was translated into Greek and Latin for those Manists who lived in Europe and Africa.

(4) *Shahpurgan* : The name signifies that it was dedicated to Shahpur, the reigning king in which a description of the delivered souls and those associated with darkness including heaven (which was supposed to be flat) is given.

(5) The book of activity.

(6) The book of unknown contents.

(7) The book of Mani's twelve gospels—on prayer and the invented alphabet of Mani.

(8) Other small treatises.

Rise and Fall of Manism :—Babylon, which was situated very close to Ctesiphon, the capital of the Persian Empire, was the earliest seat of Manism where his successors resided. In spite of fierce persecution by the Christians in the West and by the Zoroastrians in the East, Manism made considerable progress and found many followers. Among the

noteworthy converts were Prince Piruz, brother of the King Shapur and the celebrated Augustine in the West. Nevertheless Manism was a failure in Persia. The reasons will follow. Mani's appearance was simultaneous with the rise of a new dynasty whose rulers were characterized by fresh vigour, aggressiveness of policy and imperialistic ambition. The Persians were at the height of their military glory. Their armies were victorious everywhere and a doctrine of strong asceticism with broad cosmopolitan views could not be welcome. After the fall of the Sassanian Empire its successors the Arabs treated all non-Muslims of Persia alike. Perhaps they could not make any distinction between a Manist or Zoroastrian. In the meanwhile a large number of Persians were converted to Muhammadanism. Among the converts some had an honest conviction and others apparently professed Islam but adhered to their old belief. Mahdi the third Abbasid Khalif thought it a great danger to the Muslim community. Unfortunately Manists like the followers of other future religious movements in Persia, such as Sheism and Bahaism, were permitted to conceal their views. The reason for such precaution was the intolerant spirit of their countrymen. According to the author of the important Pahlavi work known as "Sikand gumanigvihar" (doubt dispelling explanation) dated ninth century A.D. the Manists had secret societies and esoteric circles where laymen whom they could rely on were admitted and arguing on religious questions gradually were converted to Manism. This usage was reported in an exaggerated way to the Arab rulers. Mahdi and his successors took strong measures and deported, imprisoned and killed a large number of new converts and even some Arabs who were suspected of being Manists. Such men were called "Zindig" a corrupt form of the word "Siddiqin" which meant "Elect" among the Manists. During this period most of the Manists took refuge in distant countries; some even migrated to India and Chinese Turkestan. Manism survived in Central Asia up to the rise of the Mongols when finally its followers were wiped out of existence. Mongols

slaughtered wholesale both Muslim and Manist. In the fifteenth century A.D. Manists are said to have been found in Malabar and even in Ceylon.

Causes of Failure :—

(1) Its strong ascetic teaching at a time when it was not suited to the political and social conditions of Persia.

(2) Its peace-loving features.

(3) Its cosmopolitan views when the Persians were most militant and imperialistic.

(4) Its readiness to adapt itself to the local conditions and circumstances.

*Manism and Zoroastrianism :—*Like Zoroastar, Mani believed in two eternal and hostile forces of light and darkness but Zoroastar's conception is inclined towards monotheism making Ahura much superior to and more real than Ahriman, whereas Mani's dualism is uncompromising and hence more decided. Zoroastar assigns seven Assistants or Amesha Spentas to Ahura but Mani who was an astronomer preferred the number twelve. Zoroastar's religion was national and Mani's universal. Zoroastar believed in holy war and aggressiveness in the cause of his religion but Mani wanted peace and persuasion. Zoroastar condemned asceticism, fasting and all unworldly acts, whereas Mani advocated the opposite course. His Elect were forbidden even to injure noxious insects or reptiles which was foreign to the teaching of Zoroastar. Mani believed material existence to be an evil and sought salvation through the suppression of the bodily desires, but Zoroastar taught that the world is good and in material life man can find the means of spiritual development. Instead of annihilating he should regulate his worldly desires. Zoroastar had reconciled and harmonized the material with the spiritual life but Mani made a decided separation irreconcilable.

*Buddhism and Manism :—*There are certain similarities between the two though in essence they are quite independent of each other. Manism is Aryan in spirit but Semitic in form. Both take a pessimistic view of life but their arguments proceed on completely different lines. Buddhist

asceticism seeks to stop physical activity with a view to breaking the chain of "Karma" but Mani's asceticism is to release the atoms of light mixed with darkness. Both Buddhism and Manism based their ethics on a two-fold morality, one for the Elect and another for the ordinary followers. In both religious priests live on charity given by householders. There is a wheel of Karma among Buddhists and so too with Manists but Mani's wheel is made up of the twelve constellations of the Zodiac each representing a bucket drawing and pouring the released portion of light from the darkness into the sun and the moon, the two great reservoirs of light. Buddha is silent about the soul while Mani has paid full attention to it. On the other hand Mani is silent on the theory of transmigration. Mani's views are poetical and metaphysical but Buddha's are ethical and psychological. On the whole Mani's system of philosophy has more in common with the Sankhya School of Indian thought.

Manism and Islam :— Both have a fixed number of daily prayers, and prostration and ablution before prayer. The Manist had to fast seven days in a month and similarly in early Islam Muslims had to fast three days which was changed afterwards into one month each year. Like the Manist the Muslim believed the human soul to be a combination of light and darkness, as the author of *Akhlaq-e-Jalali* says "In essence the soul is light mixed with darkness". Mani recognizing past revelation called himself the Seal or the last messenger of God. So did Muhammad. Mani rejects all the Semitic prophets and Muhammad is silent about Aryan reformers. Both believed that the true Christ was not crucified. Both were strongly opposed to image worship. Muhammad's doctrine was Semitic both in thought and language but Mani's external Semitic appearance contains an inner Aryan mind. Both have given similar names to a number of angels such as Gabriel, Michael, Sarael, etc., but Muhammad's are Semitic and Mani has added Persian names, such as Naresaf, Paredun, Zævan, etc. Muhammad's attitude like that of Zoroastar is militant and aggressive but Mani like Buddha and Christ is quiet and peace-loving.

Christianity and *Manism* have a close resemblance in several points such as baptism, communion, immortality and initiation. Mani believed in renunciation and ahimsa (harmlessness) as the highest virtues but Christianity teaches love and self-sacrifice as the noblest ideals. In both there are grades of priests with one supreme head ; but Mani's Elect had no sacerdotal functions. Mani's Christ is pure light, imperishable and hence eternal ; whereas the Jesus of Christianity is both man and god in entirety. Both taught the doctrine of redemption but in different ways.

Summary.—It is an Aryan religion expounded in Semitic style and language. It has many points in common with Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity but on careful study we understand that it is quite independent of all and has its own characteristic features. It spread over many parts of Asia, Europe and Africa and considerably influenced Christianity and Islam. In both these religions were found men who at heart were Manist. In brief Mani taught a life of strict morality through abstinence from worldly pleasures. He failed not because there was any defect in his teaching but because the human mind of his age could not be lifted up to the height of his ideal.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. XXXVI.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Lohta Naga Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the
Plaintive Call Note of the Bengal Green Pigeon.]

THE Bengal Green Pigeon (*Crocopus phœnicopterus*) is known in Hindi as *Hariāl* and in Assamese as *Hāi thā* or *Bor Hāi thā*. To the Nagas of the Naga Hills, it is known as *Indingu*. This bird is found at the base of the Himalayas from Oudh to Assam and is extremely common in Bengal and Bihar. Its colouration may be described as follows:—"Forehead to the eye, lores, chin and throat *greenish yellow*. Cran to nape, upper cheeks and ear-coverts ash-grey. Hind neck bright chrome followed by a band of pure grey. The remainder of upper plumage, wing-coverts and inner most secondaries yellowish olive-green. Upper tail-coverts the same, but sometimes tinged with grey. Tail above grey with basal band of olive-yellow. Greater wing-coverts and secondaries boldly edged with yellow forming a conspicuous bar. Centre of abdomen, vent and thighs yellow with deep green-grey centres."

These Bengal Green Pigeons frequent open but well-wooded countries and are common in gardens. Usually they remain on the plains but are sometimes lured into deep forests by the abundance of some favourite berries and fruits. They have regular hunting-grounds. The excellence of the flesh renders them a great table-delicacy. Their call-notes are most beautiful soft whistles, very much like the whistle of a human being. They feed on all kinds of fruit, especially those of the various fig-trees and grains.

The Lohta Nagas are a Mongoloid tribe living in the Naga Hills of the North-Eastern Frontier of India. They inhabit a tract of territory that may be roughly described as the drainage area of the Middle and Lower Doyang River and its tributaries down to the point where it debouches into the plains.

These Lohta Nagas must be familiar with the Green Pigeon and its call-notes and have therefore fabricated the under-mentioned myth to account for the origin of the plaintive call-notes of the Bengal Green Pigeon :—

In the far off times when birds and rats and squirrels could talk to one another, the Bengal Green Pigeon (*Crocopus phœnicopterus*) sold her young one to the squirrel (*Sciurus palmarum*) in exchange for three nuts. The Green Pigeon said to the squirrel: "Give me three nuts and, in lieu thereof, you may take this young one of mine." Thereupon the squirrel took the chick but gave the Green Pigeon two good nuts and one which was devoid of a kernel. When the Bengal Green Pigeon took away the nuts and cracked them, he found that two were good and one had no kernel in it. He, therefore, went to give them back to the squirrel and said to him: "Take back your nuts and return me my young one."

The squirrel was, at that time, roasting the chick and watching the fat that was dripping with a hissing noise into the fire. Addressing the Green Pigeon, he said, "Here is your young one. Take it." Saying this, he handed the chick to the Bengal Green Pigeon. When the latter saw what had happened to his chick, he would not take it; but went away uttering loud lamentations: "O, O, *akaw, akaw ow*." It is for this reason that the Bengal Green Pigeon upto this time, cries: O, O, *akaw, akaw ow*.¹

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(1) The Lohta Nagas are accurate observers of bird-life and are charmed by the soft and mellifluous call-note of the Bengal Green Pigeon.

(2) In fact, so exact are their observations of the habits of this Green Pigeon that their rendering of the call-note of this bird, namely, "O, O, *akaw, akaw ow*", is a very correct transliteration of the natural tones of this bird.

¹ Vide the article entitled: "Folk-Stories in Lohta Naga." By J. Pilliks, I.C.S., published in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal N.S.*, Vol. XXII, (1926), No. 5, pp. 315—17.

(3) The system of barter or exchange of goods is prevalent among the Lohta Nagas.

(4) An over-abundance of the feelings of filial affection is foreign to the nature of the Lohta Nagas, because, for worldly advantages or for substantial gains, they can barter away their own children.

(5) The Lohta Nagas appear to be over-sensitive to feelings of grief, for they have represented the Bengal Green Pigeon as being overwhelmed with grief when he got back his chick dead.

(6) The Lohta Nagas appear to be fond of the delicate meat of the Bengal Green Pigeon, for they have depicted the squirrel as having roasted the chick of this bird most likely for food. [In this point, the Lohta Nagas are wrong, for squirrels are graminivorous mammals.]

(7) The Lohta Nagas appear to be devoid of the sense of justice. The Lohta Naga myth-maker ought to have meted out condign punishment to the wicked squirrel for having practised deception and given a bad nut in lieu of a good one to the Green Pigeon. He ought also to have awarded some sort of solatium to the Green Pigeon for the loss of his chick.

(8) Like all other races of Nagas, the Lohta Nagas also do not possess the conception of there being a line of demarcation between mammals and birds on the one hand and human beings on the other. To them a mammal or a bird is as good as a human being, for the primitive Lohta Naga myth-maker has made the Bengal Green Pigeon talk like a human being with the squirrel and has represented them as entering into a commercial transaction by means of barter.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS.

No. XIV.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On an Ancient Indian Ætiological Myth about
the Evolution of the Palāsa-Tree.]*

THE Palāsa-tree (*Butea frondosa*), which belongs to the Order *Leguminosæ*, is otherwise known as the Downy-branched Butea. Its Sanskrit name is *Kinsuka*, in Bengali it is known as *Palāsa* and, in Hindi, as *Dhāk*. In the Dakhini language, it is also called *Palāsa*. In Tamil, it is known as *Parrā-maram*. In Telugu, it is called *Tella-moduga* and, in Burmese as *Pouk-pin*.

It is a small tree bearing deep purple flowers. It grows all over India. Dr. Hooker states that, "When in flower the *Dhāk*-tree is a gorgeous sight; the masses of flowers resembling sheets of flames, their bright orange-red petals contrasting brilliantly against the jet-black velvety calyx." The dried flowers, which are called *tecu*, are used as a yellow dye. The bark of this tree is also used for colouring blue and for purposes of tanning. A beautiful ruddy-tinted astringent gum is also obtained from the bark of this tree. This gum was, at one time, supposed to be the Kino of commerce, and is now frequently substituted for it. The seeds of this tree are a powerful anthelmintic which can very advantageously be substituted for santomine; the gum is used in dysentery and diarrhœa; the flowers are administered to *enceinte* women in cases of diarrhœa and applied externally in orchitis. Arugh cordage is prepared from its root-bark which is also used for manufacturing paper. It is reported that its seeds are eaten in famine-time.

As this tree grows all over India, it is very likely that it also grows in the Punjab and the extreme north-western

* This paper deals with the same subject as that treated of in my "*Studies in Plant-Myths*, No. IX."—which was lost in the press. This paper should, therefore, be taken as the substitute for the lost one.

frontiers of India, which were first occupied by the Indo-Aryans on their entry into India. These early Aryan settlers in India were thus acquainted with this tree and were charmed by the gorgeously coloured flowers thereof. In fact, they were so much moved by the beauty of its flowers, that they fabricated the undermentioned myth to account for its evolution. It is as follows :—

Once upon a time, the gods requested the goddess Gāyatrī to go to the celestial regions and bring the Soma-wine for Indra. Disguising herself as an eagle, Gāyatrī started on her quest for the sacred creeper which grew upon a celestial mountain named Mūjavana. On her arrival in the celestial regions she found that the creeper was growing in a place which was carefully guarded by sentries. But, notwithstanding this, she eluded their vigilance and, seizing the creeper with her eagle's beak, flew away therefrom uttering cries. Attracted by her cries, one of the sentries named Krishānu discovered the goddess as she was stealing away the valuable plant and shot an arrow at her deityship. But the bolt missed its mark but, striking the creeper, knocked one of the leaves from off the vine. This leaf fell upon the mundane region below and grew up into the Palāsa-tree with its bunches of crimson flower.* It might be stated here that there are three variants of this ancient Indian ætiological myth, which bear a striking similarity to the Greek myth of Prometheus's stealing fire from heaven. The first version is contained in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The second one is to be found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The third variant is contained in the *Rigveda*. The *Aitareya* version narrates that the Soma-creeper grew in the region occupied by the Gandharvas who kept company with the celestial nymphs. The gods, knowing this weakness of the Gandharvas, transformed a goddess into a damsel of exquisite beauty and obtained the Soma-vine from them in exchange for her. But in the *Satapatha* version, we find it stated that the goddess

* For this myth, *vide Indian Nature Myths*. By Shovonā Devi. London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1919, page 28.

Gāyatrī succeeded in carrying off the Soma-plant but was overtaken by the Gandharvas into whose possession it fell. But it was subsequently obtained from them by the same stratagem as has been described above. But the myth, as given in the *Rigveda*, states that the goddess Gāyatrī, assuming the guise of an eagle, carried off the Soma-vine from the celestial regions. There is still another variant of the myth which is known as the story of Garuḍa and the Moon-bowl of Nectar, the Sanskrit word meaning both Moon and the Soma-vine.

From a study of the foregoing ætiological myth, we find that—

(1) The ancient Indo-Aryans were keen and accurate observers of nature and were attracted by the conspicuous foliage and flowers of the Palāsa-tree.

(2) They also possessed fine æsthetic sensibility and were, therefore, charmed by and appreciated the gorgeous and beautiful colouration of the flowers of this tree.

(3) As they were ignorant of the laws of biology, they could not scientifically account for the formation of gorgeous colouring of its flowers. They, therefore, fabricated the foregoing myth to account for its evolution.

(4) The leaf of the Soma-vine, which was knocked off by the arrow and fell upon the earth, was miraculously metamorphosed into the Palāsa-tree.

(5) Most likely, some ruddy-hued sap of the creeper also fell upon the earth and was similarly metamorphosed into the gorgeous crimson-coloured flower of the tree.

(6) We also find therefrom that the gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon resorted to deception and treachery to attain their selfish ends and aims.

REVIEWS.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1929.

(Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden.)

THIS Bibliography is complete particularly with regard to publications appearing in India. We are glad that the effort of the publishers is supported by the enlightened policy of the Imperial Government of India and the Government of the Dutch Indies. We congratulate the authorities of the Kern Institute in having been able to obtain from that veteran French Indologist, Mon. Sylvain Lévi, a fascinating account of his great discovery at the Barabudur (Borobudur) in 1928, and to secure from Dr. Victor Goloubew a lucid description of the excavations conducted by him at Angkor and Annam; we congratulate the Institute for these and for a sketch of the archæological explorations carried out in Ceylon. Other matters of interest dealt with in the introduction relate to the researches and discoveries in Baluchistan, Kurdistan and Luristan. We deplore with the editor, Dr. Vogel, that it has not been possible to include in this volume, short notes on the excavations at Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Nalanda, Nagarjuna Konda and elsewhere. But it may be permissible to point out that within the space of an introduction to an annual bibliography, it will not always be possible to give an exhaustive introduction on these topics. Further, as they are dealt with in detail, in the memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, anything more than barely drawing attention to these leading topics will be hardly necessary.

S. S.

Tolkappiyam.

(WITH A SHORT COMMENTARY IN ENGLISH.)

BY P. S. SUBRAMANIA SASTRI, M.A., PH.D.

(Published by the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

Price Re. 1.)

THIS interesting brochure is an English translation of Tolkappiyam (Volume I), the oldest Tamil grammar treating of Phonology now extant in three volumes.

The book consists of nine chapters such as நான்மரபியன், மொழிமரபியன், பிரப்பியல், குற்றியல்கரம் புணரியல், etc., all in Sutras.

The author, who is also a Sanskrit scholar, has shed much welcome light by his critical and comparative study of the old Tamil commentaries of *Ilampuranar*, *Nackinarkiniyar*, etc. He has taken great pains to explain their relative merits and demerits with the help of the *Rig*, *Taittiriya* and *Atharva Veda* Prātisākhyaś together with the aid of Bharata's *Nāṭya Sastra*.

The author also attempts to prove that *Tolkappiyar* followed the Vedas to a great extent in writing the grammar and cites authorities in support. Further, the author has explained குற்றிய லாகரம் and இயந்தம் according to the canons of Tamil grammar, which could not be understood by Pandits versed only in Tamil. It is a matter of some regret that the author should rename even the Sutras in English as it makes the reading somewhat difficult. The transliteration in Roman characters of the Tamil Texts is useful for people unacquainted with that script. The get-up of the book is good and the price moderate.

N. C.

The Kadambakula.

BY G. M. MORAES, M.A.

(Preface by Rev. H. Heras, S.J.)

(Published by B. X. Furtado & Sons, Bombay. Price Rs. 15.)

MR. G. M. MORAES is already familiar to us by his 'History of Mangalore'. In this work, *Kadambakula*, he has given a scholarly and accurate account of the Kadambas, which illumines some of the dark recesses in the history of the Karnataka. It is also important as a short compendium on the political vicissitudes of the Deccan from the dawn of the Christian Era to the rise of Vijayanagar. The chapters pertaining to internal history offer new and interesting vignettes of the social and political life of the people. The chapter devoted to the architecture of the Kadambas deserves special notice, for Mr. Moraes has tried to add a new style, the Kadamba Style, to South Indian architecture, perhaps in the wake of the late Rev. Tabard who gave us the "Hoysala Style," for the most outstanding development and phase of Indian architecture.

Opinions are conflicting as regards the religion of the early Kadamba kings. It is difficult to assert whether Kalidasa visited the court of the Kadambas or of the Vakatakas. On these matters, however, unfortunately, it is not possible to subscribe to

the views contained in the book under review; for the author appears to support his theory of Kalidasa's visit to the Kadamba country on the reference to 'Kuntalesvara' but it has to be observed that the Vakatakas also had conquered parts of the Kuntala kingdom and bore that appellation.

The book is beautifully got up with fifty-six illustrations on art paper and contains a foreword by Rev. Father Heras whose scholarship and interest in South Indian history are so well known. The work of Rev. Father Heras and his collaborators in the field of historical research ought to be an example worthy of emulation elsewhere.

V. R.

The Rukminikalyana Mahakavya

OF SRI RAJACHUDAMANI DIKSHITA.

(Publishers: *The Adyar Library.*)

THE *Rukminikalyāna Mahākāvya* is a work of Rājachūdāmani Dikshita, the poet-laureate at the Court of Raghunath Naik of Tanjore, who was a patron of Art and Letters in the South. This Kāvya is in ten cantos of which only the first two have been published along with a gloss by Sri Bālayajnavēdēśvara. The publishers seem to have been unduly apologetic for their praise-worthy endeavour, and indeed Dr. C. Kunha Raja has written also "An Apology for Classical Poetry," as his foreword to the book. It is perhaps intended as a "vindication" of the claims of the so-called "artificial poetry," usually condemned for its use of hackneyed phrases and ideas. But Sanskrit poetry, however 'artificial', belongs to a higher species, inasmuch as the eternal, recurring problems of life have always been the subject-matter dealt with in classical literature; and it also possesses a flexibility and variety of metre and prosody, unknown to Occidental languages. Thus it could never fail in its appeal to readers of all ages and climes. The Pandits of the Adyar Library deserve the thanks of the public for bringing to light a new volume of Sanskrit Kavya.

V. R.

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.

NO. 42.

(AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR IN UPPER SWAT AND ADJACENT
HILL TRACTS.)

BY SIR A. STEIN, K.C.I.E.

THIS memoir from the pen of that prince of explorers, Sir A. Stein, gives the results of his archæological tour undertaken in the year 1926, in that no man's land on the Indian borderland. Though Col. A. Durand was the first to penetrate this region, in the course of a political mission, he had neither the time nor the inclination to study the ancient relics, famous in the history of Buddhism. Dr. Stein's was the first attempt at investigation into these relics, the expedition being mainly archæological.

The Swat Valley (Uddyana of Yuanchwang) was a flourishing seat of Buddhism in the days of the Chinese pilgrims, and Sir Auriel found the remains of innumerable stupas in decay scattered all over the country. Hills and valleys have derived their names from one or another ruined stupa near by. A few minutes' search in the bazaars of Birkot brought to light coins belonging to the Indo-Greek and Scythian dynasties of old. Huge reliefs of Buddhist angels and kings formerly carved on the face of the rocks are often found sadly disfigured today. The damage is attributed to Mussalman bigotry.

This important tour of Dr. Stein was also utilized to locate some of the leading forts connected with Alexander's invasion. Aornos of Alexander the Great is sought to be identified with the Pir-Sar Hill Fort. The people of the Swat Valley still maintain their ancient industries of wood-carving and weaving which form their main occupation even today. Further researches in these seemingly limitless and almost virgin field of the practical archæologist are bound to be productive of fruitful results to the antiquarian.

V. R.

Taliru.
(Edited and Published by the Karnataka Sangha, Mysore.)

THIS and the other books reviewed in the following pages show how a revival of Kannada literature is taking place in the several districts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and in the

Mysore State. They are all the more welcome as they are attempts at giving a modern touch to the language and the materials contained in them.

"Taliru" contains a collection of twenty-nine poems by twelve living authors and they are all original productions except one which is a translation of Shirley's "Death, The Leveller." Mr. K. V. Puttappa, a leading poet amongst the more youthful of the authors, has composed "Tāregalu," "Māgibarutide," "Mungāru" and "Lalitādiri." His portrait of the stars is very good while his description of nature in "Lalitādiri" rivets attention. Mr. T. N. Sreekantiah's "Dantada Bāchagige" is full of pathos. "Bijimugilu" or the white clouds, "Ancheyavanu" and "Beediyolage Aleyuthihajārivaḷu" also deserve notice.

Tavare.

BY SRINIVASA.

(Published by the Karnataka Sangha, Bangalore.)

MR. MASTI VENKATESA IYENGAR, the author of the fourteen kavites contained in this book, is also well known by his assumed name of Srinivasa and needs no introduction. He is a master in the art of writing short simple stories and in composing elegant verses. His description of the lotus in modern Kannada verse is very appealing. In "Mambi" he depicts his pet dog in a simple and most natural manner, born of affection and primeval instinct. "Kanakadasara Kathegaḷu" are short anecdotes in blank verse, narrated in a homely way. His poems appeal to young and old, men, women and children and they are as easy to understand as they are simple to read and to get up. They are never tiresome and are welcome in picnics, holiday gatherings and at the fireside as well as at school.

Hakki Harutide, etc.

(The Jayakarnataka Mandala, Dharwar.)

THE Geleyara Gumpu of Dharwar are publishing a number of books every year for some time and this is one of them. It contains thirty-eight pieces selected from various modern authors, composed in a new style, following the present vogue and variations in prosody. Ambikātanayadatta's "Hakki Harutide" is an excellent poem

describing a bird soaring in high altitudes. "Chaluvina Bête" and "Chaluva Olavu" resemble the other compositions of Ananda-Kanda in beauty and imagination.

Mangana Meravanige and *Tirukara Pidugu* are two more publications of the Jayakarnataka Sangha. The "Meravanige" is a collection of short stories in the modern Kannada of Dharwar and includes a well-written story of "Fakeeravvana Punya". "Tirukara Pidugu" contains three farces in the ordinary spoken Kannada of the land from the pen of Mr. T. P. Kailasam, full of rollicking fun throughout, and a one-act play, called "Halegandu" being a pure invention and "Rayara Maduve," a description of modern Hindu society, by Krishna Kumar. All these are more or less protests against social customs and manners and full of caustic irony, sarcasm and ridicule. Even so, they form delightful reading.

Yagakshatriya Sadhu Settara Charitre.

BY KAYANGADI NANJAPPA.

WE are here given the origin, progress and development of the Sadhu Setty community in the only book on the subject available. This praiseworthy effort deserves encouragement.

Sri Bhagavadgita.

(Edited by Sri Tirupathi Trichanur Sriman Madhva
Siddhantabhiwridhikarini Sabha. Price 0-12-0.)

THE editor Mr. Pandurangi Krishnachar gives in this book, besides the original Sanskrit text, a Kannada translation of the Gita by Sri Sesha, in easy Kannada verse. The book is well got up and deserves to be in every Hindu home. V. C.

Mandodari.

BY C. K. VENKATARAMIAH, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.

*A Kannada Drama published by the Karnataka Sahitya Prakatana
Mandira. Bangalore Press. Price Rs. 1-8-0.*

MR. C. K. VENKATARAMIAH, the talented author of 'Mandodari', needs no introduction to the Kannada reader. Mandodari, herself, is one of the reputed heroines in the Rāmāyana. In the book under review the author has tried to assimilate ideas based on

the several versions of the Rāmāyana and to introduce certain changes in the legends of Mandodari for the purposes of his drama. The epics of the Rāmāyana as well as of the Mahābhārata continue to engross the public mind till the end of time. Bhasa's *Pratimānātaka* and Vedānta-Desika's *Hamsa-Sāndesa* are some noteworthy departures from the orthodox versions of the Rāmāyana. While Kālidāsa follows Valmiki in his *Meghaduta* he follows Padma Purāna in *Raghuvamśa*. Nagachandra of about the twelfth century has also left off the beaten path in his great Kannada work—the *Pam̐a Ramayana*. Mr. Venkataramiah's effort in dramatising 'Mandodari' in Kannada is quite welcome. Mandodari is no ordinary heroine in Indian legend or tradition. Hanuman's vivid description of her as given by Valmiki shows how near he was towards mistaking her for Sita: identifying her with the daughter of Janaka, he danced for joy, though he did not take long to realize his error. It is not strange therefore that Mr. Venkataramiah should attempt in his drama to clothe Mandodari with all the virtues of Sita, so that they would fain have become as it were two flowers on one stem and daughters of common parents. That feeling of oneness and endearment between the wives of two heroes about to meet in mortal combat has been very well developed and brought out by the author. He has also departed from the generally accepted canons and made Mandodari die from a shaft which is aimed at Ravana but which strikes and kills her. Further Ravana as a creation of Mr. Venkataramiah is not the tragic hero whom no destiny endures. He only desires to capture Rama and he would then deliver up Sita to him, pure and undefiled. A similar idea is expressed in the *Pam̐a Ramayana* (XIV. 110-119).

The language is modern and contains naturally a number of Sanskrit words generally used in Kannada literature.

S. S.

Pygambar Mahomed.

BY C. K. VENKATARAMIAH, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.

MR. C. K. VENKATARAMIAH'S work clothed in elegant literary style on the life and teachings of the prophet is welcome especially as we have no account of the Prophet in Kannada. A sketch of the founder of a religion, counting forty crores of people in its

fold, compiled from various sources, is bound to be, as it is, of absorbing interest.

While the birth of Mahomed is given as the 29th August in the year 570 of the Christian era, the commencement of the Hijira begins from the 2nd July 622 A.D. commencing from the day he reached the city of Yatrib. No reason is given why it should be so. The opposition which Mahomed met in the course of his propagandistic mission against idolatry is vividly set forth by the author. Mahomed's successes very soon made him practically the uncrowned king of Medina.

In the sixth chapter, the author deals with what made Mahomed great, the foremost characteristics being his forgiveness towards his enemies, his living the life he recommended for others, his feeling that all are one in the eye of God, his untainted honesty and his capacity to guide people in the right path.

The personality and character of the Holy Prophet is given in Chapter XIII in great detail. The spirit of Islam and its main tenets are well summed up in a separate chapter. This well written brochure deserves wide circulation.

Halliya Kathegalu.

BY C. K. VENKATARAMIAH, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.

ANOTHER literary effort of Mr. C. K. Venkataramiah consists of five short stories in Kannada depicting the life, manners and customs of the villagers, reprinted from "Rangabhumi". The author's intimate acquaintance with the life of the folk with which he deals and the language they employ in their houses are clear from the work under reference. Besides Mr. Venkataramiah is not without humour to judge from these stories. He has given us Kamalamma, Becrakka, Rangegowda, Badayi Boraiah, and Seebhannina Sastrigalu who cannot be easily forgotten.

"Garatiya Hadu" and "Bisilugudure".

(Published by the Jayakarnataka Granthamala, Dharwar.)

"GARATIYA HĀDU", the fourth publication of the Jayakarnataka Series, has 500 Tripadis dealing with domestic life with which we are all familiar, in a very realistic way. Hindu ladies

will particularly welcome these songs which they know so well and which depict their ideals of life so accurately. A glossary of unfamiliar words is given at the end.

"Bisilugudure", the second selection of short stories, is the fifth in the same series. New in tone, rather sparse in plot, the stories are yet interesting in developing character. The descriptions of Nainital and Muktiyātre may be specially mentioned.

V. C.

NOTES.

Siladitya-Vardhana or Chālukya ?

THE inscription in old Kanarese characters of the seventh century A.D. found at the village of Gaddemane (Shimoga District, Mysore State) has attracted considerable attention on account of a suggestion that it refers to the famous Harṣa of Kanouj under the name of Śilāditya. The suggestion has been accorded a mixed reception,¹ but I am sure that it would have been turned down summarily if it had been possible to point to another Śilāditya nearer Shimoga than the Vardhana of Kanouj. It may perhaps be worth while pointing out that we know of another Śilāditya,—Śryāśraya Śilāditya,—who was the son of a brother of the Chalukya King Vikramāditya I and who flourished in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. He was styled *yūvarāja* and he seems to have been the head of a province.² It is not unlikely that in his youth he was employed on the southern borders of the Chalukyan territories and fought the battle chronicled in the inscription. The fortunes of the Chalukyas at about this period in the neighbourhood of Shimoga have been such as to lend considerable support to the suggestion I am making. The question deserves detailed discussion; but this short note commends the claims of the Chalukya Śilāditya in preference to those of his namesake among the Vardhanas.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHIAN.

¹ *MAR*, 1923 : 30, 83 ; *JRAS*, 1926 : 487 ; *IHQ*, iii, 788-89 ; *QJMS*, xxi, 356.

² *EI*, viii, 229, xiv, 148 ; *JBBRAS*, xx, 40 ; *Tr. of Vienna Or. Congress, Aryan Sn.*, 1888 : 211.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Jaffna, 21st July 1931.

History of Jaffna.

TO

THE EDITORS,

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY,

BANGALORE.

DEAR SIRS,

May I seek the hospitality of your columns to make an appeal to your numerous readers who are conversant with the Mediæval history of South India for assistance by contributing from their stock of information for the reconstruction of the History of Jaffna?

A line of Kings called "Ariyas", also called *Arya Chakravartis*, ruled Jaffna, the northern part of Ceylon, from the tenth to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. with their seat of Government at Nallore called *Sinkai Nagar* in Jaffna.

The Portuguese who extinguished the independence of Jaffna destroyed all historical and epigraphical records; and what history Jaffna possesses to-day is based on legends collected during the time the Dutch held sway here. From some fragmentary verses that have survived, it is known that the *Arya Chakravartis* belonged to *Ganga Vamsa*; their ensign was the bull; they were the guardians of Rameswaram (சேதுகாவலன்) and after the decline of the Cholas they succeeded to the supremacy on the sea.

Ibn Batuta saw the Government of *Arya Chakravarti* sending out naval expeditions to fight the Muhammadans on the Indian Coast. From the contemporary history of South Ceylon it is clear that *Arya Chakravarti* was an ally of the Pandyas and in the battles between the Cholas and the Pandyas, *Arya Chakravarti* appears to have fought the Hoysalas; and a Jaffna poet while praising the prowess of his patron, *Arya Chakravarti*, refers to a battle thus:—

“சென்றுகருநாட கரையந்தரவல்லியிற் பொருதுசெயித்த வேந்தும்
கன்றிவருமத வேழக் கரந்துணித்துப் போசலவலக் கடிந்தவேந்தும்”

“The King *Arya Chakravarti* going up to Canera fought the Canerese and defeated them at Andra Valli and he, having first cut off the trunk of the fierce elephant of the Hoysala (King),

punished him." Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar speaks of villages near and beyond Rameswaram bearing the name of Aryakudi.

There is tradition that people from Jaffna settled down at Tiruvunnamalai, the influence of Arya Chakravarti having extended there.

About the year 1478 A.D., Jaffna was defeated by an allied army led by a Sinhalese General and immediately after, according to the Portuguese historian *De Couto*, a fleet of ships sent by the Canerese King appeared before Colombo with the object of punishing the Sinhalese King.

After this defeat, the Jaffna Kings seem to have dropped the title Chakravartis, but they came to be called by the names *Pararajasingham* and *Sekarajasingham*.

In the zenith of Vijayanagar's power, the Kings of Jaffna appear to have acted as Agents, collecting tributes from the Sinhalese Kings and forwarding the same to the Suzerain Power—Vijayanagar. A tradition attributes the fall of Jaffna to a prince called *Sangla* alias *Sangili* whose mother was a princess from the Royal household of Vijayanagar. This prince succeeded to the throne of his father by assassination and the quarrel which resulted between him and his half-brothers led to the Portuguese being invited to the assistance of the half-brothers to regain the throne. The Portuguese at last wiped out the independence of Jaffna.

I shall be thankful if you will kindly open your columns for the publication of historical information from contemporary sources your readers may be pleased to contribute *re.* Jaffna history of the mediæval period.

R. C. PROCTOR.

The Malabar Christian's Date for Manikka-Vachakar and for the Foundation of Quilon.

Trivandrum, 14th August 1931.

SIR,

In his article entitled 'The Date of Manikyavacaka' published in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Mr. K. G. Sankara Ayyar attempts to make the Malabar Christian tradition appended to my *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents*, yield the date 680 A.D. for Māṇikka-Vāchakar's

reconversion of some St. Thomas Christians of Malabar (*vide* reprint of his article, pp. 5 and 6). He does so by—

- (a) wrongly interpreting the very well-known phrase 'நம்முடே கத்தாலின்தே காலம்' used in almost all old Malabar Christian documents, and
- (b) unwittingly putting in the word 'later' after நமயடு காலம், and
- (c) wrongly interpreting 'நமயடு காலம்' as '315 years'.

நம்முடே கத்தாலின்தே காலம் is to the Malabar Christian a very familiar phrase with a very definite meaning. To him it means nothing more or less than the Latin phrase '*in Anno Dominostri*,' which appears in English as 'in the year of Our Lord' and stands for the abbreviation A.D. to which some modern writers prefer A.C., *i.e.*, *Anno Christi* (rather than After Christ). The above Malayalam phrase for *Anno Domini* as well as the Christian era came to be used in Malabar only after the advent of the Portuguese in A.D. 1498, although Marignolli, Marco Polo and other Europeans must have used the era and the Latin phrase in their letters or diaries written while they were on or near the Malabar Coast prior to 1498. நம்முடே கத்தாலின்தே காலம் means A.D., and A.D. alone. It is capable of *no other interpretation*. A.D. is also referred to in Malayalam as *Misihā-kkālam* (மிசிஹாக்காலம்), *i.e.*, the year of the Messiah. A year (*e.g.*, 315) of the Christian era is also referred to as மாளுன் ஈசோ மிசிஹா பிறக்கிட்டு நமயடு ராம் காலம் (or நமயடு காலம்), which means 'in the 315th year after the birth of the Lord Jesus the Messiah. காலம் (kālam) here means year, and not time as is well known to those acquainted with old Malayalam documents.

And *Karthavū* here is *not* the creator or St. Thomas, but கத்தாலு ஈசோ மிசிஹா, or மாளுன் ஈசோ மிசிஹா, which is equivalent to the English translation (the Lord Jesus the Messiah) of the original Greek and Syriac of the New Testament. *Mārān* (மாளுன்) is a Syriac word meaning Our Lord in English and நம்முடே கத்தாலு in Malayalam. St. Thomas is never referred to in Malayalam as நம்முடே கத்தாலு. To us, St. Thomas Christians, he is 'நம்முடே ஸ்வேஹா', Our Apostle.

It will be better at this stage to quote here the passage containing the words wrongly interpreted by Mr. Sankara Ayyar.

.....தம்மில் வெஃபூக்களாயி நடந்நுவந்ந காலம் நம்முடெ கற்த்தா
லிந்நெ காலம் உறகயநல்.....ஈ வந்ந தமிழரிலணுனிச்சு....நடந்ந
வருப்போள் சராயடு காலம் மாணிக்கவாசகடோந்ந ஒரு கூழ்நீக்காரன்
வந்(நு).....

Two distinct events are recorded here :—

(1) *In A.D. 293* the indigenous Christians of Niranam and of Quilon (both in Travancore) adopted some of the customs of the Vellāla Christian refugees from Kaviripattinam (Puhar) and, when they were thus going on,

(2) *in the year 315* came a sorcerer named Mānikka Vāchakar.

It will, therefore, be seen that no addition of 293 and 315 is possible at all, nor is there any means whatever of bringing in 72 as Mr. Sankar has done (p. 6 of reprint).

It must be borne in mind also that, according to Malabar Christian tradition, the above-mentioned defection caused by Mānikka Vāchakar took place definitely *before* the coming to Cranganore (Muziris) in Cochin of the foreign Christian merchant prince Thomas Cana and his hundreds of Christian companions in 345 A.D., one of the few very precise dates preserved in Malabar Christian tradition (*vide* my article on 'Thomas Cana' in *The Indian Antiquary*, LVI, 1927, pp. 161 *sqq.* and LVII, 1928, pp. 103 *sqq.*). The value of this tradition and these dates can of course be questioned, and no one can vouch for its accuracy.

Malabar Christian tradition is positive also regarding the date 1 M.E. (or 825 A.D.) for the foundation of the city of Quilon by the Persian Christian merchant prince Maruvān Sabriso, to whose church in Quilon was granted the still extant Sthanu Ravi copper-plates of about A.D. 880 well-known to antiquarians. In Hindu tradition embodied in *Keralotpatti* the merchant is called Kollattu Yāvāri (கொல்லத்து யாவாரி), the Quilon Merchant. True, the city of Quilon had been in existence before 825 A.D. So we have perhaps to regard Sabriso's founding of Quilon as a *re-founding* of it. The destruction of Quilon just a few years before 825 A.D. seems to be referred to in the expression "கொல்லம் அழிந்து", *i.e.*, such-and-such a year after the destruction of Quilon found in the Tamil work *Maturaittala Varalaru* (மதுரைத் தல வரலாறு) (*See Tamil Series*, 27). In old inscriptions a Quilon year is referred to as such-and-such a year after (கொல்லம் தோன்றி)

'the appearance of Quilon', and Sabriso, the merchant, is twice called "Sabriso who founded this city and obtained possession of it" (இந்நகரம் கண்டு கீரோற்ற மதுவான் ஸபிரீசோ) in the above Sthanu Ravi copper-plate of *circa* 880 A.D.

T. K. JOSEPH.

A Note on Manikkavachaka.

1/25, Nacchiappa Chetty Street,

Mylapore, Madras.

IN an article contributed by Mr. K. G. Sankara Aiyar on Māṇikkavāchaka in the July number of the Journal (pp. 45—55), he considers the true name of the saint to be Śivapādyā śiva. Tamil scholars think that it is a compound of two Sanskrit words and pādya, the latter connoting 'One who is attached to the feet of another'. We also read under *Śivapadya* in the Tamil Lexicon, 'Saiva devotees attached to the feet of Siva; சிவபீத்தன்'. In the *Koḷi Tiruppaṇṇiyar viruttam*, to which he refers, there is nothing to show that 'Śivapādyā' is a name given by his parents to Māṇikkavāchaka. The stanza in question reads thus:—

வருவாசகத்தினின் முற்றுணர்க்தோண வண்டில்ல மண்ணத்
திருவாதலூர்ச் சிவபாத்தியன் செய்திருச் சிற்றம்பலப்
பொருளார் தரு திருக்கோவை கண்டேயு மற்றப்பொருளத்
தெருளாத வுள்ளத்தவர் கலிபாடிச் சிறிப்பிப்பரே.

Free translation: Poets who do not understand the purport of what is given in *Tirukkōvai*, which has Tirucchiṟṟambalam for its central idea of Him—the presiding deity of Tillai and sung by the Saiva devotee of Tiruvādvūr who has understood Tiruvāchaka, will sing many stanzas and thus make others laugh.

Again, the word Pādya is no new word for the Tamils, as we find mention of the same in *Maṇimēkalai* in பகையறு பாத்தியன் பாதம் பணிந்தாங்கு.* Hence there is no warrant to hold that the name is one given by his parents.

2. It is stated that Nambi Andar Nambi has counted Tiruvāchaka as one of the sacred canons. On the face of the stanzas in Nambi's biography, better known as Settlement of the Canon it seems to be correct but on a critical examination of the stanzas it will be found that some of them are interpolations.†

* *Maṇimēkalai* 10, Mantram Koḍutta Kāḍai, line 35.

† *Sen Tamil*, Vol. XXVI, p. 297 et seq. particularly pp. 483-487.

3. As to the incorrect translation of the verse found in the Leyden grant,* all I have to say is that this is the interpretation given by many a scholar. Even Burgess and Natesa Sastry hold the same view. They write that 'He, Indra of Kings, begat Aditya Rajaraja also called Karikala, the crest jewel of the Sola family.'† And Sanskrit scholars also interpret it likewise. That novel interpretation may also be plausible but has no bearing here. Moreover, Nambi explicitly refers to an Āditya and not to a Rājarāja which point has been lost sight of by Mr. Sankar.

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR.

* Cf. p. 47, *QJMS.* for July 1931

† *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV.

EDITORIAL.

OUR Patron, His Highness the Maharaja, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, after a prolonged and arduous pilgrimage to the Manasa Sarovara and Mount Kailas, returned to the Capital. We offer him our most loyal and sincere welcome on the successful completion of his *tirtha-yatra*.

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We congratulate the Lokamanya Mofat Wachanalaya of Shirhatti on their celebration of the Golden Jubilee on 1st August 1931.

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We deeply regret to record the tragic and early death of Sir Steuart Pears, Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, by an accidental slip down a deep *Khud* near Nathiagali on September 9, 1931. During the period he was amidst us as British Resident in Mysore, he endeared himself to the people of the State by his deep sympathy and generous kindness as well as by his easy accessibility, courtesy and desire to help the needy. His interest in the work of the Mythic Society of which he was an Honorary President was immense and we desire to convey to Lady Pears our condolences in her bereavement.

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We have also to notice, with equal regret, the demise of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras. Mr. Cotton was a member of the Mythic Society from its foundation and evinced great interest in its work. His inaugural address at the Kerala Society was an example of his intimate knowledge of South Indian History and was a testimony to his great interest in the antiquities of this country. Our heart-felt condolences go to Mrs. Cotton in her bereavement.

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Swami Nikhilananda in his interesting article on the Sringeri Math in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for June 1931 takes it for granted that Sri Vidyanarya was Madhava, son of Chawundabhatta and conqueror of Goa. That has been shown to be incorrect by Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar.

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In the *Vedic Magazine* for some time past, Pandit Chamupati has been giving a sketch of the life of Sri Krishna which he

continues in the issue for June and July 1931. His account takes into consideration the several attacks made upon the avatar of Sri Krishna and endeavours to explain them in a manner satisfactory even to the layman.

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In the *Epigraphia Indica* for January 1929, Prof. J. Ph. Vogel of Leiden gives the text and translation of the Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nagarjunikonda, with an introductory note. These furnish some valuable historical information regarding the three rulers of the Southern Ikkhāku dynasty, though that information is very meagre. Buddha is called a scion of the Ikkhāku dynasty. Certain expressions found in these also occur in the Prakrit copper-plate grants of the early Pallavas.

* * *

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni edits a Sunga Inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica* for April 1929. Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakara of Ayodhya first brought it to the notice of scholars. This is the first inscription on stone or metal so far discovered which mentions the celebrated founder of the Sunga dynasty, Pushyamitra, and helps us to compare the literary references to this ruler contained in *Divyāvadana* (XXIX), the Mahabhasya of Patanjali (III-2-123), the Vishnu and the Bhāgavata Purānas and the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa. The interpretation of *sashtena* or the sixth son of Pushyamitra gains support as against the sixth in descent from the founder. The script is Brahmi in character and earlier than that of the inscription of Rudradaman of Girnar.

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Mr. R. Srinivasaraghavaiengar discusses whether the Rock Sculpture at Mahabalipuram generally known as Arjuna's Penance is such or Bhagiratha's Penance as suggested by Von Goloubew or otherwise, in the *Indian Antiquary* for June 1931. Mr. Iyengar considers it to be Vishnu's Paradevata Paramathya and gives the heading to the article. Where Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and M. Goloubew differ from each other and from Mr. Srinivasaraghavaiengar, each supporting his own conclusions, it is difficult to decide. Tradition, it may be observed; however, connects it with Arjuna's Penance; and the circumstances and the context appear to justify it.

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Dr. Pran Nath considers, in another article in the same issue, that *Artha-Sastra* was probably composed between 484 and 510 A.D. and assigns the following reasons: (1) The author of the *Artha-Sastra* lived somewhere near the sea-coast in a country which abounded in (a) sea-ports, (b) ships sailing for pearl fishery, and (c) pirate vessels and where conch shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and coral were also important items of import. (2) In the section relating to the management of the crown lands, it will be found the king of Kauṭalya possessed landed properties in Aparanta, Aśmaka, Avanti, Jāṅgala and Anūpa-desa, all comprising a political unit identified generally with Konkana, Kaccha, Surāshtra, Sind (Aparanta), some parts of Rajaputana (Jāṅgala), Mālwa with its capital at Ujjain (Avanti), the tracts along the banks of the Narmada and Tapti (Anūpa-desa) and Travancore (Apte) or Maharashtra (Herr Meyer and Dr. Shama Sastri) (Aśmaka). (3) A consideration of the historical evidence about the existence of the political unit referred to by Kauṭalya suggests that the Mālwa empire continued as a political unit from 126 A.D. to 510 A.D. within which period the composition of the *Artha-Sastra* must fall. He thinks it was subsequent to the defeat of the Hunas by Skandagupta in 458 A.D. and his occupation of the Kathiawar Peninsula (Surāshtra). In the July issue of the same periodical (*I.A.*), the learned Doctor refers to his fourth ground (4) Prāg-Hunaka-Gandhara Countries (484-510 A.D.) after the repulse of Skandagupta and the capture of the North-Western Punjab in 465 A.D. Under the authority of the Huna conqueror Toramana and of his son Mihiragula who ruled over a consolidated dominion, evidently the Hindu rulers, exposed to the attack of the cruel Huns, did not like to give any chance of complaint to them. (5) The countries of the Malwa Empire fulfil the conditions of Kauṭalya's *Janapada*.

Amongst his other reasons are Kauṭalya considering coinage as a royal prerogative which was not so regarded till the Greek conquests of India and the *Artha-Sastra* advocating ideals and culture which are non-Indian. This, however, conflicts with the earlier view fixing the date of Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya in the fourth century B.C. when a large nation state in India is not generally considered to have been formed. Further, doubts have been cast on the original text of the *Artha-Sastra*, whether it was in verse or prose. And Dr. Pran Nath considers that the verses containing

the author's name do not help in fixing his date or in suggesting that the state of society depicted in the work is pre-Buddhist and says that there is no means of ascertaining whether the tradition handed down to Dandin about the authorship of the work was based upon fact. Dr. Nath, however, would believe the original work to have been in verse. [Cf. *I.A.*, Sept. 1931, p. 174.] While opinions on these matters may differ and there may even be in accuracies in the English translation of the *Artha-Sastra* as suggested by Dr. Ganapati Sastri and also by a writer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. VII, No 2, June 1931), the value of Dr. Shama Sastri's pioneer work cannot be gainsaid.

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In the *Prabuddha Bharata* for July 1931, Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer begins an exposition of 'Avasthātraya'—a unique feature of the Vedānta. One's life is known to cover the three states,—waking, dream, and deep-sleep stages, *i.e.*, Jāgrat, Svapna and Sushupti. The waking stage, however advanced, accurate or scientific one's knowledge of this state, is yet defective according to the Vedāntin for purposes of philosophic or the highest truth, since it ignores the other two states. Hence to realize what life in totality means, the experience gained in the three states should be co-ordinated. Now, Avasthātraya does not ignore even an iota of the data of life. The reason of the Vedāntin comprehends and co-ordinates the experiences of the three. While the great thinkers of Europe and America approach each of these from the physical, physiological or psychological side, which confines them to the waking state only, the metaphysical—not the mystic—aspect as based on Avasthātraya has scarcely been touched upon by them. Tadātmiya is ultimate philosophical knowledge and is attained by mental and moral discipline of a high order required for a determined pursuit of pure truth. Avasthātraya is a means of reaching Reality and the problem of Reality is approached through the Jñāna, Bhakti and Karma Mārgas. Sat-chit-ānanda appears to have been somewhat very generally used here. The article is concluded in the August issue in which the Reality of Ideas and the Reality of Awareness are further considered. Avasthātraya, recently, has been discussed notably by Messrs. Y. Subbarao and K. A. Krishna-swamier. An article on Avasthā-Panchaka dealing with Turiya and Turiyātita would be welcome.

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Of the several interesting articles published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for March 1931 (Vol. VII, No. 1), attention may be drawn to Mr. R. Rama Rao's concluding article on the Origin of Madhava-Vidyaranya Theory in which Madhava, brother of Sayana, is considered separate from Vidyaranya, the Jagadguru of Sringeri. The writer agrees with Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar that Madhava, brother of Sayana, was different from Madhava Amatyā, but differs from him in his identification of Madhava with Vidyaranya. This view of the writer does not appear convincing. (See *Q.J.M.S.*, XXI, No. 4, p. 428.) Further, who Vidyaranya was before he became a Sanyasi has not been discussed; nor are we told whether Vidyaranya has to be identified with Sivadharmā of *Svātattva Ratnakara* [Bk. IV, Chap. 12, verse 7].

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In the *Journal of Indian History* for April 1931 (Vol. X, Part I), noticing the work of Rev. H. Heras on the 'Beginnings of Vijayanagara History', the reviewer says that 'the author succeeds in reinforcing the theory of Kannada origin', viz., that the foundation was by the Hoysalas to avert the Mussalman invasions at the north of the Empire. But 'his views regarding the fabrication of the story of Vidyaranya by the ascetics of the Sringeri Mutt and incidentally his views regarding the philosophy of these ascetics may not find general acceptance.' The suggestion is therefore possible that while the original town of Vijayanagara may have been started as a bulwark against Mussalman aggression by Ballala III, Vidyaranya assisted in the foundation of the great Hindu Empire of the fourteenth century.

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The introductory note in the *Annual Bibliography of Archaeology*, reviewed in these pages, refers to the excavations in Annam (Trakē). The religious centre of the ancient city consisted of eight Brahmin temples. The principal shrine must have been a building remarkable not only for its vast dimensions, but also on account of the quality and quantity of the sculptures which supplied its plastic decorations. In the middle of this sanctuary, there stood a sandstone altar of imposing size, adorned all round with a frieze in high relief, representing a succession of musicians and female dancers. Temples were raised on a platform decorated with raised ornaments and mouldings.

Amongst the inscriptions found was a Sanskrit one, discovered by Mon. Clæys, belonging to the reign of Prakāśadharmā of the seventh century A.D. which records the construction of the temple in honour of the great poet and rishi Valmiki, the celebrated author of the Rāmāyana.

These confirm the view propounded by the Greater India Society, regarding the Hindu colonization of the Further East under Brahmin auspices, of whom Kaundinya was the foremost.

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The Journal of the Bombay Historical Society for September 1930 (Vol. III, No. 2) contains a number of interesting articles. On 'A Newly discovered Image of Buddha near Goa', Rev. Heras brings to bear his unrivalled scholarship and acute vision and shows that Buddhism existed as a fact in the West Coast. Another article relating to 'The Remains of a Pre-Historical Civilization in the Gangetic Valley' by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri is of absorbing interest and is profusely illustrated.

* * *

The Report of the Research Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for 1930-31, draws attention to the fact that its application regarding the Institute's Post-Graduate classes to the Bombay University is receiving sympathetic consideration by the Syndicate and the Academic Council. In the meantime, on the recommendation of the Local Inquiry Committee of the University, the provisional permission given by it to carry on post-graduate tuition work at the Institute continues.

* * *

Triveni—Vol. IV, No. 2 (March—April)—contains a note on the Frescoes from Kerala by Mr. K. V. Ramachandran who refers to the paintings on the walls of the Siva shrine at Trichur and compares them to those of Ajanta. 'The loveliness of woman is,' he says, 'an eternal pre-occupation with art, not only at Bagh or Ajanta or Belur and Bhuvanewar, but also wherever Brahmanical influences have prevailed, from Khotan to the ends of Indonesia.'

* * *

In the Telugu Periodical *Bharati* (Vol. 8, No. 7) published on the 7th July 1931, there is a most informative article on the Saptarishis or the Great Bear Constellation and their Forward and Retrograde Motions. As the location of these stars in the path of the twenty-seven asterisms is used for purposes of fixing long periods,

may, even ages and according to some the date of the Mahabharata War and other Puranic incidents is determined from the position of this constellation in the firmament, the discussion of this subject by Mr. N. Jagannatha Rao will be found very instructive.

In the course of a very interesting and highly instructive note on 'A Stucco Head from Central Asia' belonging to the Fourth to Fifth Century A.D. and included in the Ross Collection, Dr. Ananda Coomarasamy says in the June number of the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston (Vol. XXIX, No. 173), 'the Stucco art is...vastly superior to that of the Gandhāran productions in the stone. The influence of the latter in India was purely formal, brief and superficial, because there already existed a vigorous and well-established sculptural art. In Central Asia, where the Northern Iranians had previously used only a symbolical and non-representational style, and had not depicted the human form until a time when the Greek models became known to them, the Hellenistic tradition left deeper traces. When ultimately the immediately derivative period had been passed (*viz.*, when the Gandhāran stone style had already decayed, and even in the Mediterranean Hellenistic art was in full decline), Central Asia created out of this inheritance (in combination with formal elements of Indian origin) an entirely new and living art which may fairly be called autochthonous, essentially a product of Iranian genius, and of more than provincial significance. 'The productions of Hadda (in Afghanistan)¹ and Tash-Kurgan in the Tarim Valley, north of Kashmir² evidently represent the classic stage of this development, and remembering the contacts which at this time united distant parts of Asia by intimate cultural links, it is of interest to note that this classical period of Central Asian art coincided with the analogous conditions represented in India in the contemporary Gupta Period: in both areas the gracious and cosmopolitan types and styles now established were destined to retain their prestige ever afterwards.' These and other discoveries of paintings and sculptures in this part of Asia have added a new chapter to history, revealing an art 'embodying Indian, Hellenistic, Iranian, and finally Chinese elements

¹ Barthoux, J. J., *Les Fohilles de Hadda*, 1930.

² Strzygowski, J., *The Afghan Stuccos of the N. R. F. Collection*, 1931.

in varying proportions,' not 'an inorganic combination of incongruous elements' 'like the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra,' but 'expressing indigenous energies, astonishing living qualities, and a 'true' style'. In Afghanistan, the use of stone for Buddhist sculpture represents a natural consequence of the original Indian influence; the later developed Stucco art may be regarded as of northern origin.

Writing on 'Paharpur' in the *Modern Review* for August 1931, Babu Sarojendranath Ray describes its site as representing one of the noblest historical places in Bengal and a most ancient and precious archæological spot so far discovered there. In another article, three Vishnu sculptures from Hmawza or old Prome in Burma are described by Babu Niharranjan Ray. In this place which has yielded the earliest Pali inscriptions up till now discovered in Burma relating to the subject-matter of Hinayana Buddhism are to be found relics of Brahmanical influence associated with Vishnuvite tradition so far brought to light within the Peninsula.

In the *Viswa-Bharati Quarterly* (Vol. 8, 1930-31, Part III) for June 1931 is published the Presidential Address of Vidhushekara Bhattacharya in the Vedic Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, December 1930, on 'Vedic Interpretation and Tradition'. He approaches some of the fundamental problems in the interpretation of the Veda with special reference to those who hold it as an inspired and sacred heritage, and find it a great source of peace and happiness in their lives. Veda is a treasure and a most precious inheritance of the past to humanity at large while to the Indians it is the ultimate source of their end and aim. It is universally accepted that the text of the Vedas has been preserved quite intact. It is only in the interpretation of Vedic texts that differences of opinion arise, of which the following mystic mantra from the *Rig-Veda* may be given as an example :—

चत्वारिंशन्नां त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्तहस्तासो अस्य ।

त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो ररवीति महादेवो मर्त्या आविवेश ॥

It means : Four are his horns ; three are his feet ; his heads are two and hands are seven. Bound with a triple bond, the strong one roars loudly ; the great God enters into mortals.

According to Nirukta-parisishta, he is a Yagna. The four horns are the four Vedas; the three feet are the three *savanas* (or pressing out of Soma juice at three periods of the day); the two heads are the two libations; the seven hands are seven metres and the triple bond constitutes the three-fold scripture, Mantra, Brahmana and Kalpa.

But Patanjali, the commentator of Panini, takes the God as speech, the four horns being four kinds of words; the three feet comprising the three periods of time; the two heads are two forms of speech; the seven hands are seven case-endings; and the triple bond refers to the three parts of the body that help in uttering speech.

There are many other interesting explanations as well on which space forbids us to dwell. It stands to reason to say that consistently with the context only one of the explanations can be the correct one and the difficulty is to find out what that is amidst the bewildering maze of interpretations put by the highest authorities. The aim of the distinguished President has been to find out what explanation the Rishi or the author of the text himself intended.

Mr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji deals with 'Some Problems in the Origin of Art and Culture in India' in his paper read before the Fine Arts Section of the Sixth All-India Conference at Patna last December and published in the same issue of the *Visvabharati*. Of the several questions which he puts to himself and to which he endeavours to find an answer, may be mentioned: Did the people of the Veda—the Aryans among whom the hymns originated—attempt to translate into wood or stone the visions they had of Ushas and of Indra, of Rudra and of the Asvins? What success did they attain, if that attempt was ever made? Collecting the available evidence on this matter in a masterly way he concludes that 'the oldest objects of national culture in India that we can associate with a people of Aryan language and culture are the Maurya artifacts which take us only to a few centuries B.C.' He then proceeds to discuss in detail the objects of culture of other families—the Austric, the Dravidian and the Tibeto-Chinese. In the concluding paragraphs he arranges Indian art in ten strata: The Pre-Aryan Art of India; Rudimentary Art, mostly borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia; the Art of Aryan Persia;

the first expression of an Ancient Indian National Art; Advent of Greek influence in Indian Art; the Art of Amarāvati and Madhura; the Classical Gupta Art; the development of Art in different parts of India into mid-mediæval and late mediæval and called local schools such as those of the Pallava, Rāshtrakuta, etc.; the art of Indo-China and Java; and the Buddhist Art of Serindia, China, Korea and Japan.

* * *

'The Sources and Nature of *Puruṣa* in the *Puruṣasukta*' is the heading of an article by Mr. W. Norman Brown, of the University of Pennsylvania in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for June 1931 (Vol. 51, No. 2). It throws a flood of light on the interpretation of the word '*Puruṣa*' as given in the Rig Veda. He says that *Puruṣa* does not, as generally understood, represent a primitive conception of the Cosmos as a great man: he cannot be compared as others do to the Norse world-giant Ymir or the Germanic Tuisto, Mannus, between whom and *Puruṣa* a genetic relationship is often found. But *Puruṣa* has his chief importance as a blend of the derivative elements drawn from the sphere of the related deities Agni, Surya and Vishṇu and perhaps faintly re-echoing an old folk-notion. *Puruṣa* 'seems a blend of characteristics of (1) Agni, as the typical male, as the essence of plants, waters, all that moves and stands, and the sacrifice, as the lord of immortality, as the lord of the sacrifice and the sacrifice itself; (2) Surya, as rising above the worlds to the place of immortality; (3) Vishṇu, as the encompasser of earth, air and sky. *Puruṣa* is both the essence of creatures and also the inclusive principle, the first principle, the ruler, the immortal, the eternal. He is neither Agni, Surya nor Vishṇu alone, nor is he a combination of the three. He is a combination of characteristics derived from them, fused in a rather shadowy way in a new unity, with especial reference to the Sun . . . he is most significantly a secondary derivation from notions established antecedently in the R. V. The authors of our hymn no more thought of the world as a human being than did the composers of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* think of it as the sacrificial horse (*BAI.*, i). The emphasis in the hymn is not on the man-like nature of *Puruṣa*, but on his qualities of universality and his functioning as the sacrifice, which last is of predominant importance.' In this connection, it has to be observed that *Puruṣa* in

the Puruṣa-sukta of the Rīg-Veda is, as it were, merely the personification of this entire universe as set out beautifully in the Bhagavad Gita. In describing his Virata-Form to Arjuna Lord Sri Krishna says: In hundreds and in thousands see my forms, O son of Pritha! various, divine and of various colours and shapes. See the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, the two Asvins and Maruts likewise. And O Descendant of Bharata! See wonders in numbers unseen before. Within my body, O Gūdākēśa! See to-day the whole universe, including (everything) movable and immovable, (all) in one and whatever else you wish to see.

"I stand supporting all this by but a single portion of myself." [S. B. E., VIII, pp. 91-2.]

The Bangalore Amateur Dramatic Association has been doing useful work in the field of literary publications for several years past, with which our readers are familiar. In addition to a number of popular works dealing with social topics and with the dramatic art, were published under their auspices the Kannada monthly, 'Ranga Bhumi', which we hope to see soon revived. Their new undertaking in the shape of an English Quarterly called the 'Theatre' ought naturally to appeal to a larger audience. The two numbers that have so far appeared contain articles of a high class. In India, this is, perhaps, the first journal to deal with dramatic art as such, and it is further welcome for this reason. In adapting the ancient dramas to a setting so as to suit the requirements of the modern stage and in translating classical dramas to modern languages, a great deal of useful work has already been done in the past. But it cannot be said that they are adjusted to suit the busy conditions of this age. We hope that this important work will be done by the Journal. The editor of the *Theatre*, Mr. V. Bhaskaran, is well known for his literary talents and journalistic experience. Messrs. G. Venkatachalam, art-critic and K. Sampatgiri Rao of the National High School are associate editors. They have several prominent men including Mr. T. Raghavachari of Bellary on the advisory board. We wish the concern every success; and we hope that lovers and sympathisers of dramatic art will ensure the success of the Journal by extending their liberal patronage by enrolling themselves as patrons, or as life members or at least as ordinary subscribers.

THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Bangalore, 29th July 1931.

V. P. MADHAVA RAO, ESQ., C.I.E.,
in the Chair.

THE Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Wednesday, the 29th July 1931, with Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., Retired Dewan of Mysore, in the Chair. In offering a most hearty welcome to the distinguished statesman, the President of the Society, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen—Allow me on behalf of the members of the Mythic Society to tender our hearty welcome to the veteran statesman, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., who has kindly accepted our invitation to preside on the occasion of the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of our Society. A few days ago, I casually met Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty in one of my morning walks, and he expressed great pleasure that we had, to use his own words, ‘dug out’ Mr. Madhava Rao from his seclusion, to take part in the functions of this day. It struck me at the time, that the expression ‘dug out’ was a very happy one, for, as you know, the main work of the Mythic Society consists in a sense in its excavations in all fields of human activities, if only they bear on their face marks of some claim to a little antiquity. The members of the Mythic Society, most of whom are young men, have no desire to place themselves under the banner of the league of youth. They would far rather be the members of a league of old age. They love everything that is old: old friends, old books, old times, old manners, and if I may add, old statesmen also. To Mysore belongs the credit of having discovered the great talents of Mr. Madhava Rao and of giving the lead to Travancore and Baroda, to utilize them also. Though it

is now many years since Mr. Madhava Rao retired into private life the States that employed him have not forgotten him. It was only a short while ago that the Travancoreans invited him into their midst to express appreciation of his services to that State. While in service in our own State, Mr. Madhava Rao always enjoyed the reputation of being a statesman of progressive views tending towards social uplift, and the broad-basing of representative government. It is a pleasure to us all that he still enjoys physical health and mental vigour and I am sure I echo your sentiments when I say that we heartily wish him to enjoy these blessings for many years to come.

And now, Sir, I request you to accept on behalf of the Mythic Society our cordial welcome to this hall which is as much a tribute to the great services of the Society's first President, the late Father Tabard, as it is to the generosity of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and of His Highness' Government in enabling its members to carry on the research work in the past activities of the human race and to throw light therefrom on the advancing conditions of life.

Mr. S. Srikantaya, the General Secretary and Treasurer, next read the Annual Report for the year 1930-31 :—

THE REPORT.

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you, this evening, a Report of the Society's activities during the year 1930-31.

Membership.—The membership continues to be steady. We regret to observe the large arrears of subscription of our resident members and appeal to them to remit their dues early. We also appeal to all our members to introduce new members and thereby increase the strength and stability of the Society and of its valued periodical.

We offer our hearty congratulations to our Honorary President, the Hon'ble Sir S. E. Pears, on his being knighted, to our Honorary Vice-President, Sir C. V. Raman, who has achieved the signal distinction of being awarded the Nobel

Prize for Physical Science, and to our members, the Hon'ble Mr. C. W. E. Cotton and Dr. Leslie C. Coleman, on their becoming the recipients of the titles of C.S.I. and C.I.E. respectively during the year. The Committee also rejoice with the rest of their countrymen in India that one of our Vice-Presidents, Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza Mahomed Ismail, has been representing, in a most worthy manner, Mysore and several other Indian States in the councils of the British Empire.

We deeply regret to record the death of the following : Sir Richard Carnak Temple who was one of the foremost orientalists of our time and who was intimately connected with the Indian Antiquary from its inception up to the last day of his life ; Rev. R. Zimmerman, a distinguished scholar, particularly of Sanscrit literature and Oriental research ; Diwan Bahadur P. R. Narayana Iyer ; and Messrs. V. R. Gutikar, K. T. Paul and A. T. Setlur. We offer our condolences to the members of their bereaved families.

Meetings.—Several ordinary meetings of the Society were held during the year. Mention may be made of the following lectures which were delivered under the auspices of the Society : *Ramakrishna, the Indian Saint* by Swami Sri-vasananda ; *The Kadambas of Banavase* by Mr. V. Raghavendra Rao ; *Sayings of Basavanna* by Mr. M. Venkatesa Iyengar ; *Vijayanagara and Vidyaranya* by Mr. S. Sri-kantaiya ; *The Keladi Dynasty* by Mr. S. N. Naraharaiya ; *The Trend of Modern Philosophic Thought* by Sir Hari Singh Gour.

Journal.—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society is, as usual, published promptly and the standard of the contributions is maintained at a very high level. A new feature is the editorial columns introduced from the year under review. They are useful for inviting particular attention to noteworthy researches during the period and for making short references to important articles published in learned periodicals bearing on oriental literature. The change in the size of the Journal and the insertion of the Hoysala crest

on the cover have been well received. Besides, minor improvements have been made in the get-up of the Journal and in the arrangement of the matter contained in it.

The exchanges with the Journal of the Society have considerably increased during the past years and it is proposed to delete from the list such publications as have not been received regularly for some time. All the renowned periodicals of the world on the subjects of study connected with our aims and objects continue to be sent to us and we take this opportunity of acknowledging our indebtedness to the editors of the various periodicals who have been kind enough to assist us in completing the lacunæ in this section of our Library.

We have put on the sale list a few of our publications and reprints including the proceedings at our Annual Meetings. It is also under contemplation to reprint in book form important articles from our Journal, in consultation with the authors. These require financial obligations on our part and a benevolent attitude on the part of the authors. Nothing however, will be done which may strain the limited resources of the Society.

Library.—A large number of books and periodicals was received during the year by presentation from authors, publishers and the various governments in India; and additions were also made by purchase. We desire to express our gratitude to the Government of India; the Government of Mysore; the States of Hyderabad, Baroda, Travancore, Cochin, Kashmir and Puduccottai; the Oxford University Press, Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. and other publishers; the various universities in India and several other institutions and authors who have presented us with a number of their publications. We have also to thank again the Director of Public Instruction in Mysore for his continued sympathy and patronage in this behalf.

We have been able to bring the series of the Mysore Archæological Reports with us up to date. Those of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and*

Ireland, the Indian Antiquary and the Epigraphia Indica are now nearly complete. These, added to the entire volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and a large number of the Reports of the various Circles of Archæology and Epigraphy in India, are a valuable asset to the Library. As regards the other periodicals, our efforts are meeting with success and we expect to be in possession of the full series of many of them at no distant date. A large number of volumes were bound during the year and over a hundred more are in the course of binding. We shall thankfully receive from members and other sympathisers, odd issues of any research periodical so that we may have as exhaustive a collection as possible. We shall also be thankful for the presentation of the Reports of the several Circles of Archæology and Epigraphy in India including Burma and of the Indian States. The Supplement to the Catalogue of Books in the Library has now been issued and is for sale at eight annas a copy.

The Library was completely re-arranged during the year with the assistance of one of our members, Mr. V. Raghavendra Rao.

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore were pleased to accord us permission to exchange or sell our duplicate volumes, as we thought fit. Most of them as have now been marked out for exchange or sale have been removed from the main Library and a list of them is under preparation. Additional accommodation for the Library and the Free Reading Room is urgently required but we are, at present, unable to make adequate provision. We look forward to the generous patronage of Government and of the philanthropic public to enable us to do so.

Reading Room.—Over sixty periodicals are made available to the public in the Free Reading Room attached to the Society. Some daily newspapers are also subscribed for. The number of visitors attending the Reading Room was over 3,000 during the year.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The Hall and its premises are maintained in good condition. In our last Report, we referred

to the want of accommodation and to the necessity for adding two rooms and a verandah in the rear ; but that was not possible. The Government were unable to comply with our request at that time and it is proposed to renew the request at a more convenient opportunity.

Finance.—The subscriptions which are Rs. 5 and Rs. 3 a year respectively for local and mofussil members can hardly pay the price of the issues of the Journal that are supplied free to the members. Nevertheless, in the hope that a low subscription will induce a large number to become members of the Society and participate in its activities, it is not proposed to raise them now.

The grants from the Government of Mysore and the Government of India are being received as usual.

The accounts of the Society have been duly audited and certified correct by our Honorary Auditor, Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, to whom our thanks are due.

The statement of accounts for the year shows that the Society has managed to have a credit balance. Our Reserve Fund stands at Rs. 11,650. A considerable amount has been spent on the purchase of books, missing volumes and numbers of valuable periodicals, as also on binding and on subscription to newspapers. Notwithstanding the substantial help we receive from the Government of Mysore and the Government of India, we find it very hard to meet our current expenses : our idea of increasing our activities and of quickly building up a large Reserve Fund has not been satisfactorily accomplished. To make the Society and its valuable Library more useful to the members and students engaged in research, an additional establishment and buildings are necessary. We are pressed for space even to keep back numbers of the Society's Journal which are in constant demand. Increase in life-memberships, donations and contributions towards the Reserve Fund of the Society and the institution of endowments on the part of the generous public are a *sine qua non* for any material augmentation in the usefulness of the Society's activities.

We take this opportunity of expressing how glad we feel at the progress Mysore has achieved during the fifty years after Rendition.

We desire to express our deep gratitude to our Patron, His Highness Sir Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, the Vice-Patron, His Highness Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore for their continued and unabated support and sympathy.

In proposing the adoption of the Report, the President, Mr. Shama Rao desired to record the Society's appreciation of the excellent work done by their indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Srikantaiya. On being seconded by Mr. K. H. Ramayya, the proposition with this amendment, was carried.

Then the election of the office-bearers and the committee was taken up. Rajasabhabhushana Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar proposed that Mr. Shama Rao be re-elected President of the Society for the ensuing year. In doing so, he said that after the death of Rev. Father Tabard, Mr. Shama Rao, so well known for his erudition and scholarship, was unanimously elected President, year after year. Mr. Shama Rao assisted by his energetic and able Secretary, Mr. Srikantaya, was carrying on the activities of the Society efficiently and had spread its reputation far and wide. Mr. F. R. Sell seconded the proposition which was passed unanimously.

Mr. D. Venkatramiah proposed and Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar seconded that the Committee be reconstituted for the ensuing year with the President and the following office-bearers and members. The proposition was duly adopted:—

Vice-Presidents :

Sir Mirza M. Ismail.

Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar.

Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao.

Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar.

Mr. K. Chandy.

Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer.

Mr. C. S. Doraswami Iyer.

Mr. K. Matthan.

Mr. R. Narasimhachar.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Joint Secretary :

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan.

Editors :

Mr. F. R. Sell.

Mr. K. Devanathachariar.

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Branch Secretaries :

Ethnology :—Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao.

History :—Rev. C. Browne.

Folklore :—Mr. B. Puttaiya.

AND

Mr. P. Sampat Iyengar.

Dr. R. Shama Sastri.

Mr. N. S. Subba Rao.

Mr. A. R. Wadia.

Dr. M. H. Krishna.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

The Chairman then delivered amidst great applause a very interesting and instructive address in the course of which he referred to the *Purananuru* and the poet Kapilar's description of his patron Pari of Perambu-nadu, a ruling chief of the present Madras and Chingleput districts. Kapilar accompanied the two daughters of Pari after the latter's demise to find worthy husbands for them and took them to the court of a well-known potentate, Irungo-vel of Tuaravathi, who had descended from a line of forty-nine monarchs and who was also known as Puli-kadi-mal or the slayer of the tiger. It was suggested that this Tuaravathi might have been the Dorasamudra of the Hoysala Ballalas, and a further doubt

was cast upon the identification of the eponymous Sala. It was noteworthy that according to the *Annals of Rajasthan* by Col. Tod, there was a Tuaravathi in northern India belonging to the dynasty of Tuars. It was not unlikely that Irungovel of Kapilar might have been the Aranya-Kowal or Aranya-Camala of Col. Tod. From these emerged a few important questions for consideration by scholars :—

(1) The relationships between the princes Krishna, Vijaya and Ballala IV, the last of the historical Hoysalas, of whom we do not hear after 1346 A.D.;

(2) The relationships between Aranyacamala and the eponymous Sala, if the former can be found to have been a historical personage, associated with fighting a tiger, according to Kapilar (Puli-Kadi-Mal);

(3) The identification of Tuaravathi referred to by Kapilar; and,

(4) The tradition connecting Irum-Ko-Vel with the Agniculas.

Mr. Madhava Rao then proceeded to say a few words on the work of the Society during the past twenty years. He said :—

“You have secured a decent site where you have erected a beautiful structure amidst picturesque surroundings. An excellent and well-stocked library is yours. Leading oriental periodicals are available to the research student on your reading desk. In spite of the low subscription for your Journal, you have been enabled to build up a small reserve fund. More than all these, within the portals of your Society have gathered together an enthusiastic band of young men devoted to research under the distinguished banner of your worthy President. The name of your learned Quarterly Journal has travelled all over the world. These are no mean achievements for a Society which is but twenty years old and I congratulate the authorities of the Society on this splendid accomplishment.

“May the love of India and an abiding and affectionate interest in its past, its present and its future endure! May

the study of Mysore and its people prosper! In this Society of antiquarian researches so carefully nurtured by Rev. Father Tabard in his day, and now by your distinguished President, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, historical activities are kept alive. The Institution is, besides, a happy conjunction of Indian and European members. I repeat my good wishes for the continued prosperity and usefulness of the Mythic Society."

Rev. Father C. Browne proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and made a touching reference to his interest in antiquarian researches. He also incidentally referred to the interest Mr. Madhava Rao took in sports by presiding about twenty-four years ago over one of the functions of the St. Joseph's College. The proposition was enthusiastically received. The function came to a close with three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

THE MYTHIC
Statement of Receipts and

RECEIPTS					AMOUNT		
					Rs.	A.	P.
1.	Opening Balance	..	..	..	995	3	9
2.	Subscriptions—						
	Resident Members	..	..	..	172	8	0
	Moffussil Members	..	..	..	663	9	0
	Life-Members	..	..	..	35	0	0
3.	Grants—						
	Government of Mysore	..	..	..	2,100	0	0
	Government of India	..	..	..	300	0	0
4.	Interest and Dividend	..	..	..	771	4	9
5.	Recoveries from Staff	..	..	..	215	0	0
6.	Sales	..	..	..	186	12	0
7.	Hall Charges	..	..	..	91	0	0
TOTAL					5,530	5	6
Reserve Fund—					At Face Value Rs.		
1.	Mysore State Loan 6½% Stock	..	..	..	9,850		
2.	Mysore State Loan 6½% Bonds	..	..	..	200		
3.	Mysore State Loan 5% Bonds	..	..	..	1,500		
4.	Mysore Bank Share (one)	..	..	..	100		
TOTAL					11,650		

BANGALORE CITY, }
July 1931.

SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Expenditure for the year 1930-31.

PAYMENTS					AMOUNT		
					Rs.	A.	P.
1. Establishment—							
Pay of the Staff	..	..	..	..	1,092	0	0
Lighting Charges	..	..	..	..	246	15	0
Bicycle Account	..	..	..	..	30	10	0
Garden	..	..	..	..	87	15	0
Livery	..	..	..	..	18	8	6
Electrical Accessories	..	..	..	..	35	7	0
Premises	..	..	..	..	58	0	0
2. Journal—							
Printing	..	..	..	..	1,750	0	0
Postage	..	..	..	..	303	4	6
3. Library—							
Supplement to Catalogue	..	..	..	..	90	0	0
Books Purchased	..	..	..	..	312	14	0
Subscriptions to Newspapers	..	..	..	..	105	15	0
Book Binding	..	..	..	..	149	4	0
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	24	12	0
4. Advances to Staff	..	..	..	..	383	0	0
5. Bank's Charges	..	..	..	..	7	10	0
6. Stationery and Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	245	6	0
7. Subscription to Horticultural Society	..	..	..	..	11	0	0
8. Investments	..	..	..	..	475	0	0
9. Closing Balance	..	..	..	..	102	12	6
TOTAL					5,530	5	6

Details for Closing Balance—

Rs. A. P.

1. Bank of Mysore (as per Pass Book) 79-1-9							
Deduct cheque not paid	1-4-0	..	..	..	77	13	9
2. With the Curator	..	..	..	..	15	8	7
3. With the Branch Secretaries	..	..	..	..	9	6	2
TOTAL					102	12	6

Certified correct.

T.M.S. SUBRAMANIAM.

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer.

**Books received during the Quarter ending^a
30th September 1931.**

Presented by :—

The Authors—

1. ಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕಥೆಗಳು—by C. K. Venkataramiah.
2. ವೈಗಂಬರ ಮಹಮದನು—by C. K. Venkataramiah.
3. ಮಂಪೋವರಿ—by C. K. Venkataramiah.
4. Studies in Vijayanagar Polity—by K. Iswar Dutt.
5. Classical Sanskrit Literature—by R. Vasudeva Sarma.
6. Beachside Songs—by R. Vasudeva Sarma.
7. Buddhistic Studies—by Bimala Churn Law.

Government of Mysore—

- I. Mysore Administration Reports for 1929—30 :
 1. Railway Department.
 2. Forest Department.
 3. Krishnarajasagara Works.
 4. Dept. of Health Quarterly Reports—Vol. II—4.
 5. Do. do. III—1.
 6. Joint Stock Companies.
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General Secretary and Treasurer,
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**GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES IN THE
CEYLONese CHRONICLES.**

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.T.

THE Ceylonese Chronicles incidentally refer to a large number of countries and localities, important in the history of Buddhism, in India and Ceylon. Most of them come in for mention as a result of their association with the life and religion of the Buddha or in connection with the historical inter-relation, or the part played by them in the history of India and Ceylon. Most of these places and countries are already known from other, mainly Buddhist, sources, and few of them require any new identification. Even then, they add to our geographical knowledge, and not a few of the references are of more than usual interest. Such are, for example, the references to Alasanda in the city of the Yonas in the *Mahāvamsa*, or to Yonaka in the *Dīpavamsa* in connection with the building of the Great Thūpa, and the sending of Missions by Moggaliputta respectively. Alasanda, as is well known, is Alexandria in the land of the Yonas, probably the town founded by Alexander in the country of the Paropanisadæ near Kabul. The Chronicles refer in common to the following places and countries in India and Ceylon :

North and North-West India—

Gāndhāra=modern Peshawar and Rawalpindi districts.

Yona or Yonaka=the foreign settlements on the North-Western Frontier, perhaps identical with the Græco-Bactrian kingdom.

Anotatta lake=one of the seven great lakes in the Himalayas.

Western India—

Aparāntaka comprises modern Gujrat, Kathiawar and the sea-coast districts.

Suppāra (*Dīp.*) or Suppāraka (*Mah.*)=Surparaka (Sans.), modern Sopāra in the Thānā district, north of Bombay.

Mahārāṭṭha=modern Mahārāshṭra.

Mid-India and Eastern India—

Kapilavatthu=the birthplace of Gotama, and capital of the Śākya tribe in Nepal.

Kusāvati=identical with later Kusinārā.

Kusinārā=a town of the clan of the Mallas in modern Nepal.

Giribaja=Rājagriha, modern Rajagiri in Bihar.

Jetavana=a park and monastery near Sāvattihī in the Kosala country.

Madhurā=another name for Mathurā, modern Muttra.

Ujjenī=now Ujjain in the Gwalior State; old capital of Avanti.

Uruvelā=in ancient Buddha Gayā in the Gayā district.

Kāsī=modern Benares district.

Isipatana=the famous deer-park of Benares where Buddha first turned the Wheel of Law.

Tāmalitiya (*Dīp.*) or Tāmalitti (*Mah.*)=Tāmralipti, modern Tamruk in the district of Midnapore, Bengal.

Pāṭaliputta=identical with modern Patna and the adjoining region.

Pupphapura=Pushpapura identical with ancient Pāṭaliputra,

Bārānāsī=modern Benares.

Mithilā=modern Tirhut in Bihar.

Rājagaha=modern Rājgir in Bihar.

Vaṅgā (*Dīp.*) or Vaṅga (*Mah.*)=identical roughly with Eastern Bengal.

Vesālī=modern Basār in Muzaffarpur, north of Patna.

The Deccan and South India—

Viñjhā (*Dīp.*), Viñjhaṭavi (*Mah.*)=the Vindhyā mountain with its dense forests.

Damiḷa=the Tamil country.

Ceylon—

Suvaṇṇabhumi=not in Ceylon, generally identified with Lower Burma comprising the Rammaññadesa.

Malaya=central mountain region in the interior of Ceylon.

Abhayagiri=outside the north gate of Anurādhapura.

Silakūṭa=northern peak of the Mihintāla mountain.

Jetavana=a park monastery near Sāvattthī in the Kosala country.

Kalyānī=modern Kālanī, the river that flows into the sea near Colombo.

Cetiypabbata=the later name of the Missaka mountain.

Nandanavana=between Mahāmeghavana where now the Mahāvihāra stands, and the southern wall of the city of Anurādhapura.

Laṅkā=identified with the island of Ceylon.

Missakagiri (*Dīp.*),—pabbata (*Mah.*)=modern Mihintala mountain, east of Anurādhapura.

Dīghavāpi=probably the modern Kandiya-Kattu tank in the Eastern province.

The *Dīpavaṃsa*, however, exclusively mentions several countries and places which are not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*.

North and North-West India—

Kurudīpa=probably identical with Uttarakuru.

Takkasilā=modern Taxila in N. W. Frontier province.

Sāgala (reading doubtful)=modern Sialkot in the Punjab.

Western India—

Bharukaccha=modern Broach, an ancient seaport in Kathiawar.

Lālaratṭha=identical either with Lāta in modern Gujarat or Rāḍha in Bengal.

Sihapura=capital city of Lāta or Rāḍha country.

Mid-India and Eastern India—

Aṅgā=identical with modern Bhāgalpur region in Bihar.

Campā=modern Pātharghātā in the district of Bhāgalpur.

Magadhā=a tribe dwelling in the territory now represented by modern Patna and Gayā districts in Bihar.

Mallā=a republican tribe of ancient Kusinārā and Pāvā.

Vardhamānapura=Vardhamānabhukti of inscriptions, modern Burdwan.

Veluvana=the famous bamboo-garden monastery in Rājagriha, modern Rajgiri.

Vedissa=Vidisā, modern Bhilsā in the Gwalior State.

Hatthipura=Hastināpura (Sans.)—generally identified with an old town in Mawāna Tahsil, Merat.

Indapaṭṭa=Indraprastha, near modern Delhi.

It may be noticed in this connection that in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, Aṅgā, Magadhā, Vaṅgā and Mallā are mentioned in the plural, not as Vaṅga in the singular as in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. The tribal significance was maintained in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, whereas in the later Chronicle it was overlooked.

Ceylon—

Anurādhapura=ancient capital of Ceylon, now in ruins.

Aritṭhapura=in North Central province, north of Habarana.

Naggadīpa=probably an island in the Arabian sea.

Tembapaṇṇi=most probably identical with the island of Ceylon.

The *Mahāvaṃsa* likewise refers exclusively to several countries and places not mentioned in the *Dīpavaṃsa*,

North and North-West India—

Alasanda=Alexandria, the town founded by Alexander in the Paropanisadæ country.

Uttarakuru=a country north of Kasmīra, mentioned in Vedic and Puranic literature.

Kasmīra=modern Kashmere.

Mid-India and Eastern India—

Avanti=the region round modern Ujjain in Gwalior.

Madda=see Dr. B. C. Law's "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India"—*Chapter on the Madras or Maddas.*

Mahāvāna=a monastery in the ancient Vajji country; mentioned also by Fahien.

Dakkhinagirivihāra=a vihāra in Ujjenī.

Payāga=modern Allahabad.

Pāvā=a republican state inhabited by the Mallas.

Kosambī=modern Kosam in Allahabad, on the Jumnā, capital of the Vatsas.

South India and the Deccan—

Coḷa=the ancient Choḷa country whose capital was Kānchipuram, modern Conjeeveram.

Mahisamaṇḍala=identical with Mandhātā island on the Narbada, ancient capital—Māhiṣmatī. A district south of the Vindhya.

Vanavāsīn=modern Vanavāsī in North Kanara, preserves the older name.

Ceylon—

Ākāsa Cetiya=situated on the summit of a rock not very far from the Cittalapabbata monastery.

Kadamba nadī=modern Malwatṭe-oya by the ruins of Anurādhapura (Kadambaka nadi in the *Dīp.*).

Karinda nadī=modern Kirinda-oya in the Southern province where must be located the Pañjali-pabbata.

Kāla Vāpi=built by Dhātusena by banking up the river Kaḷu-oya or Goṇa nadī.

Gambhīra nadī=seven or eight miles north of Anurādhapura.

Gona nadī=modern Kaḷu-oya river.

Jetavanārāma=near Abhayagiri dagoba in Anurādhapura.

Tissamahāvihāra=in South Ceylon, north-east of Hambantota.

Tissavāpi=a tank near Mahāgāma.

Thūpārāma=a monastery in Anurādhapura.

Paṭhama Cetiya=outside the eastern gate of Anurādhapura.

Manihīrā=now Minneriya, a tank near Pulonnaruwa.

Mahāgaṅgā=identical with Mahāwæligangā river.

Mahātīttha=identical with modern Mantota opposite the island Manaar.

Mahāmeghavana=south of the capital Anurādhapura.

Dvāramaṇḍala=near Cetiyaṭṭhā (Mihintale), east of Anurādhapura.

Pulindā=a barbarous tribe dwelling in the country inland between Colombo, Kalutara, Galle and the mountains (Geiger—*Mahāvamsa*, p. 60, note 5).

Ambatthala=immediately below the Mihintale mountain.

Besides these, there are a number of references to countries and places of Ceylon of lesser importance. They have all been noticed and identified in Geiger's edition of the *Mahāvamsa*.

THE VIVEKA-SARA OF SANKARANANDA.

BY ARTHASASTRA VISARADA MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA

DR. R. SHAMASASTRY, B.A., PH.D., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4.)

How Misery Arises

THE cause of misery is explained as follows:—

The Ātman appears reflected in an impure form owing to the impure state of the intellect, just as a rope appears as a snake. Though the Ātman is identical with happiness, still in his objective appearance he appears as miserable or uncomfortable. Hence there arises the feeling of misery in the mind. Since the Ātman is liable to no change, he can be the cause of neither happiness nor of misery. When he is in his own state, then happiness or pleasure which is his nature is perceived. Though happiness is his nature, still the rise of innate eternal happiness is not felt, and the real nature of the Ātman is not known. Man is accustomed to feel happiness only in the presence of agreeable objects. Just as a barren woman cannot feel the happiness of embracing a child, so a man who is ignorant of the real nature of the Ātman cannot understand Ātman-happiness or self-pleasure. Only at the sight of the moon in the full moon-night of a summer day, his light is felt to be comfortable. If the moon is covered with clouds, no pleasure is felt. Primordial ignorance like darkness covers the real nature of the Ātman. When this cover is removed absolute happiness which is the nature of the Ātman is experienced. That the Ātman's nature is happiness and light has been already referred to. That his nature is light is proved not only by the Vedas but also by experience and reasoning. The sun, for example, illuminates all things on the surface of the earth. Without the sun's light nothing is seen. The sun and the things lighted or illumined by him are seen with the eyes. Without the light of our eyes neither the sun nor the things illumined by the sun are seen by us.

Hence our eyes are the illuminator of the sun and the world. Then it is the mind that shows us the eyes, the sun, and the things. Hence the mind is the illuminator of the eyes, the sun, and the things. Then lastly it is the Ātman that brings to light the mind, the eyes, the sun, and the things. It is in the experience of all that in thought a mental picture of all these things is formed, though the eyes are closed. The illuminator of such mental pictures is the Ātman and Ātman alone. The perception of the sun is dependent on the eyes; the perception of the eyes is dependent on the mind, the perception of the mind on the Ātman; but this perception does not depend upon anything else. For he is self-illuminator. To indicate his existence, as implied in the expression 'I am', he does not need the aid of anything else,—neither lamplight nor the sun, neither the eyes nor the mind. To prove his existence neither the Vedas nor the evidence of syllogistic reasoning, neither analogy nor the evidence of implication is needed. He is all-pervading and shines himself, illuminating everything. Whatever is non-self is visible. Hence it does not shine nor does it illuminate other things. Matter that is associated with the Ātman borrows light from him and illuminates the rest. Just as lamplight resting on the wick illuminates the wick, the oil-can, the house, the pillars, and all other things over which the light falls, so the Ātman not only shines himself but also illuminates everything else; coming in contact with the intellect, he illuminates it and its work; likewise he illuminates the mind and its workings, the eyes and their actions, the sun and his form and action and the material objects and their qualities. Himself remaining as immutable and unchangeable, he makes everything knowable. In the work of illuminating material objects, the sun's function is limited to the removal of darkness. The indication of form, name, genus, number, colour, quality, birth, growth and decay,—all this is due to the light of the Ātman himself. Never can the sun indicate the shape and name of things as the Ātman does. Hence the Ātman alone is the illuminator of all things in their entirety. Neither the body

nor the limbs, neither the senses nor the mind nor even the intellect can bring the objects home to the understanding of man, unless there is the light of the Ātman to illuminate those objects. When a man is dead or asleep, there are the body, the senses, the mind or the mental organ, still there is no perception of anything at that time. If they were themselves capable of perceiving things, they could have done so in sleep or after death. Hence it follows that they are not capable of illuminating either themselves or anything else. When these organs are active, they illuminate things not by their own light but by the borrowed light of the Ātman. Just as an iron ball, when red hot, acquires or rather borrows the power of heat and light, so the body and the organs acquire the power of illumination by virtue of their association with the Ātman.

Buddhi or the intellect is not the Ātman. For it is changing every moment, and cannot therefore be expected to recollect what was done long ago. Hence an immutable and unchangeable intelligent being there must necessarily be to recollect and retain past and present impressions and their connecting link. That being is known as the Ātman.

Complete Definition of the Atman

The Ātman is one alone; he is knowledge solidified; not illumined by anything else except by himself; he is invisible; pure; all-pervading; immutable and unchangeable; witness of all things; like an anvil he bears the brunt of all physical and mental actions and retains their impressions; he is not tainted with the contact of anything else; he is imperishable; and perfect.

The Atman in the Three States

In the waking state the Ātman brings home to the mind the sun and other visible objects.

In the dream state when all the senses are inactive and when only the intellect is active and when the whole of the objective world together with the sun's light is cut off, the Ātman shows to the intellect only the impressions of the

internal or the external world. These impressions are only imaginary and not at all real.

In deep sleep, however, the intellect also is inactive and the Ātman enables the mind after waking to recall its unawareness of anything during the sleep state.

The Sruti also says that because the Ātman knows what takes place in the three states of waking, dreaming, and deep sleep, he is the revealer of all things. • He is the meaning of the pronominal word, "I". "I dreamt, slept, and now am awake"—this is the experience of every one touching three different states of three different times. This experience comes to him who is the meaning of the word "I". Hence it follows that the Ātman is eternal and revealer of all things.

The Witness of the Three States

The experiencer of the waking state is called Viśva; the dreamer is called Taijasa; and the experiencer of deep sleep is termed Prāṇa. None of these, however, is to be mistaken for the eternal Ātman who is called Sākṣin or witness of all. The distinction between the true Ātman called Sākṣin, and the pseudo-Ātmans called Viśva, Taijasa, and Prāṇa is as follows:—

Viśva, the knower of the objective world together with his objective world, is not at all cognized during the state of dream; nor does he know the objects presented in dream. For, he does not see the distinction between the objects of the waking and dream states together and feel them. Hence Viśva must be taken to be different from the Taijasa and Viśva must necessarily be non-existent during dream. As Viśva does not exist in dream and does not know what happens in dream, it follows that he cannot be the meaning of "I". Likewise Taijasa with his fancied world does not at all exist during deep sleep; nor does he know what happens at that time. If Taijasa were existent during deep sleep there would be no difference between dream and deep sleep. Likewise Prāṇa, the presider over deep sleep, does not exist in dream or waking state. If he were there, neither the

dream state nor the waking state would differ from the state of deep sleep. Hence it follows that Viśva, the presider over the waking state, is aware neither of the dream state nor of the state of deep sleep; that Taijasa, the presider over the dream state, is aware neither of the waking state nor of the state of deep sleep; and that Prāṇa, the presider over deep sleep, is not aware of the other two states. Hence it also follows that they are different from each other and that none of them is aware of all the three states; and that none of them can therefore be the Ātman who knows all those three states. The Ātman, however, does know all those states, hence it follows that he is existing, witnessing what happens during each of those three states. Hence he alone is the meaning of the word "I". Ātman called the Sākṣin, however, presides over each of the three states and enables Viśva to know the objects of the waking state; Taijasa to know the fanciful world of the dream state; and Prāṇa the dark bliss of the state of deep sleep.

The Three Bodies

The body consists of three different bodies; the visible physical body consisting of head, hands and other limbs, is called the Anna-maya sheath and is composed of the five gross elements. The presider over this body is called Viśva and his state is the waking state. The five subtle sense-organs, the five subtle work-organs, the five subtle Prāṇas or vital winds, the mind, and the intellect,—these seventeen constituents of the body form the subtle body composed of subtle elements; the presider over this body is called Taijasa and his state is that of dream. The third body is called the causal body. It is the seat of nescience which has no beginning, indescribable, possessed of the three qualities, called Satva, Rajas, and Tamas, and undifferentiated. This nescience called Avidyā, a pseudo-form of sentience, is the third body presided over by Prāṇa. The Viśva, Taijasa, and Prāṇa are all pseudo-forms of the Ātman, mutable and changeable, inasmuch as each of them has its own conditions, and one does not appear in the condition of the other.

Since they are conditioned, they are all transient. He who witnesses the three states, the presiders over those states, their changes, and their functions, himself remaining entirely unaffected, is the Ātman called Sākṣi, known also as Kūṭastha, an anvil or a summit witnessing all, itself being unaffected. The Vedas also declare that he who dreams, falls into a sound sleep and is awake, is one. This statement should not be understood to mean that Viśva, Taijasa, Prāṇa and Ātman are all one with different names. For Viśva or waking-consciousness, Taijasa or dream-consciousness, and Prāṇa or sub-consciousness of deep sleep are, as already shown, different from each other on account of their circumscribed conditions. If they were regarded as one, there would be no difference between the states. Since the states are different, as experienced by all, the forms of consciousness conditioned by those states must necessarily be different. If then an Ātman different from all these three is not acknowledged to be existing, there would be no possessor of continued experience, since Viśva and other presiders over the three states are all momentary, not cognizing each other. Hence it follows that there must necessarily exist one who possesses the thread of all past experience coupled with that of the present. This possessor of life's experience is called the Ātman. Likewise the Upanishads distinguish between the Ātman and the presiders over the three states. Explaining the nature of the Ātman, they say that he is not antah-pragna, meaning that he is not Taijasa whose sense is inward; that he is not bahih-pragna, meaning that he is not the Viśva whose sense is only objective; that he is not ubhayatah-pragna, meaning that he is not mere sensation, a pseudo-form of consciousness; that he is not pragna, meaning thereby that he is not buddhi or the intellect; that he is not apragna, meaning a state or condition; that he is not pragnānaghana, meaning thereby that he is not solidified sub-consciousness called prāṇa; that he is not *drishta* or seen, distinguishing him thereby from the visible world; that he is not vyavahārya or describable in positive terms; that he is not grāhya or knowable to the

senses; that he is not lakṣaṇa or inferable; that he is achintya, meaning thereby that he is not thinkable in alternate ways, as done in ignorance; that he is not vyapadeśya or definable as doing this or that; but that he is ekātma-pratyaya-sāra or the essence of continued sentiency. From this long description it is clear that he has no difference in himself, that is, he is unvaried; also by the words prapancho-paśama and advaita he is described as having no difference from a dissimilar or similar thing. Hence it follows that the Ātman is alone; that he is the meaning of the word "I"; that he is quite different from Viśva and others; that he is a witness of all the three states; and that he is the possessor of all experience.

The Atman is Immutable

From the statement that the Ātman shows everything and knows everything, one may be led to think that the Ātman acts inasmuch as he shows and knows things, just as a man is seen to act, when he is seen moving. It is a rule that whatever acts, is mutable and changeable. Hence it follows that as the Ātman acts, he is mutable. It follows, therefore, that the Ātman is transient and not at all eternal. The reply to this objection is as follows:—

When we say that the Ātman shows and knows things, the meaning is that the intellect shows and knows everything with the light borrowed from the Ātman, with whom it is in constant association. When a king goes on a procession mounted on an elephant, we are accustomed to say that the king moves. But on a little reflection we see that the king does not at all move, but it is the elephant that moves. Again when we say that a stone stands or a gem throws light, we must understand that there can be no action of standing or arrest of motion in a stone; nor can there be the action of throwing light on the part of a gem. Things are, however, seen in the light of the gem; but no action on the part of the gem is, however, seen. The action of throwing light is merely apparent but not real. In the case of the Ātman also, action is merely apparent but not at all real. Hence it follows that

the Ātman is immutable and unchangeable, but self-illuminating like the sun and a gem. In the light of the sun the eyes see colours of things and the sun seems to do the act of bringing them to light; but the sun does no such action. All that the sun does is that he sheds his own light and the colours manifest themselves though there is no movement on the part of the sun. Likewise in the presence of the Ātman, the intellect comes to see and know everything; but in this act of seeing and knowing on the part of the intellect, there is no action whatever on the part of the Ātman. He is perfect and immutable, and it is only in his light that everything is lighted and manifested. Without the light of the sun no material object can reveal itself. Likewise without the light of the Ātman nothing of the world can reveal itself. Just as a red-hot iron is said to give out light and heat only in virtue of its association with fire, so the intellect shows and knows things only by virtue of its association with the self-illuminating Ātman. Just as the thickness, length, movement and other acts of a red-hot iron ball or rod are attributed to the fire itself, so the actions of the intellect are attributed to the Ātman. Like the fire the Ātman is devoid of all kinds of qualities and actions. Just as heat and light are the natural characteristics of the fire, so light and knowledge are the characteristics of the Ātman. Just as the fire on an iron ball or rod, burns grass and other things, so the Ātman on the intellect reveals and knows the whole world. The Upanishads also declare that he knows everything and that there is none that can know him. The Bhagavadgīta also says that he knows both the past and the present. It should not, however, be objected that since the Ātman is said to be the agent of knowing, he becomes an actor in the act of knowing and that therefore according to the principle that whatever possesses action is transient, he becomes transient like every other thing. This objection has already been explained away. Just as the sky seems to move by virtue of the ascription to it of the movement of something else, so the Ātman who is eternal, complete in himself and devoid of parts appears to act by

the action of something else. Knowing is his nature. His knowing becomes manifest in association with the intellect. In the manifestation of his knowing the intellect plays the part of spectacles to a man of short or long sight in reading. Thus with the aid of reasoning, experience and the Upanishads it is proved that light, knowing, bliss, eternity, and knowledge are the nature of the Ātman. It is only to render the nature of the Ātman clear that he was elsewhere identified with Prāṇa or sub-consciousness of deep sleep. It is usual with people to point to the branch of a tree and tell a young child to direct its eyes across the branch pointed out towards the sky straight and see the moon. Likewise here the identification of the Ātman with the Prāṇa or sub-consciousness of deep sleep is only to show where to look for recognizing the presence and nature of the Ātman. Now it has been made clear that the Ātman is different from Viśva, Taijasa and Prāṇa who are all conditioned and that the Ātman is not at all conditioned like them and that he is immutable, changeless, pure, and witness of all and that he is the meaning of "I". What is implied in the Upanishad in identifying the Ātman with the Prāṇa is to point out the nature of Moksha or emancipation. The state of emancipation is almost like the state of deep sleep, in that both are undifferentiated states of bliss; the only difference between them is that while deep sleep is a state of ignorance, Moksha is a state of pure knowledge. This is the only aim of the Upanishad in identifying the Ātman with Prāṇa or the state of sub-consciousness in deep sleep, but not really the identification of the Ātman with Prāṇa.

The Atman is One, but not Many

It is usually held that there are evidences such as (1) perception, (2) inference, (3) the Vedas, and (4) the Smritis to prove that instead of one there are many Ātmans. It is evident to each and every person that he has a self or Ātman different from that in the body of another. There are so many species of beings, each of which has a self. For the difference of the body indicates the difference of the self also;

the syllogistic reasoning is that the Ātman or self is different in each body, because the bodies are different. By saying that there are Aditi, the Devas, the Gandharvas and so on, the Vedas make it clear that there are many Ātmans. By saying that one in a thousand attempts for Moksha, the Smritis also declare that there are many Ātmans. Again if there is only one Ātman common to all, there will be no difference between a happy and a miserable man. For on the hypothesis that, though the bodies are different, the Ātman in all of them is one, all persons should be happy or miserable, one feels happy or miserable. Again if there is only one Ātman common to the bodies of angels, wise men, and idiots, all have to be omniscient, wise or idiots; but the experience of the world is of the reverse nature. Hence it follows that there are as many Ātmans as there are bodies.

The above objection does not hold good: the reasoning that there are as many bodies as there are Ātmans, or that there are as many Ātmans as there are bodies, is not valid. For though the body of a child is different from that which the child will have as a youth, and though the body of a youth differs from that which the youth will have as an old man, no difference in the Ātman is acknowledged. If there were as many Ātmans as the stages of the body, then a youth would not be able to recall what he experienced as a young man, nor would an old man be able to remember what he experienced in his childhood or youth. Hence it follows that the principle that there are as many Ātmans as bodies is not at all valid. It holds good on the other hand that though the bodies may be different, the Ātman is one. Similarly though the bodies during the states of waking, dream, and deep sleep differ from each other, the Ātman who witnesses them all is, as pointed out already, one. The body is like an environment, and is a condition. It is a principle accepted by all that when the environment and conditions differ, experience also differs. Accordingly the experience of happiness or misery is not the same to all, for the bodies are different. The body is known as bhogāyatana or seat of

enjoyment or suffering. Accordingly as the bodies are different, the experience of happiness or misery is also different. Just as a red-hot pot changes in its colours owing to heat, though the heat remains the same without any change, so though the body or bodies may be and are changing from time to time or from man to man, the Ātman remains the same. Variation in the experience of happiness or misery according as the bodies are different is all due to difference in deeds done. The intellect and the mind which are material in their form do, however, vary with the bodies. The function of the intellect (buddhi) is knowledge (gnāna) and it does not go elsewhere leaving the person to whom it brings knowledge of things. Just as the flame of a light or fire changes from time to time and does not remain in the same form, so the intellect and the mind are changing from moment to moment and do not remain constant. Since the intellect and the mind do not come in contact with all things, the knowledge they bring in to their possessor is limited. Hence no man can be omniscient. Just as the sky and the atmosphere convey the waves of light and sound only to a limited place around where a light is kept or a drum is struck, though the sky and the atmosphere are pervading the whole universe, so though the Ātman is one and omnipresent, the knowledge which the intellect and the mind arouse in the light of the Ātman is confined to that body and those things with which they are associated at the time. Since the mental functions vary and are confined to a few things at a time, no one can be omniscient. Just as happiness and misery are due to good and bad deeds respectively, so emancipation and bondage are due to knowledge and ignorance respectively. A man may be standing in the ocean of nectar; still he will not be immortal unless he drinks the nectar. Likewise though the Ātman is one and all-pervading, still it is only he who has drunk the nectar of true knowledge of the nature of the Ātman that gets emancipation. Hence it is clear that the objections raised above are all groundless. Again perfection and

completeness of the Ātman is accepted by all. If there are many Ātmans like lamp-lights, then the Ātman would not be all-pervading. It is admitted that he is all-pervading like the sky. The Vedas also declare that the learned describe the one as many; that one god is hidden in many; that he appears as many, though he is one; that ignorance drives many a man to regard him as many.

The Atman is Advitiya, Secondless

It may be questioned that when there are the sky and other things perceptible to the eyes, it is against reason to say that the Ātman is one alone and that he has no second thing similar or dissimilar to him.

This question will not arise, if the nature of our perception and other evidences are well considered. The whole world is like the appearance of silver on a conch-shell and like the blue colour of the sky. It may be now questioned:—whether the world consisting of the sky and other things remains in the form in which it appears to us, or whether its true form is quite different from that in which it appears to us? If it is held that it remains in its apparent form, the reason for holding that view should be stated. Is it perception, or inference, or analogy, or the Vedas, or the evidence of implication, or the evidence of negation (*abhāva*), or tradition or some other evidence? It is not, however, perception (*pratyaksha*), for perception does not represent things in their own form. For example, looking at the moon and the sky people usually say that he is as long as a span in his diametrical length, and that the sky is blue. But the moon is far bigger than a span and the sky is not at all blue. Our perception in these and other matters is as false as our perception of silver on a conch-shell. Looking at the form of an elephant carved out of wood, we call it an elephant; likewise though a pot or a wall is mere earth, we give it a different name and distinguish it from the earth. There is no syllogistic evidence to infer the existence of the world in its own form. Nor can there be the evidence of analogy, for we have not seen or heard of anything with which we can compare

the world in respect of its existence in its own form. In the analogy of an animal called gavaya with a cow, both the animals compared exist. There is no Vedic Vākya to prove the existence of the world in its own form. On the other hand the Vedas declare that duality is mere appearance. As to the implication inferable from the sayings of people that "this is the earth, this is the sun, this is the river, this is a mountain", that implication, namely, the earth, etc., must exist in its visible form, as otherwise the sayings of people will have no basis, is not at all valid; for though there is nothing corresponding to whatever is seen in a dream, dream-vision of things is not held to be a valid evidence about the existence of things seen in a dream. Nor can negation be an evidence here; for the question of existence of the world in its own form at issue is a positive hypothesis, and negation proves only a negative hypothesis, as for example, Devadatta is dead, because he is nowhere seen. In such a doubtful question as the existence of the world in its own form, no popular tradition can possibly be an evidence; for people may even say that "here walks the man, the son of a barren woman, holding a bow made of the horn of a hare". As to the evidence of probability, referred to by other evidence mentioned above, it cannot hold good here:—For the statement that the world exists in its own form, because it serves all our working purposes in its own form, cannot be valid. For even in the absence, in any form, of things seen in a dream, they are seen to serve our working purposes: men are seen to die of snake-bite fancied in a dream. The world may after all be like a world dreamt of. For these reasons the world cannot be believed to exist in its apparent form.

Compare the above with the conclusions of Kant: "The thing in itself is not at all seen,—Das Ding an sich ist nicht gesehen."

Again if the world be believed to exist by virtue of its being talked of, there arise two alternative questions, (1) whether it is self-existent or (2) whether it derives its existence from something else. It is not self-existent, because in

deep sleep it is not seen to exist, and because its existence is contradicted by the exclusive existence of that which is its basis. Just as a rope is the basis of a snake for which it is mistaken, so the Ātman or Brahman is the basis of the world which like a phantom appears on its basis. Just as a fancied snake is super-imposed on a rope, so the world is super-imposed on Brahman.

The World, a Creation of Brahman ?

It is a mistake to suppose that because the world is seen to exist by the young, the old, and all, and because the Vedas also declare that the world has evolved out of Brahman, like a pot out of clay, the world must necessarily exist. For it has already been shown that perception, or *pratyaksha*, is misleading and that our eyes and other senses do not represent things as those things are in their own form. As to the Vedic statement that the world is the creation of Brahman, it means that Brahman is the material cause of the world. It is known to all that the effect of a material cause is identical with its cause, and it is never different from it. Even if it is held that an effect is different from its material cause, even then it must mean that the effect differs from its cause only in its form and appearance, but not in its essence. It follows therefore that the effect is identical with its cause. The difference between a material cause and its effect is only in appearance of the latter, which is not at all real. Just as clay, the cause of a pot, and pot, the effect, differ only in form, so the world, the effect of Brahman, its material cause, differs from Brahman only in regard to its form; and that form is only artificial and unreal, that is, not eternal. Hence it follows that Brahman only is eternal and permanent. Just as clay mixed with water is transformed in the form of a pot, so Brahman by virtue of its nature to appear variously transforms itself or appears in the form of the varied world. The Vedas also declare that form and name are only verbal and not at all real. This explanation is based on the theory of transformation of Brahman in the form of the world. In the theory of transformation the cause is held to disappear in the form of its effect.

Hence it will follow that Brahman, the material cause of the world, disappears and transforms itself in the form of the world. As it is against the view that Brahman is eternal to hold that Brahman disappears and changes itself in the form of the world, others resort to the theory of Vivarta to explain the evolution of the world. This theory is almost similar to the theory of transformation or *Parīṇāmavāda*. The difference between the two theories is that while in the theory of transformation, the cause losing its own form appears in the form of its effect, in the latter the cause remaining in its own form brings about its effect in a different form. For example, when the ocean is disturbed, there appear waves and foam. Here the ocean is said to be the vivarta-cause of its waves, foam, bubbles. Here the ocean is seen to retain its own form distinct from its waves and foam. Similarly when a conch-shell appears as silver, the former is said to be the vivarta-cause of the latter. Here, though unperceived, the conch-shell retains its form and gives rise to the appearance of silver. Likewise Brahman retains its form, while giving rise to the evolution of the world. It follows, therefore, that the world is unreal in its own form, and that it is merely phenomenal. It also follows that Brahman or *Ātman* is the only entity that is real, and that the world is mere appearance. The Vedas also declare the same idea, saying that Brahman is one alone without a second. This can be proved by the evidence of perception. It is known to all that in deep sleep there is nothing except Brahman or *Ātman*. It is in the experience of Yoga-practisers that in *Samādhi*, a kind of deep contemplation with the mind absorbed in the *Ātman*, nothing but the presence of the *Ātman* or Brahman is cognized. There is also the syllogistic reasoning in support of the same view:—Brahman is one alone and secondless, because it is all-pervading, because it is the one basis of all kinds of phenomena, because the visible world can exist till it is negated by cognition of Brahman, its eternal basis, and because there is no possibility of anything else to remain, when the whole space is occupied or pervaded by the omnipresent Being, Brahman or *Ātman*.

Whatever cannot be spoken of in this way cannot be Brahman ; a pot, for example, cannot be spoken of as omnipresent, etc., hence it cannot be one alone without a second. Whatever appears as a distinct thing from another in name, form, colour, in its class, or action should be considered as Brahman in its essence, its distinction due to its name, etc., being rejected as phenomenal.

(To be continued.)

MR. V. N. NARASIMHA IYENGAR'S DIARY.

Introductory Note.

THE late Mr. V. N. Narasimha Iyengar, after serving in the several departments of the State, finally retired as Palace Comptroller (?). His papers were left with me several years ago. I regret I was unable to go through them and make them available to the public, till now.

Mr. Narasimha Iyengar was a prolific writer with an incisive style. His correspondence is copious: he had friends in all parts of India and England with whom he maintained a continuous stream of correspondence in literary and historical studies and on social and political matters. He was also a reformer in religion. His connection with the Survey and Census operations in Mysore and his intimacy with the giant intellects of the day gave him vast opportunities which he has utilized to the full.

On the 14th December 1872, Mr. Narasimha Iyengar left Bangalore on a pilgrimage to Benares. Some of the impressions which he gathered in the course of the journey as well his experiences of the tour deserve notice. In the Diary, which has been preserved and from which certain extracts are given in this issue, will be noticed the keen insight and the remarkable powers of observation which he possessed. The reader will get an insight into the conditions of railway travel in those days.

Mr. Narasimha Iyengar was, as he says, the first Mysorean who started on a prolonged tour through the classic north, with the object of enlarging his experience of the world and of looking at things with a critical eye, uninfluenced by any superstitious notions.

I am omitting from the Diary the writer's experiences regarding differential treatment between Europeans and Indians, the lack of accommodation in the trains and several other matters, as the lapse of half a century has seen marked progress in all these directions.

S. SRIKANTAIYA.

EXTRACTS.

14th December 1872. Started from Bangalore...on a prolonged tour through the classic north, with the object of enlarging my experience of the world....

The country around the railway wore a most enlivening and smiling aspect with paddy and sugarcane fields uncut and with their wavy, golden and green lands. The recent and unusual floods which characterized this year also lent to the scene a welcome addition. The heights of the eastern ghats, too, tossed about as they are in wild confusion forming a labyrinth through which the great serpent-like train wriggled its way to the plains, rendered me more than ever thoughtful...

As we progressed in our journey, we felt the heavenly climate we were leaving behind....

Arkonam (reached by 5-15 p.m.) seems to be entirely a creation of the railway. It is a busy town, the trade of which is fed by the travellers, whose necessity is the opportunity of the small traders. Rice was being sold at fourteen seers a rupee, and good ghee was also procurable...The charge in the Brahman chatram is two annas per ordinary meal, embracing rice, chāru, curry, an inkling of ghee and tyre.

Ducks are reared here in abundance by the ryots and sold at four annas each. A person exporting them to Bangalore would soon acquire a competence.

15th December 1872. Started for Tirupati, after a hasty breakfast about 9-50 a.m.

The Iron Road pierces a wild and picturesque part of the country. The works are very costly, crossing numerous rivulets and streams which were all running more or less on account of the unusual floods of this year. Several huge rocks too were blasted and cut through to make way for the invincible iron-horse. The cultivation is more in valleys which alternate with the hills. Ragi and javari flourish as we approach Tirupati which is a large station....

We got into a bullock cart which would not go faster than about a mile an hour, notwithstanding the twisting of

the tails of the bullocks. The heat was parching. After alternately walking and squatting in the cart for about three hours we arrived at the town of Tirupati, which is about six and a half miles from the railway station.

The town is imbedded in a wide valley, enclosed by the Tirupati and Chandragiri ranges of hills, which are a continuation of the Eastern Ghats. It is tolerably clean and populous. The houses are almost all terrace-roofed and built with brick-in-chunam. At the entrance, there is a Mari or Grama Dēvatē temple. At the front of it, two huge stone figures of Sṛī Dēvi and Bhū Dēvi, wives of Vishnu, are placed opposite each other, and the road runs between them. These belonged, it appears, to a revived temple and Mr. J. D. Robinson, the Collector, had them placed where they are. They are nicely carved but the breasts are too disproportionate. They represent the goddesses unrobed in a sitting posture. There is a fine park in the town called the People's Park founded by Robinson aforesaid. It is very gracefully planted with trees of all sorts, inclusive of the casuarina, and there is a small stream flowing through it from a small tank. There are good roads intersecting the town.....The chief attraction of the place is the temple of Govindarajaswami. It is a very spacious structure: the entrance is crowned with a stupendous spire or gōpuram of seven stories, with brass kalasās at the summit. It is of brick and chunam work, profusely ornamented. A great many of the figures are unfortunately most obscene. It is a feature inseparable from these structures and from the cars, a large specimen of which is also here. The road from the chief entrance to the second is lined on both sides by the houses of the temple officials and other smaller temples. Opposite the second gate, there is a very beautiful fountain fed from a nāla or spring about two miles off. The central work is out of order, but the water overflows the four sides of the cistern all round the year. It is deep and square. All the people wash themselves and perform their rites on its margin, though no one is allowed to dip in his body or feet in the water. Much of the water runs to waste, creating a marsh

in the neighbourhood...The temple seems to be a cluster of buildings of several classes and ages. Part of it is in disrepair and part under restoration. It cannot lay much claim to architectural beauty, excepting in the matter of a few stone pillars and a stone *mantapam*. The former are well carved, and divided into four sides, three being rounded and forming smaller pillars, and the fourth cut into a horse or lion rampant, the whole being a single block. There are a great many of these pillars in the temples. The *mantapam* is a most richly carved pavilion about twelve feet square, wrought out of gneiss. It is installed in a spacious court to the right of the principal idol. Owing to the vandalism of the temple people, it is completely covered by a thick coat of filth, very tough and ages old. The whole of the cluster of buildings up to the second gate forms a square which is fortified by substantial grey granite walls. The internal and external walls are built of slabs (some being of black stone) which are covered with inscriptions in Grantham, Tamil and Telugu. No one seems to have deciphered them.

Here the people are Telugu, and their manners and customs have a tinge of those of Madras.

About two miles from the town of Tirupati in a northerly direction is a picturesque waterfall called Kapila Teertham. A volume of water falls from a height about six feet from the summit of one of the Tirupati range of hills. The cataract falls into a large stone-faced oblong pond which is surrounded on three sides by several *mantaps* and temples. It is a very romantic spot, near enough to the town to be reached by a wholesome walk and yet far enough not to be defiled by the people.

The sight of the town in the moonlight is very charming. Mr. J. D. Robinson has shown much taste and skill in the laying out of the Park. There are several idols placed at the angles of the roads which pass through it, taken from the ruined temple aforesaid. One was a very large sleeping figure of Ranganatha very nicely carved, though not richly. There is a huge stone serpent with five heads and the hood extended. It is about six feet high.

16th December 1872.—*Tirupati*.—The first range of hills presents to the distant observer the form of a huge serpent, lying on the ground with its body extended in curves. This is due to the depressions in the surface of the range. Hence the whole is dubbed Seshachala or mountain of Sesha. The *sthala purana* goes to say that the hills are the *avatars* of the serpentine god.

The *dhooley* bearers keep singing one after another in a monotonous tone. The refrains are *noom* and *volee*. The ascent is very steep for the first two miles, the primitive road maker not having very extended ideas of road making. The whole way up is covered with stone steps, the smoothness of which bespeak the countless millions of devotees who have gone over them. The way up to the *ghali gopuram* is exceptionally steep and difficult. We hurriedly estimated the gradient to be in some places one in three. Almost all the steps are engraved with the names and particular acts of pilgrims. The engravings have been much worn off by the feet of subsequent visitors to the temple. The hill sides are covered with scrub jungle which, I was told, shelter all sorts of wild animals, excepting perhaps the elephant and lion. The first *gopuram* or gate is the *ghali gopuram* aforesaid. There is a Bhairagi Matha here which is richly endowed with inams for feeding the pilgrims. We did not observe, however, that there was any show of hospitality. The trees in these jungles, although proudly looked upon by the natives of the country, are pigmies when compared with the giants of the Western Ghats. In one part of the road, up to the top of the hills, there is a precipice with perpendicular sides, which reminded me of the Western Ghats. It was very grand, looking into it from the brink and as the road was not parapetted in some places, I could not help feeling exceedingly nervous and uncomfortable when the bearers hurried my *dhooley* close to the mouth of the yawning abyss.

One of the curses of the shrine is the number of unfortunate and threatening beggars who beset all the pilgrims and chance visitors.....

After a weary trudge of nearly ten miles over seven hills, the *dhooley* was at last deposited in front of a ruined gate. It appears no one is allowed, out of respect to the God, to proceed in *dhooley* or palanquin beyond the gate, the Svami of Sringeri being an exception so far as to be able to go a few yards further. It is a rule of the shrine that no one can ascend the hill with shoes on. We were all bare-footed. The small polyangular pebbles which pave the way up the hill made alarming gashes and cracks in our soles. After leaving the *dhooleys*, we proceeded on foot to the next gate which is still more dilapidated. To the left is a stone *mantap* with a thousand carved pillars, which was under repair when we visited the shrine. Turning to the left, we came upon a street which led us to the gate of the temple and which gradually descended to the level of another street running at right angles to it. There was a stream of water, the draining of the small settlement, running along this street.

There is a bathing pond, *Svami Pushkarini*, whose water was full of organic impurities and covered with a pretty thick green scum. The local *Purana* says that there are nine *teerthams* or holy waters in it.

The architecture of the temple is of the same style and age as that of the temple in the town of Tirupati. Some of the pillars were more richly carved and there is another *Kalyana Mantapam* of the same kind as the one below, only this is in a better state of preservation. There are several stone and bronze statues of bygone kings whose donations to the temple tend to swell its revenue.....In the inner compound, there is a well whose origin is mythological and it is said that flowers which would float in any other water would sink at once in this. We tried the experiment and it was not proved.

On gliding past the vestibule, leaving the outer gate, where a bell is incessantly being tolled, we could see the great God Srinivasa here visible in all its glory. It is an idol about seven feet high standing on a high pedestal, with four arms and cut of a fine-grained blackstone. It was coated

with gold armour, and bejewelled ornaments. The forehead was adorned by two large perpendicular streaks of *pachcha karpuram* in imitation of the tri-marks. The first two arms hold golden representations of the Sankha and Chakra which were not originally cut out of the stone block. They were, however, blackened so far as to appear to be stone to the uninitiated. This is the god which attracts so many devotees from all parts of India; which it is believed to be dire destruction to offend; which can only be propitiated by rich donations; which inspires the scoffer with dread; and which is believed to survive all the great deluges which will one day overtake the world. Looking at its expressionless face, we could not but be disappointed at the reality falling far short of reputation. The wealth of the temple is considered fabulous. The managers are the Bhairagees who have got unchecked sway over the vast wealth of the institution.....The chief guru of the Bhairagees is called the Mahant of the Math of Hatti Ram.....

The temple receives donations from men in all parts of India. The most careless idolator dreads this god.....The collections are estimated at four lakhs...

One of the sources of the temple revenues is the sale of the prepared rice.....Numerous grandees have instituted charities in this temple, by which the founders intended that the food after being shown to the god should be distributed to travellers and poor people. But what we see now is a direct violation of the intentions of the founders. In the first place, the food is not properly prepared....Our Maisur Raja has founded a charity by which one *gangala* or large vessel full of rich food should be daily offered to the idol and distributed to the poor and strangers. There is a chatram of the Maisur Maharaja on the hill....

The *Kalyana Mantapams* above referred to are used when the ceremony of the god's marriage is gone through every year. They are really very good pieces of sculpture.

The *Garbha-griham* or holy of holies is darkened by the fumes of camphor which is incessantly burned at the request

of devotees. One waving of the camphor called *Mangalarati* costs one rupee.

At the foot of the hills, there is a big spire part of which was, it appears, struck down by lightning. Numerous big pairs of shoes and wooden sandals are kept here and the legend is that they are used by the great God Srinivasa. On the top of the hill, no one is allowed to wear flowers in his locks in honour of the god. The tradition is that some ruffianly *pujari* had been formerly keeping a mistress to whom he conveyed the flower intended for the god. One of the Anegondi Rajas, who was at the period master of the country, enquired about the matter, when the *pujari* secretly transferred the flowers to the god from the head of his charmer. The Raja received it but noticed a hair in it which the *pujari* affirmed belonged to the god. In order to save his worshipper's neck, Srinivasa Svami confirmed the falsehood, but ordered that nobody should wear flowers hereafter while on the top of the hill. Within the second *prakara* or circle, there is a small cistern into which the washings of the god flow through a secret channel. There is a profuse waste of the scents and the water is impregnated with a solution of them. But, in other respects, it is very filthy and unfit even for our touch. Every pilgrim is required to swallow a handful of this filth, on pain of the direst consequences. Purnaiya, it appears, loathed to do this, and instantly lost his eye-sight. Some one advised him to do penance part of which consisted of washing his eyes with the *Thotti Teertham* as this cistern water is called. His faith was rewarded by the restoration of his eyes.

The descent is weary and distressful walking. Telugu is spoken throughout the country. The ethnology, manners and customs of this region differ from those of the Madras side.

17th December 1872.—From Tirupati, the railroad goes through a hilly and wild country and the survey was very striking, especially as we looked at it in the moonlight.

The knowledge that there is a police station on the top of the hill and that any injury to our person and property will not go unpunished were very reassuring to us.

The Bhairagi Math people have watchmen at intervals along the ascent. They are armed with antediluvian matchlocks, such as are found with the Hale Paika men of the Malnad.

The late Mr. Singriengar of Bangalore is a well-known character here. He has founded several charities and "sévéés" or services and his chattram at "Aitepalli", twelve miles from Tirupati is well known to most travellers. It was the ark of safety and comfort before the days of the railway.

We did part of the descent walking. It was very weary, and I felt the pain in my thighs and calves for days after. The descent from the *Ghali Gopuram* is very distressing and fearful. It was about 6 p.m. by the time we returned to the town of Tirupati, utterly exhausted and weary.

The town of Tirupati and the settlement on the top of the hills are full of monkeys. They thrive in the same manner as the Brahmans who are equally filthy. Mr. Darwin would have found a great many facts here in support of his theory of the descent of man, and the survival of the fittest.

In pursuance of our programme, started after tea, for Tiruchanur, about two miles from Tirupati. We were very kindly assisted by Shama Row, a local pleader and a very intelligent man. There is a temple at Tiruchanur dedicated to Lakshmi and it is in charge of the Mahant. It was under repair. The style of architecture is the same as at Tirupati. There is a very nice pond near the temple, which contains clear water, although people wash themselves freely in it. The vegetable matter in the pond absorbs all organic impurities and hence the clear water.

(To be continued.)

LINGUISTICA.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

IF in the final quarter of the nineteenth century the study of comparative speech-science or linguistics as built up by Indo-Europeanist scholars won for itself a unique place among the departments of learning, this science has, within the last thirty years, made still further strides in three directions particularly.

Intensive specialization is proceeding apace in Indo-European and connected fields. The work initiated in the last century is being pushed forward vigorously; and so numerous to-day are the branches in which intensive progress in research has been achieved that it has become next to impossible for any present-day scholar to acquire anything more than a generalized idea of the subject as a whole. New materials are being collected assiduously, old perspectives are being revised and enlarged, and our knowledge alike of the details and of the generalities is being enhanced. The acceptance of the principle that dialects and folk-speeches could illumine the truths of speech-science much better than literary forms of speech and standardized varieties has led to a partial revision of our methods of approach. Dialectography or linguistic geography is laying bare to us interesting new facts about the incidence of phonetic and semantic changes. 'Experimental phonetics' is trying to clarify our views about sound-changes from a novel and significant standpoint. The study of accentology has revolutionized the study of certain aspects of the history of languages. Investigations into comparative syntax are revealing new view-points of which we had but hazy notions hitherto. The importance of speech-psychology is receiving greater recognition than before, and in this connection the 'social' aspects of language-development have begun to claim attention. The development of the comparatively new subject of semantics is helping

forward the process of the reconstruction of the past history of forms. Thus we are witnessing to-day an extraordinarily rapid development in what a French linguist has called the 'diachronistic' and the 'synchronistic' aspects of Indo-Europeanist linguistics.

Greater interest is being shown to-day in the study of the language-families other than Indo-Germanic. While the work turned out here is admittedly meagre, scholars everywhere are agreed in recognizing the value of extra-*IGc.* studies both for the enlargement of our existing views and for the solution of the general problems of language. The language-families of America, of "Austro-asia", of Central Asia and China, the non-Aryan speeches of India, the Semitic and the Finno-Ugrian families,—all these are engaging the attention of linguists who have mastered the discipline of Indo-Germanist studies. It is yet too early for us to expect here the precision of method and the sureness of facts which we associate with *IGc.* studies; but the fact that many Indo-Germanists themselves have envisaged the importance of the new spheres of work is in itself a considerable step in advance.

Yet another direction in which a new outlook is becoming popular is in the application of comparative linguistics to the confirmation or correction of the results of comparative sociology and culture. Linguistics by itself cannot elucidate these things; but linguistic facts, if used with caution and reserve, might afford valuable confirmatory evidence of what history, archæology and ethnology might tell us of the pre-historic past. "Letzten Endes," says a German scholar, "ist die Sprachforschung eine Unterabteilung der Kulturgeschichte der Völker."

All this increased activity in the world of linguistics is reflected in some of the recent European publications.

The history of Sanskrit or old Indo-Aryan is of the utmost importance to the students of Indian Linguistics; and *OIA* being intimately allied to *IGc.* the progress achieved in the latter has had its reaction on our views of the former also. The revised second edition of Prof. Thumb's

popular "Handbuch des Sanskrit" (2 parts, Grammar and Texts, in the "Indo-Germanische Bibliothek" series, published by Carl Winter, Heidelberg, 1930) embodies the results of the latest *IGc.* researches so far as they affect the history of Sanskrit. The popularity of Thumb's work was due to the fact that it brought together in a brief and systematically arranged form the descriptive and historical aspects of *OIA*. To the Indo-Europeanist who found himself forced by the lack of a synoptic handbook to restrict his attention to Greek and Latin, Thumb's volume was a god-send. There was indeed no want of comprehensive treatises of Sanskrit containing the exposition of details; but a concise *resumé* of a minimum of essentials useful for comparative study, synthesizing the descriptive and historical sides, was first furnished by Thumb's Handbook. The second edition has been prepared by the great master of *IGc.* studies, Prof. Hirt, with considerable improvements and notes incorporating the latest views. Prof. Hirt has rewritten some portions of the work (*e.g.*, the whole of Ch. VII treating about Gradation), and he has added a *Nachtrag* of thirty-five pages of small print, containing a wealth of suggestions and references. Particularly noteworthy among these are those on the age of the *R̥g-Veda* (§27), the neutral vowels of *IGc.* (§§58, 59), Fortunatov's Law (§87), the origin and history of Sanskrit inflexional endings (§§230, 238, 244, 245), *OIA* numerals (§377), verb-endings (§418), the Conjunctive and the Injunctive (§§440, 441), Causatives as original combinations (§ 593), *samāsās* of the type of वशग (dependant) and कृतम (thankless) (§667), the origin of *samāsās* generally (§670), etc.

Prof. Hirt's independent researches into many *IGc.* problems, particularly *Ablaut*, are well known. Further, unlike many another scholar, he has not fought shy of the problem of the origin of inflexional endings, verbal terminations and suffixes. His contribution to all these special topics is of unique value, notwithstanding the fact that some of his views may not be shared by others. All these new results which have a direct bearing on the study of *OIA* have

been indicated by Prof. Hirt in his notes and *Nachtrag* to Thumb's volume. The new edition of this work has therefore gained immensely by being revised by this *IGc.* master. Its popularity and usefulness have thereby been immeasurably increased. Students of Sanskrit Linguistics would find valuable guidance in the new edition of Thumb's work and in its latest orientation.

A sure index to the progress, in range and in depth, of *IGc.* studies is furnished by the two monumental etymological Dictionaries: Boisacq's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* and Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (both published by Carl Winter, Heidelberg). An indispensable condition precedent to the composition of a satisfactory etymological dictionary is the existence of linguistic research (extensive and intensive) in connection with the language concerned. Generations of scholars had well prepared the materials for Greek and Latin; and these only remained to be utilised by master-minds with correct powers of judgment and an accurate sense of proportion. Boisacq's work is a marvel of precision, judgment and scholarship in this line. The structural and the semantic contents of Greek words of all dialects are chronologically traced, the latest view-point in regard to loan-words is envisaged (*viz.*, Meillet's view that all Greek words need not have been *IE* in origin but may have been borrowings from pre-*IE* speeches), the most recent results of epigraphy and philology are requisitioned, the affinities are discussed exhaustively and copious references are made to the literature on each point. A mine of information is contained under each item, and the work is indispensable not only to students of Greek but also to all linguists who concern themselves with etymological studies that may have at all a connection with *IGc.* Walde's etymological dictionary is a work of equal merit and importance. It is passing through its second edition and already two parts of the work have been issued. The previous editions which evoked the encomiums of scholars, are being amplified and improved by the present editor, J. F. Hofmann. The results

of the latest researches (*i.e.*, the question of borrowings and Etruscan connexions) are as far as possible being embodied. The work, when completed, will prove to be as much a monument of the depth and range of Indo-Europeanist linguistic research as Boisacq's work mentioned above.

Specialist research in the ramifications of *IGc.* tells the same tale of minuteness and methodology. A short monograph for instance (published by Carl Winter of Heidelberg in the "Slavica" series) on "Slavische und Indo-Germanische Intonation" by K. H. Meyer attempts to reconstruct methodically the character and variations of *IGc.* accent by tracing them back from an analysis and comparison of accentual features of Greek and Ur-Slavonic on the one hand and the reverse peculiarities of Lithuanian accent on the other. The author demonstrates that Ur-Slavonic features are directly descended from and reflective of the *IGc.* traits, and that the Lithuanian peculiarities form a departure from the normal. This is the main thesis of the paper, while a few other questions are also dealt with, the most important among which, from a general point of view, are that the rigid demarcation usually drawn between dynamic accent (or stress) and musical accent (pitch) and the inferences drawn therefrom are unreal and that qualitative *Ablaut* in *IGc.* must have been brought about by dynamic stress and not by musical pitch which, unlike the former, is extremely inconsistent and shifting. In regard to this last point, a difference of opinion is possible as to whether it is proper to attribute (as the author does on page 43) to the older stages of language the conditions governing pitch in modern speech. However this may be, the thesis on the whole is an excellent illustration of what the younger European scholars trained in the discipline of scientific linguistics are achieving in specialist spheres.

We have already adverted to the increasing recognition by Western linguists of the need for studying language-families other than Indo-Germanic. The most conspicuous among the advocates of this new outlook belong to the "Anthropos" school of linguists headed by the eminent Catholic *savant*,

Father Wilhelm Schmidt. It is this enlarged perspective that underlies the monographs in the "Linguistische Bibliothek" series edited by Fathers Schmidt and Koppers. Volume IV of this series is a very bulky work on *Die nominalen Klassifikations-systeme in den Sprachen der Erde* by Dr. Gerlach Royen (published by "Anthropos"—Administration 1930). The exceedingly comprehensive outlook of the author is indicated by the following observations of his in the Preface, which mirror the attitude of the "Anthropos" school itself :—

"Es beginnt sich immer mehr die Erkenntnis durchzusetzen, dass ein Studium des Sprachlichen, die sich auf ein kleineres Sprachgebiet einengt, nicht nur im Stoff beschränkter bleibt, sondern auch ausserstande sein wird, in die tieferen Fragen nach Warum und Woher der sprachlichen Tatsachen entdeckend einzudringen. Die Ansicht, dass die Indogermanist dadurch, dass sie lauter Fragen rein formalistischer Art nachgeht, sich in eine Sachgasse verrannt hat, wird ohne Rückhalt von jenen Sprachwissenschaftlern vertreten, die ihren Gesichtskreis etwas weiter erstreckten als bloss auf indogermanisches Sprachgebiet."

The subject of the classification of nouns, when approached so comprehensively as in the present work, embraces quite a phenomenally large variety of problems each of which would demand a monograph for itself. Of this fact the author is not unaware, as we note from the beginning of chapter III :—

"Es ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, alle Schwierigkeiten zu lösen und noch weniger, alle Probleme endgültig zu behandeln.....Wir hegen indessen die stille Hoffnung dass unsere vielfach nur fragmentarische Besprechung junge Linguisten anregen wird, die verschiedenen Einzelfragen zum Gegenstand von Spezialstudien zu machen."

The author's object is only to put together, with critical remarks, the views of scholars on various topics and to adumbrate new perspectives of his own. This work, such as it is, has been well carried out, and the author is entitled to the gratitude of all linguists who will find in this

work valuable guidance for a critical understanding of authoritative views, and incentive for pursuing special topics further.

IGc. problems form the main centre of interest, as is only to be expected from the enormous progress achieved here; but under the inspiration of his *guru*, Prof. C. C. Uhlenbeck, the author has collected, classified and compared many interesting materials from other language-families also. The different theories (excepting "zu kühne Hypothesen oder unbeweisbare Phantasien" which are shunned) are reproduced as far as possible in the words of the respective opponents, and these views are critically analysed.

The views of scholars from Protagoras down to Schuchardt, Meillet and Wackernagel, on the origin and character of nominal gender, are reproduced in chapters *I* and *II*. This section covers two hundred and seventy pages and, besides the actual documentation, contains certain helpful critical viewpoints, though in the main it is more or less an objective chronological survey of the development of ideas in regard to *IGc.* gender and the gender-systems of other language systems alike. In fact, the author quotes approvingly the view of R. Gatti: "Viele würden zu anderen Einsichten gekommen sein, wenn sie 'un po' fuori dell'indoeuropeo', Umschau gehalten hätten." Objective on the whole as is the treatment here, the views of one great scholar, Prof. Meillet regarding *IGc.* gender are subjected to an exhaustive critical examination (p. 218 ff) because "Meillet's Autorität als Sprachwissenschaftler ist so gross."

The third part of the work (being the major portion, covering about 670 pages) deals with a very large number of topics connected with the classification of nouns. Some of the most interesting and striking among these are the following:—

1. Sexual Bilingualism and its possible relationship to the origin of gender: among others, the view of Fraser is dealt with here; but on the whole Fraser's theory (in the author's opinion) is a mere "card-stack in which hypothesis is

piled upon hypothesis and which may tumble down at the slightest breeze."

2. Gender-differentiation as the reflection of *Psychopathia sensualis*: Bildersleeve's fantasies, among others, are criticised here: Bildersleeve's methods are "die Karikatur einer ernsten Untersuchung, ein symptom der moralischer Dekadenz."

3. The possible influence of mythological personification on the origin of gender,—too frail a hypothesis (in the author's opinion) to support a convincing gender-theory.

4. The discrepancy between sex and gender: old views are fully discussed, and the author suggests a new explanation of his own (p. 436 ff.).

5. Nominal formatives and suffixes: Jespersen's theory of 'Syncretion,' Bloomfield's 'Adaptation' and other views are mentioned and illustrated.

6. Sound-symbolism, accentual variations, vocalic and consonantal inter-mutations, and their possible relationship to the origin of gender: these are very interesting topics from a general point of view, and useful materials from many non-IGc. languages are here collected and discussed. This is of course a field "auf dem das Irrlicht der Phantasie den Sprachwissenschaftler licht in den Sumpf locken kann"; nevertheless the subject, when cautiously handled, is not without unique importance in the clearing-up of many linguistic problems. It may be interesting to note here that some of the phenomena adduced in these sections have parallels in Dravidian.

7. Prof. Uhlenbeck's theory of *casus energeticus* and *casus inertiae* together with a discussion of other views on the origin of cases: the subject shunned by many till a few decades ago as belonging to the sphere of 'glottogony', has now, rightly enough, begun to engage the attention of even IGc. specialists.

While the above topics are of general interest and are discussed alike with reference to IGc. and to other language-systems, §§9, 10, 12 and 13 are concerned mainly with IGc.

problems; §§9 and 10 contain only summaries of the author's Dutch thesis on the *IGc.* nominal-system.

Helpful critical views are interspersed throughout the third part of the work, and these enable the student to adopt a correct orientation in regard to the many controversial topics.

Dr. Royen's work* is indeed a valuable symposium and a useful guide. Both as a book of reference in the department with which it is concerned, and as a thought-provoking guide to future specialist studies on the various aspects of the vast problem of nominal classification (which, be it observed here, touches and overlaps many another linguistic question), this volume will be welcomed by linguists. Reflecting as it does the enlarged outlook of modern researchers who postulate the necessity for studying other language-systems than *IGc.*, the book will also prove useful to students who may be particularly concerned with individual non-*IGc.* language-families.

All this phenomenal advance in the study of linguistics in Europe has had its reactions on Indian scholars also. A distinct impetus has been given to the study of Indo-Aryan linguistic problems by the works of European scholars like Profs. Bloch and Turner and by the completion of the great *Linguistic Survey of India* by Grierson. India is a vast linguistic museum and the problems awaiting investigation are countless in number. So far as Indo-Aryan is concerned, the brilliant pioneer work of Grierson has to be extended further by the collection of additional material and comparison of features. Individual scholars like Prof. S. Varma of Jammu, Prof. S. K. Chatterjee of Calcutta and Prof. Baburam Saxena of Allahabad—all of them well trained on Western lines—have taken up this work with commendable earnestness. The study of the non-Aryan 'Austrie' dialects of India is yet

* We may observe here that the book, though provided with bibliographical lists and a good index, lacks a detailed table of contents, and this renders the handling of the book extremely difficult. Of course the topics are indicated at the beginning of Chapter III; but this is inadequate in view of the variety and complexity of the topics discussed.

in its infancy. Here too, individual scholars are busy collecting materials. Rev. P. O. Boddington of the Santal Mission is now bringing out a comprehensive lexicon of the Santālī language, while for Muṇḍārī a lexicological encyclopædia is being published by Father Hoffmann in Patna. Rao Sahib G. V. Ramamurthi, the veteran Savara scholar, is engaged in the composition of a grammar and a dictionary of Savara. We must not also omit to make mention here of the remarkable labours of Prof. Przyluski of Paris who has struck out a new path of inquiry in which the application of the facts of IA and Kolarian linguistics to the outlining of new historical perspectives is playing a prominent part.

So far as Dravidian is concerned, we must confess that much work has not yet been done. Among non-Indian scholars Prof. F. O. Schrader appears to have written a great deal on Dravidian but his work has not yet been published. Prof. Bloch is taking a keen interest in Dravidian studies, particularly in the sphere of Aryo-Dravidian connections; and Mr. E. H. Tuttle of America has published a number of papers which, while they cannot be said to have solved Dravidian problems finally, are certainly original and thought-provoking. At this stage, for Dravidian, far more important is the collection of materials than the adumbration of theories. Many of the lesser dialects still await analysis and investigation by trained scholars. For instance, we may mention here that there are no satisfactory accounts of Tōḍa and Koḍagu; Pope's short account of Tōḍa and Cole's sketchy grammar of Koḍagu, both written more than about three-quarters of a century ago, are totally inadequate and incomplete. The local and provincial peculiarities of even the major dialects require to be analysed further. Satisfactory vocabularies and grammatical records exist now for Kurukh and Kūi; but they are wanting for Gōṇḍi, Malto and Madras sub-dialects like Baḍaga, Iruḷa, and Vizagapatam Kōi. Notwithstanding the availability of materials in the major dialects, we have yet to possess connected historical grammars in which the features are traced chronologically from the earliest extant texts and inscriptions.

The recent formation of a Linguistic Society of India (organized by Profs. S. Varma, S. K. Chatterjee and A. C. Woolner) marks a milestone in the study of Indian languages. We may confidently hope that this Society will co-ordinate the activities of scholars all over India and help forward the study of Indian Linguistics in all its branches.

HARSHAVARDHANA IN THE KARNATAK.

BY B. A. SALETORÉ, ESQ., M.A.

(Continued from Vol. XXI, No. 4.)

THESE ideas of a Dig-Vijaya are reflected in the "Ratnāvali", a drama written by Harsha.

(i) In the reply given by Vasubhūti, the ambassador of the king of Sindhala, to King Vatsa the king of Kausambhi, it is evident that the latter desired to marry Ratnāvali in order that he might become the emperor of the world.

".....In consequence of the prophecy of the seer, that whoever should wed Ratnāvali, my master's daughter, should become the emperor of the world, your Majesty's minister, as you are aware, solicited her for your bride."¹

(ii) From the speech of Yaugandharāyaṇa the same idea can be gathered.

"Please, Your Majesty, to be seated, and I will tell you. It was formerly announced to us by a holy seer that the husband of the princess of Sindhala should become the emperor of the world ; we, therefore, earnestly applied to her father to give her hand to our sovereign ; but unwilling to be the cause of uneasiness to the queen, the monarch of Sindhala declined compliance with our request....."²

(iii) The concluding portion of the king's speech bears witness to the same idea.

"What more is necessary? Vikramabāhu is my kinsman. Sāgarikā, the essence of the world, the source of universal victory, is mine ; and Vāsavadatta rejoices to obtain a sister. The Kosalas are subdued : what other object does the world present for which I could entertain a wish ?"³

When we couple what Bana has said together with the assertions of Harsha himself and with those of Huién Tsiang

¹ Wilson, *The Theatre of the Hindus*, II, p. 310.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 315.

³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 317.

with the fact of Harsha's being called the Lord of all the Northern Way (Uttarāpatha) even in the Inscriptions of Southern India, we may give credit to the belief that Harsha did entertain, at the beginning, imperialistic designs, and that he did spend a part of his reign in extensive conquests in northern, eastern, and western India. But here, however, our supposition ends.

Before I give some reasons for rejecting the idea of a Dig-Vijaya by Harsha, and consequently of the idea of his having ever come to the south, it would be better if we understand the position taken by those who believe in the southern campaigns of Harsha.¹

The following may be given as the reasons for saying that Harsha came as far as Mysore :—

1. The internal evidence in the "Harshacharita".
2. The fact of Harsha being called "Lord of all the Northern Way".
3. The existence of a couplet in Sanskrit supposed to have been written by a man called Mayūra, *supposed* to have been the father-in-law of Bana.² In this couplet it is said that Harsha conquered the Choḷa, Dravida, and Karnataka countries.
4. And finally, the discovery of a Viragal in the Shimoga District of Mysore, in which it is stated that Silāditya's general fell fighting against a Bēḍar king, causing, though, the flight of Mahendra.³

1. At the very outset it may be noted that in the "Harshacharita" we have a hint as to the line of action which Harsha intended to take after fulfilling his vow. The ashram of the great sage Divākaramitra cast a spell on the king, who after the completion of his vow, as we have already seen, intended to take to the red robes much in the same way as his sister promised to do then and there in the presence of the

¹ S. Srikanta Sastri, *J.R.A.S.*, 1926, p. 487.

² Niharanjan Ray, *O.C.*, p. 78 *seq.*

³ Dr. Shama Sastry, *M.A.R.*, 1923, p. 83.

great ascetic.¹ This may explain why "every fifth year he convoked a great assembly of deliverance (Mahā-moksha-parishad) and distributed the stores of his treasures in charity."²

As against this it may be argued that the same objection which was put forth in the case of Huien Tsiang, *viz.*, that the information might have been based more on hearsay rather than on personal observation, might also be raised against the writer of the "Life of Huien Tsiang" who compiled this "Life" many years perhaps after Harsha's death. But as I shall have an occasion to say, Huien Tsiang himself bears witness to the great "Mahā-moksha-parishad", and in this instance, there cannot be a doubt as to the sixth quinquennial assembly held towards the end of Harsha's reign.³

2. Admitting all objections against the writer of the "Life," let us take Huien Tsiang's testimony. Huien Tsiang visited Harsha towards the end of his reign. He mentions various parts of India, and when he comes to Maharashtra he speaks of the unsuccessful attempt made by Harsha to subjugate Pulakesi, the great western Chalukya king.⁴ The Chinese pilgrim describes Andhra,⁵ Dhanakataka, Chola, Dravida, Kanchi, Malakuta, Malaya, Mount Potalaka, Konkanapura, Simhala, and then Maharashtra over which ruled Pulakesi II. If the memory of Harsha's invasion of the south was as green in the minds of the people of the Dravida land proper, as it was in Maharashtra, Huien Tsiang would not have failed to remark about Harsha's advent into the south. If Huien Tsiang could have noted a defeat which took place, as I shall presently endeavour to prove, nearly thirty years before the date of his visit to the court of Harsha, he could as well have noted the news of the southern conquests of Harsha about the same time. An objection might be raised against this—that Huien Tsiang never personally visited the Chola and

¹ Bana, *O.C.*, pp. 257-58.

² Beal, *Life of Huien Tsiang*, p. 83.

³ Max Müller, *Indian Antiquary*, XII, p. 232.

⁴ Beal, *O.C.*, II, pp. 256-57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-53.

Dravida lands, and therefore, could never have known about an event which did not shed honour on the bravery of the southern people. In the Chola and Dravida lands people were silent because of the victories of Harsha, and so Huien Tsiang could not have known about them; while in the Maharashtra the people were glad because of the defeat suffered by Harsha, which they remembered not only in their own generation but for hundreds of years to come. This sounds plausible enough. But on a closer examination we shall see that the people of the Chola, Dravida and Karnataka lands, especially near-about Shimoga, did not know anything about Harsha because he never came to the south.

The entire supposition of Harsha's southern conquests rests on a clear understanding of his relation with Pulakesin II. Dr. Muzumdar writes :—

"It seems, therefore, very probable that in his attempt to chastise the king of Malwa, Harshavardhana found himself confronted by a hostile confederacy of powers in and round Gujerat peninsula. Harsha probably scored some successes at first, for, as referred to above, the king of Vallabhi had to seek the protection of the Gurjara king of Broach against him. But the confederacy soon gained the alliance of the great Chalukyan king Pulakesi II and Harsha's discomfiture was complete."¹ Dr. Mookerjee is of the same opinion. "Probably this conflict was brought about only by the aggression of Harsha, who after vanquishing Dhruvasena II, king of Vallabhi, felt tempted to extend his conquests still further and try conclusions with Pulakesin II, whose dominions he had to invade in the course of his conquests running smooth and uninterrupted so long."² Mr. Niharanjan Ray is uncertain as to when Harsha came to the south—whether before or after his defeat at the hands of Pulakesi. "It is difficult to ascertain whether this advance of Harsha into the interior of the south was made before his defeat by Pulakesi or after. It might be that Harsha, like Samudragupta, entered the south first

¹ Muzumdar, *O.C.*, p. 317.

² Mookerjee, *O.C.*, p. 33.

by the eastern gate, and elated with success in his raid in eastern Deccan, tried to repeat the same in the west, where he met with an ignominious and disastrous defeat; or the order was quite the reverse, that is, being first defeated by Pulakesi II, he tried his luck in the east, and met with success."¹

3. To have some idea of Harsha's advent into the south, let us examine the third argument brought forward by the exponents of the theory of Harsha's southern conquests—the couplet attributed to Mayūra. It runs thus:—

Bhūpālāḥ Śaśibhāskarānvayabhuvāḥ kenam nāsāditāḥ |
Bhartāram punar ēkamēva hi bhuvastvaṃ deva manyā
mahe |
Yenāṅgam parimṛṣya Kuntalamathākṛṣya vyudasyā
yatam |
Colam prāpya ca madhyadesāmadhunā Kāncyām karah
*pātitaḥ."*²

At the very outset it may be noted that the fact of Mayūra being the father-in-law of Bana is questioned by Mr. Sastri himself. It would have been better if more tangible evidence were given about the identity of Mayūra, and about the exact source from where this couplet was taken. But a reason which prompts me to reject this couplet, even granting that all that has been said about Mayūra to be correct, is the relationship of Mayūra with Bana. There is nothing strange in a father-in-law making public the fact of his son-in-law holding a very high post, like the one which Bana held at the court of Harsha. If this be granted, we may easily understand why Mayūra was so loud in his praise of Harsha—the greater was the fame of Harsha as the conqueror of the whole world, the greater would be the name of Bana as the court poet of a renowned royal patron. The evidence of the couplet may be rejected on the ground that it was written by an uncertain author, more with the idea of making his son-in-law loom large in public estimation than with the idea of

¹ N. Ray, O.C., 789.

² Sastri, J.R.A.S., O.C.

commemorating the victories of a monarch under whose benevolence the talented poet lived. It can only be regarded, therefore, as "praise in the conventional exaggerated style of a poet given to punning and without any reference to historical accuracy."¹

4. We shall now have to examine the last point upon which the supposition that Harsha came to the south is based. The Viragal, as it appears in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1923, is as follows² :—

"While Silāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest, ascended the throne of his empire, Pettāṇi Satyāṅka, a brave soldier capable of destroying his enemies in the battle-field, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Bēḍara Rāya, so as to cause frightfulness to Mahendra, and reached the abode of Svarga. Whoever preserves the field of crops (gifted to his relations) attains good and he who removes it will be guilty of five great sins."

In the original the inscription begins thus :—

"*Svasti Śrī Śīla-adityan disām-bharggan ākevalān aggaḷa Kanṭakan perālke vare Pettāṇi Satyāṅkan aṭṭuvala bhaṭan bedare Mahendran Bēḍara rāyara Malaṭṭpara Kāleguḍule viṛidu Svarggālayakkēṛidan beḷeya māḷa Kādon Kalyāṇam akke aḷivon paṇcha ma.*"³

Dr. Shama Sastry commenting on the above writes :—

"The inscription is in old Kannada characters, the formation of which is quite similar to those of the seventh century A.D. It is a Viragal or memorial stone set up to commemorate the death of one Pettāṇi Satyāṅka, a commander of the army of Silāditya, in his fight with a tribe of hunters forming the army of Mahendra. The inscription supplies no clue to ascertain who the Silāditya and the Mahendra mentioned in it were. On palæographic grounds I am inclined to identify the Silāditya of the inscription with

¹ *J.R.A.S., Loc. Cit.*

² *M.A.R.*, 1923, p. 83.

³ *Ibid.*

Harshavardhana-Silāditya and the Mahendra with Mahendrarman .I of the Pallavas, the contemporary of Pulakesin II of the western Chalukyas. It is not improbable that Harshavardhana's rule extended as far as Shimoga. The spelling of Silāditya as Sila-ā-ditya is, however, inexplicable."¹

And both Mr. S. Srikanta Sastri and Mr. Niharanjan Ray base their remarks on the identification of Silāditya with Harshavardhana and of Mahendra with Mahendravarma, the Pallava king, as given by Dr. Shama Sastry. With the latter, viz., the identification of Mahendravarma, I am not concerned for the present. But it appears to me that both Mr. Sastri and Mr. Ray have not quoted the inscription, or at least one important clause in it, as it appears in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* just cited. Mr. Sastri, whom Mr. Ray follows, has wrongly inserted the phrase "when Harsha came conquering, and Mahendra fled in fear", where it ought to be "*while Silāditya, etc., ascended the throne of his Empire* Pettanī Satyānka, etc., pierced through etc., so as to cause frightfulness to Mahendra." (The italics are mine.) I do not know what justification one could have in inserting the clause which Mr. S. Sastri has used for the correct interpretation given by Dr. Shama Sastry.

With this remark we shall look further into the Gaddemane Viragal. Viragals, as is well known, are not in the nature of elaborate inscriptions, and therefore, many of the details about the kings are missing in the Viragal. Śilāditya, mentioned in the Gaddemane Viragal does not refer to Harshavardhana of the North. The following are the reasons:—

1. There is nothing in the name of the king mentioned in the Viragal, except the word Śilāditya, to warrant our supposition that it refers to Harshavardhana. True Harsha was called Śilāditya. This we have on the authority of Huien Tsiang.² (But Huien Tsiang also gives another title assumed by Harsha, Kumāra. Moreover, Śilāditya was a name which was, as we shall see presently, common with certain

¹ *Ibid.*

² Beal, *O.C.*, I, p. 213.

western princes of India. But this is not the only objection. Harsha was known either by the name of Harshavardhana or Sri Harshavardhana in all the inscriptions of Southern India, not only of his own times but even of the times of the Rāstrakūtas. It cannot be believed that the name "Harsha" or "Sri Harsha" which was so very well known to the people of South India, could have been omitted in a Viragal,—which, as is supposed, is the only Viragal we have yet discovered, of Harsha in the South—by the sculptor who thought of giving only one of the two names which the Chinese pilgrim gives to Harsha.

2. If we compare the titles given in the Gaddemane Viragal with the titles given to Harsha either in the "Harshacharita" or in the inscriptions, we fail to see why his name was not adorned by the same epithets in the South Indian Viragal as well. Bana gives the following titles to Harsha:—

"Of the king of kings, the lord of the four oceans, whose toe-nails are burnished by the crest gems of all other monarchs, the leader of all the emperors."¹ On the sonpat seal of Harsha, we have the titles as given below:—

"Paramabhaṭṭaraka and Mahārājādhirāja, the glorious Harshavardhana."² In the southern inscriptions, Harsha is often called "Lord of Uttarāpatha".

3. Let us study again a little of the situation in North India at the time of the accession of Harsha, in order to understand the significance of the phrase,—“While Śilādityaascended the throne of the empire.” On the news of Prabhākaravardhana's death, some feudatories seem to have rebelled against Thaneshvar. This is evident from the "Harshacharita". "My lord," the man with an effort said (to Rajyavardhana), "it is the way of the vile, like fiends, to strike where they find an opening. So, on the very day on which the king's death was rumoured, His Majesty Gra-havarma was by the wicked lord of Malwa cut off from the living along with his noble deeds. Rājyaśri also, the

¹ Bana, O.C., p. 40; Muzumdar, O.C., p. 316.

² *Corpus Indicarum*, II, p. 232.

princess, has been confined like a brigand's wife, with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kanyakubja. There is, moreover, a report that the villain, deeming the army leaderless, purposes to invade and seize this country as well. Such are my tidings : the matter is now in the king's hands."¹ This was, however, but the beginning of the trouble. From Simhanada's speech we can gather something about the state of the kingdom. Says Simhanada :—

"Think not, therefore, of the Gauda king alone; so deal that for the future no other follow his example.....Remove the unhealthy rigidity of stiff unbending heads by forehead applications of sandal salve consisting of the gleam of toe-nails.....Like the autumn sun, set your forehead-burning footsteps upon the heads of kings.....Let your enemies with nail-scorching clouds of smoke from sighs all hot with the vexation of trembling crest gems, give your feet a dappled hue.....My lord's body, baked in the flame of humiliation, cannot without the cool application of the crimson sandal unguent of foes be relieved of this dire fever of pain."² The very fact of Malwa's threatening to invade Thaneshwar shows us the dangerous condition of that kingdom. And Rājyavardhana refused, as we saw, to permit Harsha to accompany him in his western campaign, perhaps because, of another enemy in the east, the cruel Śaśāṅka of Gauda. Close on the heels, of the news of death of Rājyavardhana at the hands of Śaśāṅka, came the awful tidings of Rājyaśri's flight to the Vindhya. Harsha was beset with insurmountable difficulties which might be summed up thus :—

(a) The immediate task of rescuing his sister ;

(b) The next urgent duty of taking revenge on the Gauda king ;

(c) And finally, the work of getting all those princes who had rebelled under his control.

¹ Bana, O.C., p. 173.

² Bana, O.C., p. 186.

In the face of such tremendous odds, it cannot be imagined that Harsha would have himself led an expedition, or as Mr. Srikanta Sastri says, that Harsha would have come conquering to the south; or that he would have sent a "brave soldier"—for that was what Pettanī Satyānka was, and not an officer of the status of a commander-in-chief—to the south, a region which being perfectly new, required greater tact than that which Harsha had shown in the subjugation of the east. If at all he came to the south, he would have come himself; and if he failed to come himself, he would have sent his most trusted general at the head of the southern expedition. But neither of the suppositions can be entertained because of the great difficulties which Harsha had to confront immediately on his accession.

If the Gaddemane Viragal inscription does not refer to Harshavardhana, then, to whom does it refer? The Viragal in all likelihood refers to the Valabhi kings of Saurashtra. The name Śīlāditya, the titles given to this monarch, the mention of the Sahyādri mountains in the inscriptions of a Valabhi king, and finally, the similarity of the name of a Valabhi king, as found in inscriptions with that given by Huien Tsiang—all point out the fact that the Gaddemane Viragal was a memorial stone of the Valabhi kings, perhaps the only one of its kind as yet discovered in the Karnataka land.

1. *The name Śīlāditya.*—The name Śīlāditya, as it appears in the Viragal, strongly suggests that it belongs to the Valabhi kings amongst whom, more than in any other royal family in India, there were no less than eight Śīlādityas. It is true that the name Śīlāditya was also used by kings who were not of Valabhi. Huien Tsiang speaks of a Śīlāditya of Malwa, who lived sixty years before the date of the visit of the Chinese pilgrim.¹

2. It is not so much the name as the titles assumed by the king called Śīlāditya in the Gaddemane inscription, which make us believe that the Viragal belongs to the

¹ Beal, O.C., II, p. 261.

Valabhi kings. Among the titles given to the king in the Gaddemane inscription are the following :—

“Śri Śilāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest,.....” Even supposing we take a Śilāditya (son of Dharasena II) who is said to have ruled about 653 A.D., some of his titles—“ who covered the whole horizon with multitudes of his wonderful virtues, which made the whole world rejoice, who carried a heavy burden of serious projects on the pedestal of his shoulders, the splendour of which was increased by the flashing of his sword, that possessed the lustre of victory in hundreds of battles”,¹ seem to be marked departures from the titles found on the Mysore Viragal—“ the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest.” One of the Valabhi kings, Śilāditya V, the eighteenth king is said to have had the following titles :—

“ His (*i.e.*, Śilāditya IV's) son is the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the great king of kings, the supreme lord, the illustrious Śilādityadeva etc., etc.”²

Then again, the titles of a Sri Śilāditya are given thus :—
“who by his prowess in delivering the great world, which was sinking under the waves of weight of the agitated sea of Kali, manifested his being an extraordinary excellent individual ; who thus was, as it were, a second philosopher's stone, accomplishing the desires of all people ;.....who made a place for himself in the world,.....etc., etc.”³

The titles of Śilāditya VI surnamed Dhruvabhata are given thus :—

“ His (*i.e.*, the fifth Śilāditya's) son is the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings, supreme lord, the illustrious Śilādityadeva, who meditates on the feet of the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings, supreme lord, the illustrious Bappa.”⁴

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 89-90.

² Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 16.

³ *J. B. B. R. S.*, XI, pp. 354-55.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 80.

The titles given to Śilāditya I are the following :—

“ His (*i.e.*, Dharasena's) son was Śilāditya, the great Maheśvara, who meditated on his father's feet—who filled the circle of all the quarters by extraordinary virtues which were united in him, and which delighted the whole world—the burden of whose great desires was borne successfully by his shoulders, which were brighter than those of others, in consequence of his conspicuousness amongst the allies, who had obtained destruction by winning a hundred battles.”¹ It is not so much upon these titles which do not admit, I confess, of complete verification, that the identification of the Mysore Viragal with a viragal of the Valabhi kings depends as on the examination of the first *birudu* which the Valabhi kings took, and which is also found in the Mysore Viragal. It is the title of Śrī. It may be pointed out that dwelling too much on the word Śrī which is used so commonly in all inscriptions, will not be of much avail in the matter of proving our point. But it may also be noted that the title Śrī was a peculiarity of the Valabhi kings, and that they had good reason to adopt it in the place of the other *birudus* found in all inscriptions. It is true that “Śrī” is also used in connection with Harsha. But then we are to remember that Harsha is always called “Śrī Harsha” in all southern inscriptions, and never “Śrī Śilāditya”. With the Valabhi kings, at least with one branch of the family which was not of the main line, the *birudu* Śrī stood for a royal title. “ But it ought to be noticed that the grantor Dhruvasena II, called also Balāditya, does not assume the title of ‘Maharaja’, and that none of his predecessors receive any epithet but ‘Śrī,’ ‘the illustrious’. It may be that the omission is due to an accident, but considering the habitual grandiloquence of Indian princes, the case is suspicious, and it would not be surprising if it were found eventually that Dhruvasena II had some cogent reasons for being silent about his magnificence.”² We know that Harsha was called

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, I, p. 15.

² Bübler, *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 13.

Śilāditya only by the Chinese pilgrim;¹ but we know from epigraphical evidence that there was a line of kings that had the *biriudu* of Śrī attached to their names.

But here two objections are to be answered:—

1. If the Mysore Viragal is of the Valabhi dynasty, why is it that a very important clause—"worshipper at the feet of the Maheśvara," which is found in all Valabhi inscriptions—is not found in the Mysore inscription?

2. If the Gaddemane Viragal really belonged to the Valabhi kings, why is it that the title "Mahārājādhirāja" given to many of the Valabhi kings is not found in the Mysore inscription?

As has been already said, the Gaddemane Viragal is not of the type of an elaborate eulogy of monarchs written in the shape of an inscription. Moreover, the king, whom we shall try to identify with one of the Valabhi kings, was not of the royal line. He could not assume the title of "Mahārājādhirāja," for various reasons—hence he used only the "illustrious Śilāditya".

3. The third reason which might be put forward to prove that the Gaddemane inscription belonged to the Valabhi kings, is the fact of one of the Valabhi kings having conquered the Sahyādrī mountains. Now it is known very well that the Sahyādrī mountains stand for the Western Ghats.² One of the Valabhi kings is said to have been the "lord of the Earth, whose (*i.e.*, Earth's) two breasts are the Sahya and Vindhya mountains whose tops clothed in black clouds appear like (her) nipples."³ This was Derabhaṭa also called Śilāditya.

But here it must be confessed that the chronology of the Valabhi kings is by no means a settled question. Dr. Fleet writing on the supposed identification of Derabhaṭa with the Derabhaṭa of Huien Tsiang has remarked:—

"These passages present points which must be carefully considered before any final opinion is arrived at in respect

¹ Beal, *Life*, p. 83; *Corpus Indicarum*, III, p. 39.

² *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. 474; Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, p. 171.

³ *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, p. 352; *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 91.

of the identity of the person, or persons, intended by Huien Tsiang; the more especially because the dates render it impossible that he should be Śīlāditya VII of Valabhi, the only one in the family for whom as yet we have obtained the second name of Dhruvabhaṭa; and because M. Julien tells us (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, 163, note) that the Chinese translation of the name Dhruvapātu of Valabhi was Teh-'ang-Jou, 'constantly intelligent', which of course supports the supposition that the termination of the Sanskrit name, the first part of which *dhruva* means 'constant,' really was 'paṭu' 'smart, dexterous, intellectual' rather than 'bhaṭa' 'warrior.'" ¹ Could it be that the Śīlāditya mentioned in the Gaddemane Viragal was one of the Śīlādityas of Valabhi, and especially could he have been the Śīlāditya mentioned by Rao Saheb Mandalik? The following facts suggest the identification, although at present I am not in a position to assert this identification with greater confidence—

(a) Śīlāditya who is supposed to have had the Vindhya and the Sahyādrī mountains as the two breasts of the Earth over which he ruled, was a great general.

(b) He was not of the direct royal line.

These two points might explain why being not of the main line, Śīlāditya did not use the *birudu* of "worshipper at the feet of Maheśvara" which is found in all the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings; and why he used, instead, only the "Śrī" "the illustrious", thus keeping in conformity with practice of the Valabhi kings of appending the *birudu* of Śrī to their names, and also with his position as a great commander. We are to imagine that there must have been some cause for the extension of the Valabhi arms into the Karnatak which we are not able to find out at present. This would explain why "a brave soldier capable of destroying enemies in the battle field," like Pettanī Satyāṅka, could in the thick of the battle with the Bēdara king, who could only have been one of the forest kings of the Sahyādrī mountains, give up his life for the sake of his master. That there is

¹ *Corpus Indicarum*, III, pp. 40-42.

nothing improbable in a very close connection between Karnataka and Saurashtra, may be gathered from the successful attempts made by the western Chalukya kings in founding a western Chalukya branch in Kathiawad, in the times of which we are studying. It is true that the Valabhi dynasty may be dated towards the end of the fifth century A.D., when Senāpati Bhaṭṭāraka rebelled against his master, the Gupta king (Skandagupta), and established himself at Valabhi, not far from Simhapura (modern Sihor).¹ Some would place this Bhaṭṭāraka, however, in 629 A.D.² The dynasty thus founded about 485 A.D. lasted till 765 A.D. with about nineteen kings in all.³ Admitting the possibility of a controversy about the exact relationship between the word "Chalukya", as it appears in the history of the western Chalukyas, with the word "Solanki" as it appears in the annals of Gujerat, there seems much justification in the statement that Jayasimha (the second son of Pulakeśi II), the younger brother of Vikramāditya, was probably given the province of Gujerat, and that thus Jayasimha "became the founder of the Gujerat Chalukyas."⁴ If this be accepted, we have a situation in Pulakeśi's times, i.e., in the times of Harshavardhana himself, in which the western Chalukyas made an attempt to carry their army into Gujerat. Could this have been done as a retaliatory measure by the great Pulakeśi's successors against the depredations the date of which we do not know, into the land of the Kanarese people? That the struggle between Pettaṇi Satyāṅka on the one hand, and the Beḍara Raya along with Mahendra on the other, was indeed a battle cannot be doubted. The Beḍara Raya I am unable to identify. About the identity of Mahendra we shall presently make a guess. We know very well that Pulakeśi swept his sword practically over the continent. We know too that

¹ *Arch. Survey of Western India* (Gujerat Architecture), Vol. VI, p. 3.

² Beal, O.C., II, 26, note 72.

³ *Arch. Survey of Western India*, *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ Bhagvanlal Indrajī, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 5 XVI, ; *A.S.W.I.* (N.G.), (II)—Mulraja is given here as the founder of the Chalukyas in Gujerat.

the western Chalukyas held undisputed sway over the western parts of India, especially over Maharashtra and the Karnataka and Konkan, for a very long time after Pulakeśi II, although they could not escape the challenge of many a powerful Karnataka dynasty.¹ It may be argued that the designs of Pulakeśi's successors were merely the ambitious attempts of aggrandisement.

(To be continued.)

¹ Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (2nd Ed.).

DATE OF MANIKYAVACAKA.

BY T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE date of Manikya-vacaka, a vexed question not only in the history of Tamil religion and literature but also in the political history of South India, has recently been discussed in English by two writers, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha-Sastri¹ and Mr. K. G. Sankara.² The controversy is an ancient one and discussion has been abundant, though much of it is far from illuminating. Depending as we have to for our materials on a number of hagiographies and chronicles and on a series of hymns in all of which history is very much out of place, a solution is hard to reach unless, in interpreting them, we place ourselves *en rapport* with the spirit that pervades them: any attempt on other lines is bound to lead to results of a wholly misleading character. If only we would read the hagiographies in the light of the hymns we would get an unedifying glimpse into the mysteries which envelop the growth of these myths. For lack of such study, portions of the literary and the political history of the Tamils are very uncertain. So frequently have investigators into the Manikya-vacaka problem been lost in the mists that I would scarcely have thought it useful to hang out warning lights, were it not that the mental outlook from which Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri and Mr. Sankara view the problem and the methods which they adopt to solve it threaten to take us from the edge of the fog into the thick of it.

Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri brushes aside 'minor considerations' and rests his conclusions on answers to what he considers to be the three 'main questions': 'Was Manikka-vacaka the earliest of the Saiva saints who preceded the *Tevaram Trio*³ or did he come after them? Is it a fact that he is not mentioned in the *Tiruttonḷattokai*? If it is, how

¹ *JOR.* (1927 April) i, 127-130; practically repeated in his *PK.* (1929), 66-7 n.

² *QJMS.* (1931 July), xxii, 45-55.

³ Obviously, the Professor meant merely to ask: 'Did Manikya-vacaka precede the *Tevaram Trio*?'

can we account for this omission?' To the first question his answer is in the affirmative and to the second in the negative and, consequently, an answer to the third is not called for, though he has an answer ready—that an argument from silence cannot be pressed far. The answer to the first question is grounded on (a) the contention that the miracle of the transformation of jackals into horses mentioned by the earliest of the trio, Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, is definitely claimed by Manikya-vacaka to have been performed by Siva on his account, (b) the view that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu's mention of a Vacaka is a reference to Manikya-vacaka, and (c) the 'traditional belief' that Manikya-vacaka is several generations earlier than Jnana-sambandha, the contemporary of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, for which 'clear proof' is found in 'all the lists of the Pandya kings that have come down to us', though they 'are not perhaps very valuable to the historian'. The answer to the second question is based on the alternative contentions that Manikya-vacaka is referred to in a periphrasis and that if he is not, it does not matter, for Nambi-Andar Nambi and after him Sek-kilar might have gone wrong and 'continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite possible with a break in secular historical tradition'.

It is necessary to ask, at the outset, whether these reasons have been tendered after a careful consideration of the facts and the implications. Why are not alternative suggestions mentioned or examined? The authority of Mr. K. G. Sessa-Aiyar and Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha-Aiyar is invoked, but why ignore altogether the admirable rejoinders of Mr. S. Anavaratavinayakam-Pillai¹ and the late K. S. Srinivasa-Pillai?² Why is tradition accepted when it places Manikya-vacaka earlier than Jnana-sambandha and rejected when Nambi-Andar Nambi and Sek-kilar pass Manikya-vacaka over in silence? Is the first tradition more reliable than the second? Why should the traditional genealogy of the Pandyas be accepted when Manikya-vacaka's date is in

¹ *Peru Makkal Varalaru* (1922).

² *Tamil Varalaru* (1922), ii, i, 67-111.

question and be summarily cast aside when the history of the Pandyan kingdom is concerned?

Mr. Sankara's line of argument is different. He seeks to establish a chain of synchronisms and his conclusions may be summarised thus: Jnana-sambandha was a contemporary of Nedu-Maran whom he converted to Saivism: Nedu-Maran had an *alias*, Varaguna, and dates c. 700 A.D.: Jnana-sambandha seems to have been a contemporary of Manikya-vacaka, and his friends included Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, Sirut-tondar (who was a general of the Pallava Narasimbavarman I) and Kulac-sirai (the minister of Nedu-Maran): Sundara, Seraman-Perumal, Varaguna *alias* Nedu-Maran and Manikya-vacaka were contemporaries of the Pallava king Narasimbavarman II of the latter half of the seventh century A.D.: Pattanattup-pillai mentions Manikya-vacaka and must be assigned to about the same half of the same century: Periya-Alvar and Andal were contemporaries of Nedu-Maran: the Nak-Kirar of the Tamil Academy was another of Nedu-Maran's contemporaries: Manikya-vacaka could not have lived before the age of Nak-Kirar: the Tamil Academy was founded by Jayantavarman, the father of Nedu-Maran: Manikya-vacaka must, as a result, be assigned to the close of the seventh century A.D.

Here is a series of synchronisms which, though bewildering at first sight, would be put in a nut-shell if we said that the legendary Sangam was founded by Jayantavarman-Pandya and that Nak-Kirar, Tiru-Valluvar, Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, Jnana-sambandha, Kulac-sirai, Sirut-tondar, Pattanattup-pillai, Sundara, Seraman-Perumal and Manikya-vacaka are to be assigned to the period covered by the reigns of Jayantavarman and his son Nedu-Maran *alias* Varaguna, that is, the second half of the seventh century A.D. This conclusion is so startling that one would expect much more evidence and reasoning than could be compressed within the limits of a short article.

A consideration of the points in issue being dependent on an understanding of a portion of the legend of Manikya-vacaka, we may start with the issue about the tradition of

the miracle of the metamorphosis. Manikya-vacaka having been consigned to prison by his master the Pandya king for having diverted to superstitious uses the moneys which the king had put into his hands for purchasing horses for the cavalry, the Lord Siva collected the jackals of the wilds, metamorphosed them into horses and rode into Madurai at the head of an unending troop of cavalry. The king and his subjects were delighted and Manikya-vacaka was released. Overnight, the Lord remetamorphosed the horses into jackals and Manikya-vacaka fell again into disfavour.

The miracle of the metamorphosis is alleged by Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri, who merely follows earlier writers on this point, to be referred to by Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, a saint generally assigned to the seventh century A.D. The reference is all too brief: speaking of the Lord the hymnist calls him, 'He who would turn jackal into horse'.¹ The problem is whether this contains indeed a reference to any miracle that had been accomplished in fact. The plain purport of it seems to be no more than that the Lord in His omnipotence can make so vile a creature as a jackal into so noble an animal as a horse. No miracle actually enacted seems to lurk in these words. In the very stanza in which Tiru-Navukku-Arasu refers to the turning of the jackals into horses he mentions some other transformations as well² which, however, do not find a place in the Manikya-vacaka legend: the only possible inference is that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu alludes in the stanza to the Lord's omnipotence in general and not to the Manikya-vacaka legend in particular.³ Even if we take it that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu's reference is to a miracle which the Lord had actually worked in the past or in that hymnist's days, we have yet to discover the link which would

¹ நரியைக் குதிரை செய்வானும்.

² நரியைக் குதிரை செய்வானும் நரகரைத் தேவு செய்வானும்
விரதம் கொண்டாட வல்லானும் விச்சின்றி நாறு செய்வானும்
முரசுதிர்ந்தாண முன்னோட முன் பணிந்தன்பர்களேத்த
அரவரைச் சாத்தி நின்றானு மாகுரமர்ந்த வம்மானே.

³ See Srinivasa-Pillai, *Tamil Varalaru*, ii, i, 79-80.

connect the miracle with Manikya-vacaka. We see more in the verse than meets the eye for no reason other than that the tradition about the miracle sits on us to-day with all the grip of a tenacious incubus. If we could be sure that the tradition of the Manikya-vacaka miracles was current coin about the days of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, we may concede that that saint might have had the miracle in mind though he has not been explicit enough in the words he employed. Not a trace, however, of the tradition is to be found for centuries before or after him. There are of course the passages in Manikya-vacaka's hymns which are usually pointed to in this connection, but these will be dealt with presently. Two passages in another book of praise, the *Kalladam*, are often cited as records of this tradition,¹ and there are some who would have it that the work was inspired by Manikya-vacaka's *Tiruk-Kovaiyar*, and yet we do not find in those passages the faintest suggestion associating the miracle with Manikya-vacaka. The earliest work to record the association is the *Tiru-Vilaiyadal Puranam* of Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi, of whom we know very little except that he might have lived about the thirteenth century A.D. Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi might not himself have been the author of the myth and he might have only utilized one which was two or three centuries old even in his days, but how are we to hale the myth six or seven centuries back and assign it to the days of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu or even earlier? The words of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu are so bald and all the literature down to Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi is so silent that it is impossible to believe that the hymnist of the eighth century had in mind the tale of the chronicler of the thirteenth century.

¹ (a) வெடி வாற் பைங்கட்குறுநரி யினத்தினை
யேழிடந் தோன்றி யின்னூற்கியைந்து
வீதிபோகிய வாலுனாப் புரவி
யாக்கிய விஞ்சைப் பிறை முடி யந்தணன்.
(b) கூடற் பதி வகு மாடற் பரியோன்.

The next question is whether Tiru-Navukku-Arasu, when he speaks of a Vacaka, refers to Manikya-vacaka. The suggestion has been so fully examined and so completely refuted by the late K. S. Srinivasa-Pillai that one is very doubtful if Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri would have touched on it at all if he had been aware of the refutation. At any rate, till those arguments are met we may take it that the attempted identification has wholly failed.

We may now pass on to consider the view that Manikya-vacaka claims that the miracle was enacted for his benefit. If this view is well founded, it may be difficult to maintain that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu was earlier than Manikya-vacaka. Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri and Mr. K. G. Sesha-Aiyar, on whom the Professor relies, have both realized how essential the point is as a link in the chain of evidence, and have drawn attention to some verses in the hymns of Manikya-vacaka which they believe to support this view.¹ Mr. Sesha-Aiyar's exposition has been thus summarized by Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri: 'There are at least half a dozen references to this fact in the *Tiru-Vacakam*, among which attention may be drawn in particular to the *double entendre* in line 17 of the *Tiru-Ammanai*, the direct personal reference in line 45 of the *Tirupponnucal* and the vivid impressionist reference to the miracle in lines 25 and 26 of the *Anandamalai*.' The three examples cited specifically will repay scrutiny and render unnecessary an examination of the rest of the 'half a dozen references'.²

¹ See K. G. Sesha-Aiyar's paper in *TA.* (1909), i, No. 4, pp. 16-35.

² The following renderings are based on Pope's version of the *Tiru-Vasakam*, which appeared in 1900, that is, before 1905, the year from which, according to Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri, should date the present confusion about the date of Manikya-vacaka. Pope had undoubtedly before him the work of Param-jyoti in which the anteriority of Manikya-vacaka to the Tevaram Trio is set out, and yet Pope's translation assumed that Manikya-vacaka referred in his hymns to miracles which were ancient in his days and that he did not mean that any of them had been worked on his behalf. With the object, however, of helping my readers to look at those hymns from the point of view of Mr. Sesha-Aiyar and those who agree with him I have recast Pope's version in such manner that the English reproduces the almost colourless character of the original Tamil.

The portion of the *Tiru-Ammanai* relied on runs thus :

Ammanay, Look! Sing we the unending raptures
Given by Him who rode a horse to loose the bond.¹

A *double entendre* is detected in these lines as two interpretations are possible,—the thralldom from which deliverance is effected by the Lord being that of the bonds of existence (if we are content with a philosophical interpretation) or the bondage of imprisonment (if we would imagine that the miracle is alluded to). A number of objections, however, could be offered to the latter interpretation. The *double entendre* may be plain enough if we look at the lines in the light of the Manikya-vacaka legend, but to do so would be to assume that the legend was current centuries before Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi. That an ancient tale had it that the Lord had once upon a time performed the miracle of the metamorphosis and that Tiru-Navukku-Arasu was referring to that ancient legend may perhaps be admitted. What remains to be proved is that the miracle was worked for Manikya-vacaka, but the available evidence comes from a century much later than Tiru-Navukku-Arasu. Further, to grasp the true import of the lines we shall have to look at the setting in which they appear. No pastime is more familiar in South India than the 'Ammanai'—a game in which a girl or a group of girls keep tossing balls while they sing a tuneful song. Following an ancient literary convention, Manikya-vacaka has cast his hymn in the form of a song for the game, and the words of the song express, at least ostensibly, the thought of the girl or group of girls. Though in the hymn some philosophical truths are charmingly expounded and some devotional attitudes are aptly illustrated, the words come from the mouths of the girls and they embody their thoughts, feelings and experiences. As the legend does not tell of girls having been imprisoned the girls could not have said that they had been released from prison: the words could refer only to their emancipation from

¹ பந்தம் பறியப் பரிமேற் கொண்டான் தந்த
அந்தமிலா ஆனந்தம் பாடுதுங் காணம்மானும்.

the bonds of existence. Again, it is very doubtful if a poet so finely attuned to the sublime as Manikya-vacaka would have yoked, though in a *double entendre*, the noble sentiment of a soul's emancipation to the incident of his release from prison.

Let us pass on to a study of the 'vivid impressionist' reference to the miracle in lines 25 and 26 of the *Ananda-malai*, the 'Garland of Rapture':

Thou mad'st the jackal a charger !
 Did'st work enchantments all !
 The mighty South King's Madurai Thou fill'st
 With madness, Perum-turai's Lord !¹

To a mind which is not biased by the Manikya-vacaka legend the hymnist appears to treat the miracle of the metamorphosis as an ancient one and to refer generally and vaguely to the numerous miracles which the Lord had worked in the world and to add that the presence of the Lord at Madurai,—enshrined as He is in its sacred fane,—is a source of infinite gladness to the people of the kingdom of the Pandya. The lines are perhaps susceptible of another rendering as well :

Making the jackal a charger
 And working enchantments all
 The mighty South King's Madurai Thou fill'st
 With madness, Perum-turai's Lord !

Even so, the words need not imply that the miracles were being worked at the time of the composition of the hymn, for otherwise we shall have no option but to conclude—with nothing in the Manikya-vacaka legend to support us—that the 'enchantments all' were also worked at the same time as the metamorphosis of jackals into horses. Further, Manikya-vacaka is a poet who was steeped in the contemplation of the Lord and the marvel of the Lord's 'enchantments all': so entranced was he by the abundance of the Lord's grace that he saw miracles in all that happened in the universe: he was confident that for the devotee's sake the Lord would work endless miracles and even re-enact ancient ones. When a poetic mind is so preoccupied with the miraculous and

¹ நரியைக் குதிரைப் பரியாக்கி ஞாலமெல்லா நிகழ்வித்துப்
 பெரிய தென்னன் மதுரை யெல்லாம் பிச்சதேற்றும் பெருந்துறையாய்.

feels that the miracle is not an ever-present possibility alone but the merest routine of the Lord's ceaseless activity and grace, rarely does it take note of time in terms of the past or the present. It would, therefore, be no marvel if Manikya-vacaka's words left us in doubt whether a miracle of the Lord is dated in the long distant past or in the lifetime of Manikya-vacaka himself.

We may proceed to investigate the 'direct personal reference in line 45' of the *Tirup-Pon-Usal*,—the song of the 'Sacred Golden Swing':

From glorious mountain height to earth He came,
Ate plenteous food, arose upon the lower seas,
In magic form upon a charger rode, and made us His! ¹

The reference to Manikya-vacaka cannot be made out unless the 'us' in the last line means only 'me': it is not enough to say that he referred to himself 'honorifically' in the word 'us': it must be shown that the inclusion of others in the reference is impossible. These lines could be interpreted in two ways—to mean that the incidents of the descent, the feast and the ascent were the earlier scenes in the play in which the Lord 'upon a charger rode', or to mean that those incidents were distinct and unrelated. While it is obvious that the legend is not based on the first interpretation, the second would make it clear that Manikya-vacaka says that the Lord 'made us His' as much by descending from the mountain, eating plenteous food, and rising upon the lower seas as by riding the charger. It follows, then, that the mountain, the gastronomic and the maritime episodes were enacted for the person or persons for whom the equestrian miracle was staged. As we do not, however, come across any such incidents in the Manikya-vacaka legend, we have to infer that the reference is not to Manikya-vacaka but to a number of other persons. We are led to the same conclusion if we look at the context in which these lines are set. The hymnist has composed the

¹ கோலவரைக் குடுமிவந்து குவலயத்துச்
சால வழுதுண்டு தாழ்கடலின் மீதெழுந்து
ஞாலமிகப்பரி மேற்கொண்டு நமையான்டான்.

hymn—the ‘Sacred Golden Swing’—as a song to be sung by girls as they keep rocking in a swing. The stanza in which these lines appear concludes with a refrain to be sung in chorus:

And while our full hearts melt, *move we the golden swing.*¹

In other stanzas too of this hymn we have a similar refrain:

Ye guileless, bright-eyed ones, *move we the golden swing,*²

Ye maids, whose jewell'd bosoms heave, *move we the golden swing.*³

When the words of the song express, as they ostensibly do, the thoughts of the girls who sing the song, how are we to discover in them an allusion to Manikya-vacaka? The girls say, ‘the Lord “has made us His”’: perhaps Manikya-vacaka might come within the scope of the word ‘us’, but the word cannot be so interpreted in the context as to exclude the girls and confine the reference to Manikya-vacaka alone. So much for ‘the direct personal reference’.

Thus, on an examination of the instances specifically brought up in support of the legend, we find that any reading of the legend into the verses of Manikya-vacaka is wholly unwarranted. His hymns are vivid records of the varied religious experiences through which he passed and, incidentally, of his abiding faith in the abundance of the Lord's grace and, therefore, of the endless number, the infinite variety and the surpassing marvel of the miracles. He could work in proof of His grace, but nowhere does Manikya-vacaka say that any of the miracles he mentions was worked for him. The hymns are perfect in literary shape and many of them are cast in the conventional forms which are common in a highly conventional literature, and any reading of the hymns which fails to take note of the conventions is bound to be wrong. The attempts at reconstructing the Manikya-vacaka legend out of his hymns will succeed only when literary forms and conventions are wholly ignored.

Another argument in support of the anteriority of Manikya-vacaka to the Tevaram Trio is that the traditional lists

¹ பூலித்தகங் குழைந்து பொன்னுச லாடாமோ.

² போரார் வேற் கண் மடவீர் பொன்னுச லாடாமோ.

³ பொங்குலவு பூண் முலையீர் பொன்னுச லாடாமோ.

of the Pandya kings place Arimardana, the master of Manikya-vacaka, earlier than Kubja or Sundara, the contemporary of Jnana-sambandha. Of the traditional lists referred to, the most shining example is the one found in Param-jyoti's *Tiru-Vilaiyadal Puranam*, but none of the lists can be traced more than three or four centuries back with any certainty. Even a casual perusal of Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri's book on the Pandyas shows that as early as the eighth or the ninth century A.D. it had become difficult for the genealogists of the Pandyan court to frame a succession list of the Pandyan kings which was even approximately correct. Why then lay stress on a tradition which is far from reliable and why exalt it over other evidence not so nebulous or suspect?

As against the succession lists, it is instructive to turn to the *Tiru-Vilaiyadal Puranam* of Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi which might belong to about 1300 A.D. In narrating the Manikya-vacaka legend, Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi makes the Pandya king who was Manikya-vacaka's master allude to a miracle performed by Siva for the saint Sirut-tondar,¹ who is said to be referred to by Jnana-sambandha in one of his hymns as his contemporary. In the judgment of Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi, the poet Manikya-vacaka was not earlier than the Tevaram hymnists and his opinion is certainly entitled to greater weight than that of persons who came much later. His is the earliest of the works embodying the Manikya-vacaka legend and it is strange that later works should be considered more authoritative even though it is admitted that they 'are not perhaps very valuable to the historian'.

The only other contention of Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri which need be considered is that Manikya-vacaka is referred to by Sundara, one of the Tevaram Trio, in his *Tirut-Tondat-Tohai*, for which he relies on the arguments of Mr. Sesha-Aiyar: here again he does not even advert to the able refutation

¹ தொல்லை மா மன்ன னெந்தை சுத்தனா லிருப்ப வேடன்.

பல்லுறு மிறைச்சி நஞ்சம் பாலக னிறைச்சி யம்மை

நல்ல பிட் டயிலக் கண்டே நல்லடி யார்க்கு நல்லான்

மேல் லியல் பாக னல்லால் யாருளரேன லிடந்தான்.

of Srinivasa-Pillai. Perhaps, Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri did not think it necessary to explore fully how far Nambi-Andar Nambi and his successors are reliable. To justify his want of faith in the facts they record, Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri has lighted on 'the case of another saint', Serut-tunai, mentioned in the *Tirut-Tondat-Tohai* of Sundara. The argument is developed thus: 'This saint is referred to by Sundaramurti, as a king of Tanjore, *Tanjai-mannavan*. Nambi-Andar Nambi makes no mention of his having been a king at all evidently because in his days nothing was known about such a ruler of Tanjore. And a little later, Sek-kilar in his *Periya Puranam* actually makes a rich cultivator. ..of this king of Tanjore. It is thus clear that Nambi-Andar Nambi and his successors were not always able to interpret Sundaramurti correctly and there is therefore nothing unnatural in supposing that they went wrong over the interpretation of a phrase of Sundara which is alleged to be a reference to Manikya-vacaka. Now, this Serut-tunai is the saint who sliced off a queen's nose for the offence she had committed of smelling a flower intended for the Lord. Both Nambi-Andar Nambi and Sek-kilar agree that he was a native of Tanjai (Tanjore) of the Maruhal sub-division and Sek-kilar adds that he was a devotee of the Lord at Tiru-Arur. A well-known book¹ would have shown that in the periods for which inscriptions are abundant the city now known as Tanjore was not included in the Maruhal sub-division and that a sub-division of the same name covered areas adjacent to Tiru-Arur. Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri cannot be unaware that the hymnists Tiru-Navukku-Arasu and Jnana-sambandha have sung hymns on the Lord at a village called Tiru-Maruhal and that the village stands about ten miles north-east of Tiru-Arur. On these facts, the inference would have been justified that Serut-tunai's Tanjore is not the well-known city of that name which lies about thirty-five miles west of Tiru-Arur but is the village lying north-east of Tiru-Arur and not much more than ten miles away. A little further enquiry would have

¹ *SII.*, ii. (Intr.)

revealed the fact that almost due south of Tiru-Marubal and only three miles off—that is, about seven miles north-east of Tiru-Arur—there stands a village bearing the name East Tanjore (Kilat-Tanjavur) and that the village plumes itself on having had Serut-tunai for one of its distinguished citizens. Perhaps, Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri fell into this error as he assumed that there could be only one Tanjore and that Sundara had styled Serut-tunai a king. Terms such as the one used by Sundara to describe Serut-tunai's occupation apply not only to kings but also to much lowlier persons such as headmen of villages or other minor celebrities.¹ The statements of Sundara, Nambi-Andar Nambi and Sekkilar and also local tradition would all have stood reconciled if only Serut-tunai had been taken to have been a notability of Kilat-Tanjavur instead of being elevated to the throne of the Cholas. Now that the only instance offered in proof of the dictum that 'continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite possible with a break in secular historical tradition' has proved a broken reed, we shall await other evidence in support of the generalization.

Let us now turn to a consideration of Mr. Sankara's contribution. Short as his article is, he has drawn into the discussion a large number of difficult and unsolved problems of South Indian history: on all those points he pronounces facile *ipse dixit*s and on a series of such decisions he bases his conclusions about Manikya-vacaka's date. To traverse his arguments is an impossibility within the limits of an article: the task would require almost a treatise. It should be enough for our present purpose to investigate Mr. Sankara's methods and outlook as evidenced by the article now under consideration.

¹ The word is மன்னவன். Jnana-sambandha, a mere Brahman, is called காழியர் மன்னன், கழமல நகர் இறை, கழமல மாநகர்த் தவ்வன், சண்பைமன், etc., in the last stanzas of his hymns, and he is called பிரமா புர நகர் மன்னன் by Nambi-Andar Nambi in his *Aludaiyapillaiyar Tiru-Andadi*, 2, and சண்பையர் காவலன் in his *Tiruc-Sambai Viruttam*. The similar word கோன், for instance, is used for 'king' as well as for 'lord' or 'master' or 'headman'. The author of the Tamil *Kanakku-Adiharam* is called கோலுக்கையர் கோமான் புத்தன் புதல்வன் காரி யென்பவனே.

He contends that Manikya-vacaka refers to the miracle of the transformation, but he does not even notice that Manikya-vacaka nowhere alludes to the miracle of the re-transformation: is not an allusion to it necessary if we are to repose confidence in the traditional accounts of his life? He accepts legends set out in the *Tiru-Vilaiyadal Puranam* of the 'thirteenth century' A.D. to determine the outlines of the life of a saint whom he would assign to the seventh century A.D. and he accepts succession lists of the Pandyas which became popular about the sixteenth century to determine the chronological position of that saint. At the same time, he brushes aside these authorities when he finds it necessary to take the saint to Kerala at the dictation of a tradition of doubtful age and authority. To fix the date of the building of a temple which he admits was in existence about 600 A.D. he relies on the statement of a writer a full thousand years later. He accepts without demur the authorities which would appear to embody a tradition of a single Sangham—a tradition of late origin except for a very doubtful reference in one of the Sinnamanur grants—and he does not ask himself whether those authorities do really negative the possibility of other Sanghams having existed: he does not even allude to the other tradition of the three Sangams which was current from about 850 A.D. and he does not consider those very authorities when it comes to a question of deciding whether the poets of the Sangham were devotees of Siva without exception. He accepts the tale that surrounds the *Tiru-Valluva-Malai*, but he does not ask himself how old the tale is and on what authority it rests. He takes Nambi-Andar Nambi and Sek-kilar to be fairly reliable authorities but he would ignore them when they fail to make Jnana-sambandha, Seraman-Perumal and Nedu-Maran the contemporaries of the poets of the Sangham or Sanghams: he does not even suggest how such reliable authorities happened to err on this point. He accepts the traditional biography of Pattanattupillai when it makes him the preceptor of Bharthhari without even hinting that while Bharthhari lived about 650 A.D. the

author of the traditional biography of Pattanattup-pillai does not seem to have been earlier than about 1600 A.D.; nor does he allude to the tradition that Pattanattup-pillai's son was Arunagirinatha, a poet of the fifteenth century A.D. Nor does Mr. Sankara mention even that one of the biographies states that Sendanar was the contemporary of Pattanattup-pillai and that he has been assigned to the opening years of the eleventh century A.D.¹

Is it any wonder then that such methods lead him to varying conclusions? Down to about 1923, Mr. Sankara was of the opinion that the Sangham age was in the second century A.D.²; in January 1924 he said that the 'Sangham age must date 500 to 650 A.D.'³ but three months later he declared that 'all theories assigning to the Sangham age a date later than the third century A.C. must now be given up.'⁴ In 1931 he is convinced that it lay between 650 and 700 A.D.

The outlook and the methods of Prof. Nilakantha-Sastri and Mr. Sankara in regard to this problem are almost similar. Neither of them, in appraising a tradition, takes note of its age or persistence or the sources from which it springs, nor traces the tradition back through the centuries to its origin and examines how far, considering its birth and history, it is worthy of credence. Both of them read more into a literary piece than the words warrant and do not look into the context in which the words are set. Instead of starting a fresh discussion from the point to which previous discussion had brought us—except when a new interpretation of the facts is attempted—both of them on two vital points ignore the arguments and the conclusions of other scholars which prove inconvenient obstacles with the inevitable result that their conclusions prove scarcely tenable.

A different solution of the Manikya-vacaka problem might perhaps be suggested. Legends of the miracle of the

¹ *ST.* (1904), iii, 358-362.

² *QJMS.*, (1917 Oct.), viii, 60; (1920 Oct.), xi, 74, 83; *MCCM.*, (1919 Oct.), xxxvii, 134.

³ *QJMS.*, (1921 Jan.), xiv, 124.

⁴ *Ibid.*, (1924 Ap.), xiv, 242.

metamorphosis, the Lord appearing as a cavalier and the Lord carrying earth must have been current even before Tiru-Navakku-Arasu and, in those days, they bore no allusion to Manikya-vacaka. Like the other hymnists, Manikya-vacaka too glorified the Lord for His many miracles but so fascinated was he by a few of the miracles, including those specified above, that he referred to them over and over again in his psalms. In the three or four centuries that perhaps lay between Manikya-vacaka and Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi a tradition must have grown up connecting those miracles and Manikya-vacaka—based on the circumstance of his being the only hymnist who has so insistently referred to those miracles—and the belief must have grown up that he would not have done so had they not been enacted for his benefit. Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi does not help us to discover the age or the reign in which the miracles were worked but he makes the nameless king who was Manikya-vacaka's master refer to Sirut-tondar : Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi must, therefore, have thought that Manikya-vacaka was not earlier than Sirut-tondar and his contemporary Jnana-sambandha. When Param-jyoti or the author of the *Halasya Mahatmya* recounted these legends, he must have noticed the reference in a hymn of Tiru-Navukku-Arasu to the legend of the transformation and must have concluded that the miracle, and with it Manikya-vacaka, must have preceded Tiru-Navukku-Arasu and, consequently, Jnana-sambandha. While Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi was wholly indifferent to chronology, Param-jyoti was bent on evolving a chronological scheme for the miracles and, having regard to the facts before him, he placed Manikya-vacaka earlier in the time-scheme than Jnana-sambandha. The only objection to his arrangement was the view of Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi but Param-jyoti must have thought that the wholly unchronological Perum-Parrap-Puliyur Nambi was not a safe guide on questions of historical sequence.

MANISM.

BY M. A. SHUSTERY, ESQ.

WHILE Mithraism and Christianity were yet opposed to each other as two rival religions in Europe and Asia, the Romans attacked Seleucia and destroyed that city, the last stronghold of Greek culture in the East. Hence afterwards Aramaic became the *lingua franca* in Western Asia, particularly when King Abgar of Osroene was converted to Christianity and made that language the medium for the Christian literature. During this period religious and political revolutions took place in Persia. Balash or Volagases the Third caused the collection and edition of the long neglected Avesta. In the revival of Zoroastrianism princes of South Persia took the leading part, specially the family of Papak whose son Artaxerxes defeated Artabanus, the last Parthian emperor, and founded a new dynasty which lasted for over four hundred years. In the West though Christianity was gaining ground, Mithraism itself was undergoing important modifications. It was becoming a mixture of Neo-Pythagoreanism, Judaism and Mithraism and other cults of Eastern Europe and Western Asia. Christian gnostics such as Marcionites believed in the existence of two principles between which was a third intermediate one—a mixture of good and bad who was the creator of the world. The origin of the human soul was divine but entangled in the material world. In order to release the soul “full goodness” sent his son Jesus, whose task was to destroy other “full evil” and the creator of the material world. Valentinians believed that Jesus was an emanation of the Supreme Being. Ophitas of Egypt taught that the material world was created in opposition to the will of God; that the divine Christ was united with Jesus the man, to destroy the empire of evil. It was during this chaos and great upheaval of religious thought that Mani whose mother was a Parthian princess and whose father named Patak or Papak was a respectable gentleman of Hamadan (in North-West Persia) was born in a village named “Mardinu” situated

near Ctesiphon, the then capital of the Persian Empire, during the reign of Artapavana (Artabanus), the last of the Parthian kings, in about 215 A.D. He received a careful education and was brought up in the capital. At an early age he completed the study of astronomy, medicine, ancient philosophy, fine arts and music. Like other great Iranian saints, authors and reformers, such as Alberuni, Nasir Khusroe, Sadi and Rumi, he had made long journeys in search of knowledge. He had travelled in Transoxiana, Western China and perhaps India. According to one tradition, he received his first revelation at the age of thirteen, and proclaimed his new religion when he was about twenty-five or thirty years old. He gained many followers which naturally roused jealousy and hatred in the hearts of Zoroastrian priests, who next to the king were wielding great power in the country. They persuaded and induced the reigning king who was rather well disposed towards the young reformer to stop his further progress. Shahpur arrested and put him in prison, but after his death his son and successor Hormazd set him free. This freedom he did not enjoy long, for Hormazd died after a short reign of one year, and the new king Bahram again arrested and caused him to be crucified in the year 276-77 A.D. Thus died the first great historical reformer of Persia, who, as Mr. A. Bevan says, "had originality of conception which entitled him to be regarded as a genius of the first order". He lived for about sixty years and his missionary activity lasted for over thirty years. His followers were fiercely persecuted both by Zoroastrians in Persia and Christians in the Roman Empire and therefore were forced to take refuge in Transoxiana, Chinese Turkistan and even India.

His Philosophy:—Though deep and original it is presented in a dogmatic and mythical form and for a superficial reader it appears to be crude and illogical. His dualism is uncompromising but definite and positive. He believed that light and darkness are two elements opposite in nature. That the visible world and human existence which have the characteristics

of constantly changing are mixtures of light and darkness. In other words he was expounding the theory of Sankhya philosophy in Babylonian style and Persian language. He illustrates his philosophical views in a cosmological myth. That darkness which he thought a feminine principle was stationed below and light above. Darkness gave birth to evil who invaded the dominion of the light. The King of Light created primal man to repel the invasion. Primal man was vanquished and saved from complete defeat through the timely help of the King of Light, but lost a portion of his light elements which mingled with the darkness. To rescue this imprisoned portion of light, the King of Light created the Universe. In brief Mani's philosophy is based upon two eternal, independent opposite elements, which you may call light and darkness or Spirit and Matter. That worldly existence is material and evil but contains sparks of light. Human beings should strive to release themselves from the bondage of darkness or matter by abstaining from anything material. But in the Zoroastrian doctrine, the world with its living things is a creation of Ahuramazda and hence good in its nature. It becomes evil when Ahriman creates sin, misery and death. Therefore, man should not abstain from worldly pleasures but enjoy them in such a way as to prevent all Ahrimanic mischief in them. Zoroaster's view is optimistic while Mani is a pessimist. Zoroaster asks us to face and overcome the evil while Mani teaches to us to renounce the world. In formulating his ethics Mani has assigned twelve virtues to Light. They are the following :— Wisdom, Meekness, Fidelity, Faith, Love, Mystery, Understanding, Knowledge, Benevolence, Insight, Space (or Heaven of Light) and the Earth of Light. A similar number of vices should have been assigned to darkness. Again the Earth of Light contains five elements, *viz.*, mild breeze, cooling wind, bright light, quickening fire and clear water. The same number is found in the Earth of Darkness. That is mist, heat, gloomy darkness, scorching blast and vapour.

Mani's Religion :—A series of divine revelations have been made and wisdom conveyed from time to time to humanity by the messengers of God. Such were Zoroaster in Persia, Buddha in India, Christ in Western Asia and finally Mani himself the last prophet in Mesopotamia. His opinion about Jesus is very confusing and contradictory. His true Christ is the primal man whom God created out of his own substance and sent to the world of Darkness to release the imprisoned souls. Christ was not in need of food nor could he suffer death. He had a shadowy form as of a human being and hence his apparent crucifixion had no truth. Mani was opposed to the teachings of the Old Testament and was anti-Jewish to the extent of even condemning Moses and other Judaic prophets. Emancipation is possibly liberation of soul or the luminous element from the dark (material) element. He believed that worldly existence was an evil and therefore asceticism or renunciation of all worldly pleasures was necessary. Man's outer self is dark, wicked and criminal from which he should strive to release his inner self, the spark of light by repentance and abstinence. He thought that a number of souls are of luminous substance and hence strong enough to release themselves easily ; others weak and hence should go through a longer process. And yet there are bodies not containing any light in them. These after their death have no salvation and remain for ever united with the darkness. This division of the human souls has resemblance to the Satva, Rajas and Tamas of Indian philosophy. On this basis, he divides humanity into three classes :— (1) The Elect, (2) The Hearers, and (3) the Wicked. The Elect are those who are capable of practising the teaching of renunciation. They are called "Siddiqin" and again in themselves are divided into three grades. They had to abstain from certain things which he named "Seals". The first Seal was abstinence from flesh and certain other kinds of food and drinks. They had to live upon food given by the Hearers. They were prohibited from killing animals or injuring a green plant or cutting twigs or even to pluck

fruits. They were forbidden to acquire wealth and property. They could not store for themselves more than one day's food and one year's clothing. They had to live in celibacy because according to Mani sexual relations strengthen evil propensities. The higher grades of Elect were called Moalammin (Teachers), Mushammasun (Administrators) and Qissiseen (Elders), corresponding to the Christian grades of Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops. There were twelve Elders and seventy-two Administrators and a comparatively larger number of Teachers. There was one supreme head to whom others were subordinate and who used to be elected by them. Hearers or ordinary followers of Mani, were permitted to marry, to enjoy the pleasures of life and even to eat flesh. They had to respect and help the Elect who were their teachers and guides in religion and they had also to follow the commandments of Mani, that is, to abstain from idol worship, falsehood, covetousness, murder, theft, magic, fornication, hypocrisy, neglect of duties in daily life and to believe in the four supreme essences, that is, King of Light or God, His light, power and wisdom. The Manists had to pray four or seven times in the day facing towards the sun where the primal man and pure spirits were supposed to live and carry on the work of the redemption of humanity or towards the moon where the mother of life was seated or towards the north the abode of life. They had to fast seven days in each month also; Sunday was the fasting day for the Hearers and Monday for the Elect. Thus about a fourth of the year used to pass in fasting. Ablution was necessary before each prayer.

Salvation :—The Elect who lead a pure life, after death, ascend to the moon, and passing from other luminous regions, their souls are carried by the Angels to the paradise of pitarevazarg (great father). The Hearer's soul had to be purified and undergo a longer process before joining the souls of the Elect. Prayers were addressed to the God of Light, Kingdom of Light, Angels and Mani himself in the style of Babylonian hymns.

End of the World :—The object of human life was to separate the light (the inner self) from darkness or the physical self and when this was done the necessity of a worldly existence was no more. The end is a complete separation of light from darkness the first remaining above and the second below.

Mani's Known Works :—According to Alberuni and other Muhammadan writers Mani and his successors had composed a considerable quantity of literature on religion. The following are said to have been written by Mani himself. The medium of language was Pahlavi or Syriac. When the seat of the Chief Bishop was transferred to Samarkand, Turko-Iranian dialects also were used :—

(1) *Sifrul-Israr* (the book of secrets) in which a description of various Christian sects and conception of the Old and New Testaments was given.

(2) *Sifrul-Jababerah* (the book of Tyrants or Demons).

(3) *Kitabul-hadye-vat-tadbir* (the book of guidance and precept) in which fundamental principles of Manism were explained for the Hearers. This book was translated into Greek and Latin for those Manists who lived in Europe and Africa.

(4) *Shahpurgan* : The name signifies that it was dedicated to Shahpur, the reigning king in which a description of the delivered souls and those associated with darkness including heaven (which was supposed to be flat) is given.

(5) The book of activity.

(6) The book of unknown contents.

(7) The book of Mani's twelve gospels—on prayer and the invented alphabet of Mani.

(8) Other small treatises.

Rise and Fall of Manism :—Babylon, which was situated very close to Ctesiphon, the capital of the Persian Empire, was the earliest seat of Manism where his successors resided. In spite of fierce persecution by the Christians in the West and by the Zoroastrians in the East, Manism made considerable progress and found many followers. Among the

noteworthy converts were Prince Piruz, brother of the King Shahpur and the celebrated Augustine in the West. Nevertheless Manism was a failure in Persia. The reasons will follow. Mani's appearance was simultaneous with the rise of a new dynasty whose rulers were characterized by fresh vigour, aggressiveness of policy and imperialistic ambition. The Persians were at the height of their military glory. Their armies were victorious everywhere and a doctrine of strong asceticism with broad cosmopolitan views could not be welcome. After the fall of the Sassanian Empire its successors the Arabs treated all non-Muslims of Persia alike. Perhaps they could not make any distinction between a Manist or Zoroastrian. In the meanwhile a large number of Persians were converted to Muhammadanism. Among the converts some had an honest conviction and others apparently professed Islam but adhered to their old belief. Mahdi the third Abbasid Khalif thought it a great danger to the Muslim community. Unfortunately Manists like the followers of other future religious movements in Persia, such as Sheism and Bahaism, were permitted to conceal their views. The reason for such precaution was the intolerant spirit of their countrymen. According to the author of the important Pahlavi work known as "Sikand gumanigvijar" (doubt dispelling explanation) dated ninth century A.D. the Manists had secret societies and esoteric circles where laymen whom they could rely on were admitted and arguing on religious questions gradually were converted to Manism. This usage was reported in an exaggerated way to the Arab rulers. Mahdi and his successors took strong measures and deported, imprisoned and killed a large number of new converts and even some Arabs who were suspected of being Manists. Such men were called "Zindig" a corrupt form of the word "Siddiqin" which meant "Elect" among the Manists. During this period most of the Manists took refuge in distant countries; some even migrated to India and Chinese Turkestan. Manism survived in Central Asia up to the rise of the Mongols when finally its followers were wiped out of existence. Mongols

slaughtered wholesale both Muslim and Manist. In the fifteenth century A.D. Manists are said to have been found in Malabar and even in Ceylon.

Causes of Failure :—

(1) Its strong ascetic teaching at a time when it was not suited to the political and social conditions of Persia.

(2) Its peace-loving features.

(3) Its cosmopolitan views when the Persians were most militant and imperialistic.

(4) Its readiness to adapt itself to the local conditions and circumstances.

*Manism and Zoroastrianism :—*Like Zoroastar, Mani believed in two eternal and hostile forces of light and darkness but Zoroastar's conception is inclined towards monotheism making Ahura much superior to and more real than Ahriman, whereas Mani's dualism is uncompromising and hence more decided. Zoroastar assigns seven Assistants or Amesha Spentas to Ahura but Mani who was an astronomer preferred the number twelve. Zoroastar's religion was national and Mani's universal. Zoroastar believed in holy war and aggressiveness in the cause of his religion but Mani wanted peace and persuasion. Zoroastar condemned asceticism, fasting and all unworldly acts, whereas Mani advocated the opposite course. His Elect were forbidden even to injure noxious insects or reptiles which was foreign to the teaching of Zoroastar. Mani believed material existence to be an evil and sought salvation through the suppression of the bodily desires, but Zoroastar taught that the world is good and in material life man can find the means of spiritual development. Instead of annihilating he should regulate his worldly desires. Zoroastar had reconciled and harmonized the material with the spiritual life but Mani made a decided separation irreconcilable.

*Buddhism and Manism :—*There are certain similarities between the two though in essence they are quite independent of each other. Manism is Aryan in spirit but Semitic in form. Both take a pessimistic view of life but their arguments proceed on completely different lines. Buddhist

asceticism seeks to stop physical activity with a view to breaking the chain of "Karma" but Mani's asceticism is to release the atoms of light mixed with darkness. Both Buddhism and Manism based their ethics on a two-fold morality, one for the Elect and another for the ordinary followers. In both religious priests live on charity given by householders. There is a wheel of Karma among Buddhists and so too with Manists but Mani's wheel is made up of the twelve constellations of the Zodiac each representing a bucket drawing and pouring the released portion of light from the darkness into the sun and the moon, the two great reservoirs of light. Buddha is silent about the soul while Mani has paid full attention to it. On the other hand Mani is silent on the theory of transmigration. Mani's views are poetical and metaphysical but Buddha's are ethical and psychological. On the whole Mani's system of philosophy has more in common with the Sankhya School of Indian thought.

Manism and Islam :— Both have a fixed number of daily prayers, and prostration and ablution before prayer. The Manist had to fast seven days in a month and similarly in early Islam Muslims had to fast three days which was changed afterwards into one month each year. Like the Manist the Muslim believed the human soul to be a combination of light and darkness, as the author of *Akhlaq-e-Jalali* says "In essence the soul is light mixed with darkness". Mani recognizing past revelation called himself the Seal or the last messenger of God. So did Muhammad. Mani rejects all the Semitic prophets and Muhammad is silent about Aryan reformers. Both believed that the true Christ was not crucified. Both were strongly opposed to image worship. Muhammad's doctrine was Semitic both in thought and language but Mani's external Semitic appearance contains an inner Aryan mind. Both have given similar names to a number of angels such as Gabriel, Michael, Sarael, etc., but Muhammad's are Semitic and Mani has added Persian names, such as Naresaf, Paredun, Zævan, etc. Muhammad's attitude like that of Zoroaster is militant and aggressive but Mani like Buddha and Christ is quiet and peace-loving.

Christianity and *Manism* have a close resemblance in several points such as baptism, communion, immortality and initiation. Mani believed in renunciation and ahimsa (harmlessness) as the highest virtues but Christianity teaches love and self-sacrifice as the noblest ideals. In both there are grades of priests with one supreme head; but Mani's Elect had no sacerdotal functions. Mani's Christ is pure light, imperishable and hence eternal; whereas the Jesus of Christianity is both man and god in entirety. Both taught the doctrine of redemption but in different ways.

Summary.—It is an Aryan religion expounded in Semitic style and language. It has many points in common with Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity but on careful study we understand that it is quite independent of all and has its own characteristic features. It spread over many parts of Asia, Europe and Africa and considerably influenced Christianity and Islam. In both these religions were found men who at heart were Manist. In brief Mani taught a life of strict morality through abstinence from worldly pleasures. He failed not because there was any defect in his teaching but because the human mind of his age could not be lifted up to the height of his ideal.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. XXXVI.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Lohta Naga Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the
Plaintive Call Note of the Bengal Green Pigeon.]

THE Bengal Green Pigeon (*Crocopus phœnicopterus*) is known in Hindi as *Hariāl* and in Assamese as *Hāi thā* or *Bor Hāi thā*. To the Nagas of the Naga Hills, it is known as *Indingu*. This bird is found at the base of the Himalayas from Oudh to Assam and is extremely common in Bengal and Bihar. Its colouration may be described as follows:—"Forehead to the eye, lores, chin and throat *greenish yellow*. Cran to nape, upper cheeks and ear-coverts ash-grey. Hind neck bright chrome followed by a band of pure grey. The remainder of upper plumage, wing-coverts and inner most secondaries yellowish olive-green. Upper tail-coverts the same, but sometimes tinged with grey. Tail above grey with basal band of olive-yellow. Greater wing-coverts and secondaries boldly edged with yellow forming a conspicuous bar. Centre of abdomen, vent and thighs yellow with deep green-grey centres."

These Bengal Green Pigeons frequent open but well-wooded countries and are common in gardens. Usually they remain on the plains but are sometimes lured into deep forests by the abundance of some favourite berries and fruits. They have regular hunting-grounds. The excellence of the flesh renders them a great table-delicacy. Their call-notes are most beautiful soft whistles, very much like the whistle of a human being. They feed on all kinds of fruit, especially those of the various fig-trees and grains.

The Lohta Nagas are a Mongoloid tribe living in the Naga Hills of the North-Eastern Frontier of India. They inhabit a tract of territory that may be roughly described as the drainage area of the Middle and Lower Doyang River and its tributaries down to the point where it debouches into the plains.

These Lohta Nagas must be familiar with the Green Pigeon and its call-notes and have therefore fabricated the under-mentioned myth to account for the origin of the plaintive call-notes of the Bengal Green Pigeon :—

In the far off times when birds and rats and squirrels could talk to one another, the Bengal Green Pigeon (*Crocopus phœnicopterus*) sold her young one to the squirrel (*Sciurus palmarum*) in exchange for three nuts. The Green Pigeon said to the squirrel : "Give me three nuts and, in lieu thereof, you may take this young one of mine." Thereupon the squirrel took the chick but gave the Green Pigeon two good nuts and one which was devoid of a kernel. When the Bengal Green Pigeon took away the nuts and cracked them, he found that two were good and one had no kernel in it. He, therefore, went to give them back to the squirrel and said to him : "Take back your nuts and return me my young one."

The squirrel was, at that time, roasting the chick and watching the fat that was dripping with a hissing noise into the fire. Addressing the Green Pigeon, he said, "Here is your young one. Take it." Saying this, he handed the chick to the Bengal Green Pigeon. When the latter saw what had happened to his chick, he would not take it; but went away uttering loud lamentations : "O, O, *akaw, akaw ow*." It is for this reason that the Bengal Green Pigeon upto this time, cries : O, O, *akaw, akaw ow*.¹

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(1) The Lohta Nagas are accurate observers of bird-life and are charmed by the soft and mellifluous call-note of the Bengal Green Pigeon.

(2) In fact, so exact are their observations of the habits of this Green Pigeon that their rendering of the call-note of this bird, namely, "O, O, *akaw, akaw ow*", is a very correct transliteration of the natural tones of this bird.

¹ Vide the article entitled : "Folk-Stories in Lohta Naga." By J. Pilliks, I.C.S., published in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal N.S.*, Vol. XXII, (1926), No. 5, pp. 315—17.

(3) The system of barter or exchange of goods is prevalent among the Lohta Nagas.

(4) An over-abundance of the feelings of filial affection is foreign to the nature of the Lohta Nagas, because, for worldly advantages or for substantial gains, they can barter away their own children.

(5) The Lohta Nagas appear to be over-sensitive to feelings of grief, for they have represented the Bengal Green Pigeon as being overwhelmed with grief when he got back his chick dead.

(6) The Lohta Nagas appear to be fond of the delicate meat of the Bengal Green Pigeon, for they have depicted the squirrel as having roasted the chick of this bird most likely for food. [In this point, the Lohta Nagas are wrong, for squirrels are graminivorous mammals.]

(7) The Lohta Nagas appear to be devoid of the sense of justice. The Lohta Naga myth-maker ought to have meted out condign punishment to the wicked squirrel for having practised deception and given a bad nut in lieu of a good one to the Green Pigeon. He ought also to have awarded some sort of solatium to the Green Pigeon for the loss of his chick.

(8) Like all other races of Nagas, the Lohta Nagas also do not possess the conception of there being a line of demarcation between mammals and birds on the one hand and human beings on the other. To them a mammal or a bird is as good as a human being, for the primitive Lohta Naga myth-maker has made the Bengal Green Pigeon talk like a human being with the squirrel and has represented them as entering into a commercial transaction by means of barter.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS.

No. XIV.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On an Ancient Indian Ætiological Myth about
the Evolution of the Palasa-Tree.]*

THE Palāsa-tree (*Butea frondosa*), which belongs to the Order *Leguminosæ*, is otherwise known as the Downy-branched Butea. Its Sanskrit name is *Kinsuka*, in Bengali it is known as *Palāsa* and, in Hindi, as *Dhāk*. In the Dakhini language, it is also called *Palāsa*. In Tamil, it is known as *Parrā-maram*. In Telugu, it is called *Tella-moduga* and, in Burmese as *Pouk-pin*.

It is a small tree bearing deep purple flowers. It grows all over India. Dr. Hooker states that, "When in flower the Dhāk-tree is a gorgeous sight; the masses of flowers resembling sheets of flames, their bright orange-red petals contrasting brilliantly against the jet-black velvety calyx." The dried flowers, which are called *tecu*, are used as a yellow dye. The bark of this tree is also used for colouring blue and for purposes of tanning. A beautiful ruddy-tinted astringent gum is also obtained from the bark of this tree. This gum was, at one time, supposed to be the Kino of commerce, and is now frequently substituted for it. The seeds of this tree are a powerful anthelmintic which can very advantageously be substituted for santomine; the gum is used in dysentery and diarrhoea; the flowers are administered to *enceinte* women in cases of diarrhoea and applied externally in orchitis. Arugh cordage is prepared from its root-bark which is also used for manufacturing paper. It is reported that its seeds are eaten in famine-time.

As this tree grows all over India, it is very likely that it also grows in the Punjab and the extreme north-western

* This paper deals with the same subject as that treated of in my "*Studies in Plant-Myths, No. IX.*"—which was lost in the press. This paper should, therefore, be taken as the substitute for the lost one.

frontiers of India, which were first occupied by the Indo-Aryans on their entry into India. These early Aryan settlers in India were thus acquainted with this tree and were charmed by the gorgeously coloured flowers thereof. In fact, they were so much moved by the beauty of its flowers, that they fabricated the undermentioned myth to account for its evolution. It is as follows :—

Once upon a time, the gods requested the goddess Gāyatrī to go to the celestial regions and bring the Soma-wine for Indra. Disguising herself as an eagle, Gāyatrī started on her quest for the sacred creeper which grew upon a celestial mountain named Mūjavana. On her arrival in the celestial regions she found that the creeper was growing in a place which was carefully guarded by sentries. But, notwithstanding this, she eluded their vigilance and, seizing the creeper with her eagle's beak, flew away therefrom uttering cries. Attracted by her cries, one of the sentries named Krishānu discovered the goddess as she was stealing away the valuable plant and shot an arrow at her deityship. But the bolt missed its mark but, striking the creeper, knocked one of the leaves from off the vine. This leaf fell upon the mundane region below and grew up into the Palāsa-tree with its bunches of crimson flower.* It might be stated here that there are three variants of this ancient Indian ætiological myth, which bear a striking similarity to the Greek myth of Prometheus's stealing fire from heaven. The first version is contained in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*. The second one is to be found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*. The third variant is contained in the *Rigveda*. The *Aitareya* version narrates that the Soma-creeper grew in the region occupied by the Gandharvas who kept company with the celestial nymphs. The gods, knowing this weakness of the Gandharvas, transformed a goddess into a damsel of exquisite beauty and obtained the Soma-vine from them in exchange for her. But in the *Satapatha* version, we find it stated that the goddess

* For this myth, *vide Indian Nature Myths*. By Shovonā Devi. London, Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1919, page 28.

Gāyatrī succeeded in carrying off the Soma-plant but was overtaken by the Gandharvas into whose possession it fell. But it was subsequently obtained from them by the same stratagem as has been described above. But the myth, as given in the *Rigveda*, states that the goddess Gāyatrī, assuming the guise of an eagle, carried off the Soma-vine from the celestial regions. There is still another variant of the myth which is known as the story of Garuḍa and the Moon-bowl of Nectar, the Sanskrit word meaning both Moon and the Soma-vine.

From a study of the foregoing ætiological myth, we find that—

(1) The ancient Indo-Aryans were keen and accurate observers of nature and were attracted by the conspicuous foliage and flowers of the Palāsa-tree.

(2) They also possessed fine æsthetic sensibility and were, therefore, charmed by and appreciated the gorgeous and beautiful colouration of the flowers of this tree.

(3) As they were ignorant of the laws of biology, they could not scientifically account for the formation of gorgeous colouring of its flowers. They, therefore, fabricated the foregoing myth to account for its evolution.

(4) The leaf of the Soma-vine, which was knocked off by the arrow and fell upon the earth, was miraculously metamorphosed into the Palāsa-tree.

(5) Most likely, some ruddy-hued sap of the creeper also fell upon the earth and was similarly metamorphosed into the gorgeous crimson-coloured flower of the tree.

(6) We also find therefrom that the gods and goddesses of the Hindu Pantheon resorted to deception and treachery to attain their selfish ends and aims.

REVIEWS.

Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for 1929.

(Published by the Kern Institute, Leyden.)

THIS Bibliography is complete particularly with regard to publications appearing in India. We are glad that the effort of the publishers is supported by the enlightened policy of the Imperial Government of India and the Government of the Dutch Indies. We congratulate the authorities of the Kern Institute in having been able to obtain from that veteran French Indologist, Mon. Sylvain Lévi, a fascinating account of his great discovery at the Barabudur (Borobudur) in 1928, and to secure from Dr. Victor Goloubew a lucid description of the excavations conducted by him at Angkor and Annam; we congratulate the Institute for these and for a sketch of the archæological explorations carried out in Ceylon. Other matters of interest dealt with in the introduction relate to the researches and discoveries in Baluchistan, Kurdistan and Luristan. We deplore with the editor, Dr. Vogel, that it has not been possible to include in this volume, short notes on the excavations at Mohenjodaro, Taxila, Nalanda, Nagarjuna Konda and elsewhere. But it may be permissible to point out that within the space of an introduction to an annual bibliography, it will not always be possible to give an exhaustive introduction on these topics. Further, as they are dealt with in detail, in the memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, anything more than barely drawing attention to these leading topics will be hardly necessary. S. S.

Tolkappiyam.

(WITH A SHORT COMMENTARY IN ENGLISH.)

BY P. S. SUBRAMANIA SASTRI, M.A., PH.D.

*(Published by the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
Price Re. 1.)*

THIS interesting brochure is an English translation of Tolkappiyam (Volume I), the oldest Tamil grammar treating of Phonology now extant in three volumes.

The book consists of nine chapters such as நான்மரபியள், மொழிமரபியள், பிரப்பியல், குற்றியலுகரம் புணரியல், etc., all in Sutras.

The author, who is also a Sanskrit scholar, has shed much welcome light by his critical and comparative study of the old Tamil commentaries of *Ilampuranar*, *Nachinarkiniyar*, etc. He has taken great pains to explain their relative merits and demerits with the help of the *Rig*, *Taittiriya* and *Atharva Veda* Prátisákhyás together with the aid of Bharata's *Nátya Sastra*.

The author also attempts to prove that *Tolkappiyar* followed the Vedas to a great extent in writing the grammar and cites authorities in support. Further, the author has explained குறிய ல்காரம் and ஆய்தம் according to the canons of Tamil grammar, which could not be understood by Pandits versed only in Tamil. It is a matter of some regret that the author should rename even the Sutras in English as it makes the reading somewhat difficult. The transliteration in Roman characters of the Tamil Texts is useful for people unacquainted with that script. The get-up of the book is good and the price moderate. N. C.

The Kadambakula.

BY G. M. MORAES, M.A.

(Preface by Rev. H. Heras, S.J.)

(Published by B. X. Furtado & Sons, Bombay. Price Rs. 15.)

MR. G. M. MORAES is already familar to us by his 'History of Mangalore'. In this work, *Kadambakula*, he has given a scholarly and accurate account of the Kadambas, which illumines some of the dark recesses in the history of the Karnataka. It is also important as a short compendium on the political vicissitudes of the Deccan from the dawn of the Christian Era to the rise of Vijayanagar. The chapters pertaining to internal history offer new and interesting vignettes of the social and political life of the people. The chapter devoted to the architecture of the Kadambas deserves special notice, for Mr. Moraes has tried to add a new style, the Kadamba Style, to South Indian architecture, perhaps in the wake of the late Rev. Tabard who gave us the "Hoysala Style," for the most outstanding development and phase of Indian architecture.

Opinions are conflicting as regards the religion of the early Kadamba kings. It is difficult to assert whether Kalidasa visited the court of the Kadambas or of the Vakatakas. On these matters, however, unfortunately, it is not possible to subscribe to

the views contained in the book under review; for the author appears to support his theory of Kalidasa's visit to the Kadamba country on the reference to 'Kuntalesvara' but it has to be observed that the Vakatakas also had conquered parts of the Kuntala kingdom and bore that appellation.

The book is beautifully got up with fifty-six illustrations on art paper and contains a foreword by Rev. Father Heras whose scholarship and interest in South Indian history are so well known. The work of Rev. Father Heras and his collaborators in the field of historical research ought to be an example worthy of emulation elsewhere.

V. R.

The Rukminikalyana Mahakavya

OF SRI RAJACHUDAMANI DIKSHITA.

(Publishers: The Adyar Library.)

THE *Rukminikalyāna Mahākāvya* is a work of Rājachūdāmani Dikshita, the poet-laureate at the Court of Raghunath Naik of Tanjore, who was a patron of Art and Letters in the South. This Kāvya is in ten cantos of which only the first two have been published along with a gloss by Sri Bālayajnavēdēśvara. The publishers seem to have been unduly apologetic for their praiseworthy endeavour, and indeed Dr. C. Kunha Raja has written also "An Apology for Classical Poetry," as his foreword to the book. It is perhaps intended as a "vindication" of the claims of the so-called "artificial poetry," usually condemned for its use of hackneyed phrases and ideas. But Sanskrit poetry, however 'artificial', belongs to a higher species, inasmuch as the eternal, recurring problems of life have always been the subject-matter dealt with in classical literature; and it also possesses a flexibility and variety of metre and prosody, unknown to Occidental languages. Thus it could never fail in its appeal to readers of all ages and climes. The Pandits of the Adyar Library deserve the thanks of the public for bringing to light a new volume of Sanskrit Kavya.

V. R.

Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India.

NO. 42.

(AN ARCHÆOLOGICAL TOUR IN UPPER SWAT AND ADJACENT HILL TRACTS.)

BY SIR A. STEIN, K.C.I.E.

THIS memoir from the pen of that prince of explorers, Sir A. Stein, gives the results of his archæological tour undertaken in the year 1926, in that no man's land on the Indian borderland. Though Col. A. Durand was the first to penetrate this region, in the course of a political mission, he had neither the time nor the inclination to study the ancient relics, famous in the history of Buddhism. Dr. Stein's was the first attempt at investigation into these relics, the expedition being mainly archæological.

The Swat Valley (Uddyana of Yuanchwang) was a flourishing seat of Buddhism in the days of the Chinese pilgrims, and Sir Auriel found the remains of innumerable stupas in decay scattered all over the country. Hills and valleys have derived their names from one or another ruined stupa near by. A few minutes' search in the bazaars of Birkot brought to light coins belonging to the Indo-Greek and Scythian dynasties of old. Huge reliefs of Buddhist angels and kings formerly carved on the face of the rocks are often found sadly disfigured today. The damage is attributed to Mussalman bigotry.

This important tour of Dr. Stein was also utilized to locate some of the leading forts connected with Alexander's invasion. Aornos of Alexander the Great is sought to be identified with the Pir-Sar Hill Fort. The people of the Swat Valley still maintain their ancient industries of wood-carving and weaving which form their main occupation even today. Further researches in these seemingly limitless and almost virgin field of the practical archæologist are bound to be productive of fruitful results to the antiquarian.

V. R.

Taliru.

(Edited and Published by the Karnataka Sangha, Mysore.)

THIS and the other books reviewed in the following pages show how a revival of Kannada literature is taking place in the several districts of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and in the

Mysore State. They are all the more welcome as they are attempts at giving a modern touch to the language and the materials contained in them.

"Taliru" contains a collection of twenty-nine poems by twelve living authors and they are all original productions except one which is a translation of Shirley's "Death, The Leveller." Mr. K. V. Puttappa, a leading poet amongst the more youthful of the authors, has composed "Tāregalu," "Māgibarutide," "Mungāru" and "Lalitādri." His portrait of the stars is very good while his description of nature in "Lalitādri" rivets attention. Mr. T. N. Sreekantiah's "Dantada Bāchaṇṇige" is full of pathos. "Biḷimugilu" or the white clouds, "Ancheyavanu" and "Beediyoḷage Aleyuthihaḷārivaḷu" also deserve notice.

Tavare.

BY SRINIVASA.

(*Published by the Karnataka Sangha, Bangalore.*)

MR. MASTI VENKATESA IYENGAR, the author of the fourteen kavites contained in this book, is also well known by his assumed name of Srinivasa and needs no introduction. He is a master in the art of writing short simple stories and in composing elegant verses. His description of the lotus in modern Kannada verse is very appealing. In "Mambi" he depicts his pet dog in a simple and most natural manner, born of affection and primeval instinct. "Kanakadasara Kathegaḷu" are short anecdotes in blank verse, narrated in a homely way. His poems appeal to young and old, men, women and children and they are as easy to understand as they are simple to read and to get up. They are never tiresome and are welcome in picnics, holiday gatherings and at the fireside as well as at school.

Hakki Harutide, etc.

(*The Jayakarnataka Mandala, Dharwar.*)

THE Geleyara Gumpu of Dharwar are publishing a number of books every year for some time and this is one of them. It contains thirty-eight pièces selected from various modern authors, composed in a new style, following the present vogue and variations in prosody. Ambikātanayadatta's "Hakki Harutide" is an excellent poem

describing a bird soaring in high altitudes. "Chaluvina Bête" and "Chaluva Olavu" resemble the other compositions of Ananda-Kanda in beauty and imagination.

Mangana Meravanige and *Tirukara Pidugu* are two more publications of the Jayakarnataka Sangha. The "Meravanige" is a collection of short stories in the modern Kannada of Dharwar and includes a well-written story of "Fakeeravvana Punya". "Tirukara Pidugu" contains three farces in the ordinary spoken Kannada of the land from the pen of Mr. T. P. Kailasam, full of rollicking fun throughout, and a one-act play, called "Halegandu" being a pure invention and "Rayara Maduve," a description of modern Hindu society, by Krishna Kumar. All these are more or less protests against social customs and manners and full of caustic irony, sarcasm and ridicule. Even so, they form delightful reading.

Yagakshatriya Sadhu Settara Charitre.

BY KAYANGADI NANJAPPA.

WE are here given the origin, progress and development of the Sadhu Setty community in the only book on the subject available. This praiseworthy effort deserves encouragement.

Sri Bhagavadgita.

(Edited by Sri Tirupathi Trichanur Sriman Madhva
Siddhantabhivridhdhikarini Sabha. Price 0-12-0.)

THE editor Mr. Pandurangi Krishnachar gives in this book, besides the original Sanskrit text, a Kannada translation of the Gita by Sri Sesha, in easy Kannada verse. The book is well got up and deserves to be in every Hindu home. V. C.

Mandodari.

BY C. K. VENKATARAMIAH, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.

*A Kannada Drama published by the Karnataka Sahitya Prakatana
Mandira. Bangalore Press. Price Rs. 1-8-0.*

MR. C. K. VENKATARAMIAH, the talented author of 'Mandodari', needs no introduction to the Kannada reader. Mandodari, herself, is one of the reputed heroines in the Rāmāyana. In the book under review the author has tried to assimilate ideas based on

the several versions of the Rāmāyana and to introduce certain changes in the legends of Mandodari for the purposes of his drama. The epics of the Rāmāyana as well as of the Mahābhārata continue to engross the public mind till the end of time. Bhasa's *Pratimānātaka* and Vedānta-Desika's *Hamsa-Sūndara* are some noteworthy departures from the orthodox versions of the Rāmāyana. While Kālidasa follows Valmiki in his *Meghadūta* he follows Padma Purāṇa in *Raghuvamśa*. Naga-chandra of about the twelfth century has also left off the beaten path in his great Kannada work—the *Pam̐a Rāmāyana*. Mr. Venkataramiah's effort in dramatising 'Mandodari' in Kannada is quite welcome. Mandodari is no ordinary heroine in Indian legend or tradition. Hanuman's vivid description of her as given by Valmiki shows how near he was towards mistaking her for Sita: identifying her with the daughter of Janaka, he danced for joy, though he did not take long to realize his error. It is not strange therefore that Mr. Venkataramiah should attempt in his drama to clothe Mandodari with all the virtues of Sita, so that they would fain have become as it were two flowers on one stem and daughters of common parents. That feeling of oneness and endearment between the wives of two heroes about to meet in mortal combat has been very well developed and brought out by the author. He has also departed from the generally accepted canons and made Mandodari die from a shaft which is aimed at Ravana but which strikes and kills her. Further Ravana as a creation of Mr. Venkataramiah is not the tragic hero whom no destiny endures. He only desires to capture Rama and he would then deliver up Sita to him, pure and undefiled. A similar idea is expressed in the *Pam̐a Rāmāyana* (XIV. 110-119).

The language is modern and contains naturally a number of Sanskrit words generally used in Kannada literature.

S. S.

Pygambar Mahomed.

BY C. K. VENKATARAMIAH, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.

MR. C. K. VENKATARAMIAH'S work clothed in elegant literary style on the life and teachings of the prophet is welcome especially as we have no account of the Prophet in Kannada. A sketch of the founder of a religion, counting forty crores of people in its

fold, compiled from various sources, is bound to be, as it is, of absorbing interest.

While the birth of Mahomed is given as the 29th August in the year 570 of the Christian era, the commencement of the Hijira begins from the 2nd July 622 A.D. commencing from the day he reached the city of Yatrib. No reason is given why it should be so. The opposition which Mahomed met in the course of his propagandistic mission against idolatry is vividly set forth by the author. Mahomed's successes very soon made him practically the uncrowned king of Medina.

In the sixth chapter, the author deals with what made Mahomed great, the foremost characteristics being his forgiveness towards his enemies, his living the life he recommended for others, his feeling that all are one in the eye of God, his untainted honesty and his capacity to guide people in the right path.

The personality and character of the Holy Prophet is given in Chapter XIII in great detail. The spirit of Islam and its main tenets are well summed up in a separate chapter. This well written brochure deserves wide circulation.

Halliya Kathegalu.

BY C. K. VENKATARAMIAH, ESQ., M.A., LL.B.

ANOTHER literary effort of Mr. C. K. Venkataramiah consists of five short stories in Kannada depicting the life, manners and customs of the villagers, reprinted from "Rangabhumi". The author's intimate acquaintance with the life of the folk with which he deals and the language they employ in their houses are clear from the work under reference. Besides Mr. Venkataramiah is not without humour to judge from these stories. He has given us Kamalamma, Beerakka, Rangegowda, Badayi Boraiah, and Seebhannina Sastrigalu who cannot be easily forgotten.

"Garatiya Hadu" and "Bisilugudure".

(Published by the Jayakarnataka Granthamala, Dharwar.)

"GARATIYA HĀDU", the fourth publication of the Jayakarnataka Series, has 500 Tripadis dealing with domestic life with which we are all familiar, in a very realistic way. Hindu ladies

will particularly welcome these songs which they know so well and which depict their ideals of life so accurately. A glossary of unfamiliar words is given at the end.

"Bisilugudure", the second selection of short stories, is the fifth in the same series. New in tone, rather sparse in plot, the stories are yet interesting in developing character. The descriptions of Nainital and Muktiyātre may be specially mentioned.

V. C.

NOTES.

Silāditya-Vardhana or Chalukya ?

THE inscription in old Kanarese characters of the seventh century A.D. found at the village of Gaddemane (Shimoga District, Mysore State) has attracted considerable attention on account of a suggestion that it refers to the famous Harṣa of Kanouj under the name of Śilāditya. The suggestion has been accorded a mixed reception,¹ but I am sure that it would have been turned down summarily if it had been possible to point to another Śilāditya nearer Shimoga than the Vardhana of Kanouj. It may perhaps be worth while pointing out that we know of another Śilāditya,—Śryāśraya Śilāditya,—who was the son of a brother of the Chalukya King Vikramāditya I and who flourished in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. He was styled *yuvārāja* and he seems to have been the head of a province.² It is not unlikely that in his youth he was employed on the southern borders of the Chalukyan territories and fought the battle chronicled in the inscription. The fortunes of the Chalukyas at about this period in the neighbourhood of Shimoga have been such as to lend considerable support to the suggestion I am making. The question deserves detailed discussion ; but this short note commends the claims of the Chalukya-Śilāditya in preference to those of his namesake among the Vardhanas.

T. G. ARAVAMUTHIAN.

¹ *MAR*, 1923 : 30, 83 ; *JRAS*, 1926 : 487 ; *IHQ*, iii, 788-89 ; *QJMS*, xxi, 356.

² *EI*, viii, 229, xiv, 148 ; *JBBRAS*, xx, 40 ; *Tr. of Vienna Or. Congress, Aryan Sn.*, 1888 : 211.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Jaffna, 21st July 1937.

History of Jaffna.

TO

THE EDITORS,

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY,

BANGALORE.

DEAR SIRs,

May I seek the hospitality of your columns to make an appeal to your numerous readers who are conversant with the Mediæval history of South India for assistance by contributing from their stock of information for the reconstruction of the History of Jaffna?

A line of Kings called "Ariyas", also called *Arya Chakravartis*, ruled Jaffna, the northern part of Ceylon, from the tenth to the end of the sixteenth century A.D. with their seat of Government at Nallore called *Sinkai Nagar* in Jaffna.

The Portuguese who extinguished the independence of Jaffna destroyed all historical and epigraphical records; and what history Jaffna possesses to-day is based on legends collected during the time the Dutch held sway here. From some fragmentary verses that have survived, it is known that the *Arya Chakravartis* belonged to *Ganga Vamsa*; their ensign was the bull; they were the guardians of Rameswaram (சேதுகாவலன்) and after the decline of the Cholas they succeeded to the supremacy on the sea.

Ibn Batuta saw the Government of *Arya Chakravarti* sending out naval expeditions to fight the Muhammadans on the Indian Coast. From the contemporary history of South Ceylon it is clear that *Arya Chakravarti* was an ally of the Pandyas and in the battles between the Cholas and the Pandyas, *Arya Chakravarti* appears to have fought the Hoysalas; and a Jaffna poet while praising the prowess of his patron, *Arya Chakravarti*, refers to a battle thus:—

“சென்றுகருநாட கரையந்தரவல்லியிற் பொருதுசெயித்த வேந்தும்
கன்றிவருமத வேழக் கரந்துணித்துப் போசலவைக் கடிந்தவேந்தும்”

“The King *Arya Chakravarti* going up to Canera fought the Canerese and defeated them at Andra Valli and he, having first cut off the trunk of the fierce elephant of the Hoysala (King),

punished him." Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar speaks of villages near and beyond Rameswaram bearing the name of Aryakudi.

There is tradition that people from Jaffna settled down at Tiruvunnamalai, the influence of Arya Chakravarti having extended there.

About the year 1478 A.D., Jaffna was defeated by an allied army led by a Sinhalese General and immediately after, according to the Portuguese historian *De Couto*, a fleet of ships sent by the Canerese King appeared before Colombo with the object of punishing the Sinhalese King.

After this defeat, the Jaffna Kings seem to have dropped the title Chakravartis, but they came to be called by the names *Pararajasingham* and *Sekarajasingham*.

In the zenith of Vijayanagar's power, the Kings of Jaffna appear to have acted as Agents, collecting tributes from the Sinhalese Kings and forwarding the same to the Suzerain Power—Vijayanagar. A tradition attributes the fall of Jaffna to a prince called *Sangla* alias *Sangili* whose mother was a princess from the Royal household of Vijayanagar. This prince succeeded to the throne of his father by assassination and the quarrel which resulted between him and his half-brothers led to the Portuguese being invited to the assistance of the half-brothers to regain the throne. The Portuguese at last wiped out the independence of Jaffna.

I shall be thankful if you will kindly open your columns for the publication of historical information from contemporary sources your readers may be pleased to contribute *re*. Jaffna history of the mediæval period.

R. C. PROCTOR.

The Malabar Christian's Date for Manikka-Vāchakar and for the Foundation of Quilon.

Trivandrum, 14th August 1931.

SIR,

In his article entitled 'The Date of Manikyavacaka' published in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Mr. K. G. Sankara Ayyar attempts to make the Malabar Christian tradition appended to my *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents*, yield the date 680 A.D. for Māṇikka-Vāchakar's

reconversion of some St. Thomas Christians of Malabar (*vide* reprint of his article, pp. 5 and 6). He does so by—

- (a) wrongly interpreting the very well-known phrase 'நம்முடே கத்தாலிண்டு காலம்' used in almost all old Malabar Christian documents, and
- (b) unwittingly putting in the word 'later' after நமயடு காலம்', and
- (c) wrongly interpreting 'நமயடு காலம்' as '315 years'.

நம்முடே கத்தாலிண்டு காலம் is to the Malabar Christian a very familiar phrase with a very definite meaning. To him it means nothing more or less than the Latin phrase '*in Anno Dominostri*,' which appears in English as 'in the year of Our Lord' and stands for the abbreviation A.D. to which some modern writers prefer A.C., *i.e.*, *Anno Christi* (rather than After Christ). The above Malayalam phrase for *Anno Domini* as well as the Christian era came to be used in Malabar only after the advent of the Portuguese in A.D. 1498, although Marignolli, Marco Polo and other Europeans must have used the era and the Latin phrase in their letters or diaries written while they were on or near the Malabar Coast prior to 1498. நம்முடே கத்தாலிண்டு காலம் means A.D., and A.D. alone. It is capable of *no other interpretation*. A.D. is also referred to in Malayalam as Mīṣihā-kkālam (மிசிஹாக்காலம்), *i.e.*, the year of the Messiah. A year (*e.g.*, 315) of the Christian era is also referred to as மாகுன் ஈசோ மிசிஹா பிறநிட்டு நமயடு ரம் காலம் (or நமயடு காலம்), which means 'in the 315th year after the birth of the Lord Jesus the Messiah. காலம் (kālam) here means year, and not time as is well known to those acquainted with old Malayalam documents.

And *Karthavu* here is *not* the creator or St. Thomas, but கத்தாலு ஈசோ மிசிஹா, or மாகுன் ஈசோ மிசிஹா, which is equivalent to the English translation (the Lord Jesus the Messiah) of the original Greek and Syriac of the New Testament. Mārān (மாகுன்) is a Syriac word meaning Our Lord in English and நம்முடே கத்தாலு in Malayalam. St. Thomas is never referred to in Malayalam as நம்முடே கத்தாலு. To us, St. Thomas Christians, he is 'நம்முடே ஸ்ரீஹா', Our Apostle.

It will be better at this stage to quote here the passage containing the words wrongly interpreted by Mr. Sankara Ayyar.

.....தம்மில் வெந்நீர்த்தளையி நடந்துவந்த காலம் நம்முடே கந்தத்தா
லின்றே காலம் உறையுநல்.....ஈ வந்த தமிழரிலனுனிச்சு....நடந்து
வரும்பொன் சரயடு காலம் மாணிக்கவாசகனொன்ற ஒரு கூட்டரக்காரன்
வந் (நு).....

Two distinct events are recorded here :—

(1) *In A.D. 293* the indigenous Christians of Niranam and of Quilon (both in Travancore) adopted some of the customs of the Vellāla Christian refugees from Kaviripattinam (Puhar) and, when they were thus going on,

(2) *in the year 315* came a sorcerer named Mānikka Vāchakar.

It will, therefore, be seen that no addition of 293 and 315 is possible at all, nor is there any means whatever of bringing in 72 as Mr. Sankar has done (p. 6 of reprint).

It must be borne in mind also that, according to Malabar Christian tradition, the above-mentioned defection caused by Mānikka Vāchakar took place definitely *before* the coming to Cranganore (Muziris) in Cochin of the foreign Christian merchant prince Thomas Cana and his hundreds of Christian companions in 345 A.D., one of the few very precise dates preserved in Malabar Christian tradition (*vide* my article on 'Thomas Cana' in *The Indian Antiquary*, LVI, 1927, pp. 161 *sqq.* and LVII, 1928, pp. 103 *sqq.*). The value of this tradition and these dates can of course be questioned, and no one can vouch for its accuracy.

Malabar Christian tradition is positive also regarding the date 1 M.E. (or 825 A.D.) for the foundation of the city of Quilon by the Persian Christian merchant prince Maruvān Sabriso, to whose church in Quilon was granted the still extant Sthanu Ravi copper-plates of about A.D. 880 well-known to antiquarians. In Hindu tradition embodied in *Keralotpatti* the merchant is called Kollattu Yāvāri (கொல்லத்து யாவாரி), the Quilon Merchant. True, the city of Quilon had been in existence before 825 A.D. So we have perhaps to regard Sabriso's founding of Quilon as a *re-founding* of it. The destruction of Quilon just a few years before 825 A.D. seems to be referred to in the expression "கொல்லம் அழிந்து", *i.e.*, such-and-such a year after the destruction of Quilon found in the Tamil work *Maturaittala Varalaru* (மதுரைத் தல வரலாறு) (*Sen Tamil Series*, 27). In old inscriptions a Quilon year is referred to as such-and-such a year after (கொல்லம் தோன்றி).

'the appearance of Quilon', and Sabrison, the merchant, is twice called "Sabrison who founded this city and obtained possession of it" (இந்நகரம் கண்டு நீரோற்ற மருவான் ஸபிரீனோ) in the above Sthanu Ravi copper-plate of *circa* 880 A.D.

T. K. JOSEPH.

A Note on Manikkavāchaka.

1/25, Nacchiappa Chetty Street,

Mylapore, Madras.

IN an article contributed by Mr. K. G. Sankara Aiyar on Māṇikkavāchaka in the July number of the Journal (pp. 45—55), he considers the true name of the saint to be Śivapādya śiva. Tamil scholars think that it is a compound of two Sanskrit words and pādya, the latter connoting 'One who is attached to the feet of another'. We also read under *Sivapadya* in the Tamil Lexicon, 'Saiva devotees attached to the feet of Siva; சிவபக்தன்'. In the *Koḷ Tiruppaṇṇiyar viruttam*, to which he refers, there is nothing to show that 'Śivapādya' is a name given by his parents to Māṇikkavāchaka. The stanza in question reads thus:—

வருவாசகத்தினின் முற்றுணர்ந்தோவன வண்டில்லை மண்ணத்
திருவாதவூர்ச் சிவபாத்தியன் செய்திருச் சிற்றம்பலப்
பொருளார்தரு திருக்கோவை கண்டேயு மற்றப்பொருளத்
தெருளாத வுள்ளத்தவர் கலிபாடிச் சிரிப்பிப்பரே.

Free translation: Poets who do not understand the purport of what is given in *Tirukkōvai*, which has Tirucchiṟṟambalam for its central idea of Him—the presiding deity of Tillai and sung by the Saiva devotee of Tiruvādvār who has understood Tiruvāchaka, will sing many stanzas and thus make others laugh.

Again, the word Pādya is no new word for the Tamils, as we find mention of the same in *Maṇimēkalai* in பகையறு பாத்தியன் பாதம் பணிந்தாங்கு.* Hence there is no warrant to hold that the name is one given by his parents.

2. It is stated that Nambi Andar Nambi has counted Tiruvāchaka as one of the sacred canons. On the face of the stanzas in Nambi's biography, better known as Settlement of the Canon it seems to be correct but on a critical examination of the stanzas it will be found that some of them are interpolations.†

* *Maṇimēkalai* 10; Mantram Kodutta Kāḍai, line 35.

† *Sen Tamil*, Vol. XXVI, p. 297 *et seq.* particularly pp. 483-487.

3. As to the incorrect translation of the verse found in the Leyden grant,* all I have to say is that this is the interpretation given by many a scholar. Even Burgess and Natesa Sastry hold the same view. They write that 'He, Indra of Kings, begat Aditya Rajaraja also called Karikala, the crest jewel of the Sola family.'† And Sanskrit scholars also interpret it likewise. That novel interpretation may also be plausible but has no bearing here. Moreover, Nambi explicitly refers to an Āditya and not to a Rājarāja which point has been lost sight of by Mr. Sankar.

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR.

* Cf. p. 47, *QJMS.* for July 1931

† *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. IV.

EDITORIAL.

OUR Patron, His Highness the Maharaja, Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, after a prolonged and arduous pilgrimage to the Manasa Sarovara and Mount Kailas, returned to the Capital. We offer him our most loyal and sincere welcome on the successful completion of his *tirtha-yatra*.

* *

We congratulate the Lokamanya Mofat Wachanalaya of Shirhatti on their celebration of the Golden Jubilee on 1st August 1931.

* *

We deeply regret to record the tragic and early death of Sir Steuart Pears, Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, by an accidental slip down a deep *Khud* near Nathiagali on September 9, 1931. During the period he was amidst us as British Resident in Mysore, he endeared himself to the people of the State by his deep sympathy and generous kindness as well as by his easy accessibility, courtesy and desire to help the needy. His interest in the work of the Mythic Society of which he was an Honorary President was immense and we desire to convey to Lady Pears our condolences in her bereavement.

* *

We have also to notice, with equal regret, the demise of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras. Mr. Cotton was a member of the Mythic Society from its foundation and evinced great interest in its work. His inaugural address at the Kerala Society was an example of his intimate knowledge of South Indian History and was a testimony to his great interest in the antiquities of this country. Our heart-felt condolences go to Mrs. Cotton in her bereavement.

* *

Swami Nikhilananda in his interesting article on the Sringeri Math in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for June 1931 takes it for granted that Sri Vidyaranya was Madhava, son of Chawundabhatta and conqueror of Goa. That has been shown to be incorrect by Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar.

* *

In the *Vedic Magazine* for some time past, Pandit Chamupati has been giving a sketch of the life of Sri Krishna which he

continues in the issue for June and July 1931. His account takes into consideration the several attacks made upon the avatar of Sri Krishna and endeavours to explain them in a manner satisfactory even to the layman.

* * *

In the *Epigraphia Indica* for January 1929, Prof. J. Ph. Vogel of Leiden gives the text and translation of the Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nagarjunikonda, with an introductory note. These furnish some valuable historical information regarding the three rulers of the Southern Ikshvāku dynasty, though that information is very meagre. Buddha is called a scion of the Ikshvāku dynasty. Certain expressions found in these also occur in the Prakrit copper-plate grants of the early Pallavas.

* * *

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni edits a Sunga Inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica* for April 1929. Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakara of Ayodhya first brought it to the notice of scholars. This is the first inscription on stone or metal so far discovered which mentions the celebrated founder of the Sunga dynasty, Pushyamitra, and helps us to compare the literary references to this ruler contained in *Divyāvadāna* (XXIX), the Mahabhasya of Patanjali (III-2-123), the Vishnu and the Bhāgavata Purāṇas and the Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa. The interpretation of *sashtena* or the sixth son of Pushyamitra gains support as against the sixth in descent from the founder. The script is Brahmi in character and earlier than that of the inscription of Rudradāman of Girnar.

* * *

Mr. R. Srinivasaraghavaiaengar discusses whether the Rock Sculpture at Mahabalipuram generally known as Arjuna's Penance is such or Bhagiratha's Penance as suggested by Von Goloubew or otherwise, in the *Indian Antiquary* for June 1931. Mr. Iyengar considers it to be Vishnu's Paradevata Paramathya and gives the heading to the article. Where Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar and M. Goloubew differ from each other and from Mr. Srinivasaraghavaiaengar, each supporting his own conclusions, it is difficult to decide. Tradition, it may be observed, however, connects it with Arjuna's Penance; and the circumstances and the context appear to justify it.

* * *

Dr. Pran Nath considers, in another article in the same issue, that *Artha-Sastra* was probably composed between 484 and 510 A.D. and assigns the following reasons: (1) The author of the *Artha-Sastra* lived somewhere near the sea-coast in a country which abounded in (a) sea-ports, (b) ships sailing for pearl fishery, and (c) pirate vessels and where conch shells, diamonds, precious stones, pearls and coral were also important items of import. (2) In the section relating to the management of the crown lands, it will be found the king of Kauṭalya possessed landed properties in Aparanta, Āśmaka, Avanti, Jāṅgala and Anūpa-desa, all comprising a political unit identified generally with Konkana, Kaccha, Surāshtra, Sind (Aparanta), some parts of Rajaputana (Jāṅgala), Mālwa with its capital at Ujjain (Avanti), the tracts along the banks of the Narmada and Tapti (Anūpa-desa) and Travancore (Apte) or Maharashtra (Herr Meyer and Dr. Shama Sastri) (Āśmaka). (3) A consideration of the historical evidence about the existence of the political unit referred to by Kauṭalya suggests that the Mālwa empire continued as a political unit from 126 A.D. to 510 A.D. within which period the composition of the *Artha-Sastra* must fall. He thinks it was subsequent to the defeat of the Hunas by Skandagupta in 458 A.D. and his occupation of the Kathiawar Peninsula (Surāshtra). In the July issue of the same periodical (*J.A.*), the learned Doctor refers to his fourth ground (4) Prag-Hunaka-Gandhara Countries (484-510 A.D.) after the repulse of Skandagupta and the capture of the North-Western Punjab in 465 A.D. Under the authority of the Huna conqueror Toramana and of his son Mihiragula who ruled over a consolidated dominion, evidently the Hindu rulers, exposed to the attack of the cruel Huns, did not like to give any chance of complaint to them. (5) The countries of the Malwa Empire fulfil the conditions of Kauṭalya's *Janapada*.

Amongst his other reasons are Kauṭalya considering coinage as a royal prerogative which was not so regarded till the Greek conquests of India and the *Artha-Sastra* advocating ideals and culture which are non-Indian. This, however, conflicts with the earlier view fixing the date of Kauṭalya or Kauṭilya in the fourth century B.C. when a large nation state in India is not generally considered to have been formed. Further, doubts have been cast on the original text of the *Artha-Sastra*, whether it was in verse or prose. And Dr. Pran Nath considers that the verses containing

the author's name do not help in fixing his date or in suggesting that the state of society depicted in the work is pre-Buddhist and says that there is no means of ascertaining whether the tradition handed down to Dandin about the authorship of the work was based upon fact. Dr. Nath, however, would believe the original work to have been in verse. [Cf. *I.A.*, Sept. 1931, p. 174.] While opinions on these matters may differ and there may even be inaccuracies in the English translation of the *Artha-Sastra* as suggested by Dr. Ganapati Sastri and also by a writer in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (Vol. VII, No 2, June 1931), the value of Dr. Shama Sastri's pioneer work cannot be gainsaid.

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In the *Prabuddha Bharata* for July 1931, Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer begins an exposition of 'Avasthātraya'—a unique feature of the Vedānta. One's life is known to cover the three states,—waking, dream, and deep-sleep stages, *i.e.*, Jāgrat, Svapna and Sushupti. The waking stage, however advanced, accurate or scientific one's knowledge of this state, is yet defective according to the Vedāntin for purposes of philosophic or the highest truth, since it ignores the other two states. Hence to realize what life in totality means, the experience gained in the three states should be co-ordinated. Now, Avasthātraya does not ignore even an iota of the data of life. The reason of the Vedāntin comprehends and co-ordinates the experiences of the three. While the great thinkers of Europe and America approach each of these from the physical, physiological or psychological side, which confines them to the waking state only, the metaphysical—not the mystic—aspect as based on Avasthātraya has scarcely been touched upon by them. Tadātmiya is ultimate philosophical knowledge and is attained by mental and moral discipline of a high order required for a determined pursuit of pure truth. Avasthātraya is a means of reaching Reality and the problem of Reality is approached through the Jñāna, Bhakti and Karma Mārgas. Sat-chit-ānanda appears to have been somewhat very generally used here. The article is concluded in the August issue in which the Reality of Ideas and the Reality of Awareness are further considered. Avasthātraya, recently, has been discussed notably by Messrs. Y. Subbarao and K. A. Krishnaswamier. An article on Avasthā-Panchaka dealing with Turīya and Turīyātita would be welcome.

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Of the several interesting articles published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for March 1931 (Vol. VII, No. 1), attention may be drawn to Mr. R. Rama Rao's concluding article on the Origin of Madhava-Vidyaranya Theory in which Madhava, brother of Sayana, is considered separate from Vidyaranya, the Jagadguru of Sringeri. The writer agrees with Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar that Madhava, brother of Sayana, was different from Madhava Amatya, but differs from him in his identification of Madhava with Vidyaranya. This view of the writer does not appear convincing. (See *Q.J.M.S.*, XXI, No. 4, p. 428.) Further, who Vidyaranya was before he became a Sanyasi has not been discussed; nor are we told whether Vidyaranya has to be identified with Sivadharmā of *Svātattva Ratnakara* [Bk. IV, Chap. 12, verse 7].

* * *

In the *Journal of Indian History* for April 1931 (Vol. X, Part I), noticing the work of Rev. H. Heras on the 'Beginnings of Vijayanagara History', the reviewer says that 'the author succeeds in reinforcing the theory of Kannada origin', viz., that the foundation was by the Hoysalas to avert the Mussalman invasions at the north of the Empire. But 'his views regarding the fabrication of the story of Vidyaranya by the ascetics of the Sringeri Mutt and incidentally his views regarding the philosophy of these ascetics may not find general acceptance.' The suggestion is therefore possible that while the original town of Vijayanagara may have been started as a bulwark against Mussalman aggression by Ballala III, Vidyaranya assisted in the foundation of the great Hindu Empire of the fourteenth century.

* * *

The introductory note in the *Annual Bibliography of Archaeology*, reviewed in these pages, refers to the excavations in Annam (Trakē). The religious centre of the ancient city consisted of eight Brahmin temples. The principal shrine must have been a building remarkable not only for its vast dimensions, but also on account of the quality and quantity of the sculptures which supplied its plastic decorations. In the middle of this sanctuary, there stood a sandstone altar of imposing size, adorned all round with a frieze in high relief, representing a succession of musicians and female dancers. Temples were raised on a platform decorated with raised ornaments and mouldings.

Amongst the inscriptions found was a Sanskrit one, discovered by Mon. Clæys, belonging to the reign of Prakāśadharmā of the seventh century A.D. which records the construction of the temple in honour of the great poet and rishi Valmiki, the celebrated author of the Rāmāyana.

These confirm the view propounded by the Greater India Society, regarding the Hindu colonization of the Further East under Brahmin auspices, of whom Kaundinya was the foremost.

The Journal of the Bombay Historical Society for September 1930 (Vol. III, No. 2) contains a number of interesting articles. On 'A Newly discovered Image of Buddha near Goa', Rev. Heras brings to bear his unrivalled scholarship and acute vision and shows that Buddhism existed as a fact in the West Coast. Another article relating to 'The Remains of a Pre-Historical Civilization in the Gangetic Valley' by Dr. A. Banerji Sastri is of absorbing interest and is profusely illustrated.

The Report of the Research Department of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for 1930-31, draws attention to the fact that its application regarding the Institute's Post-Graduate classes to the Bombay University is receiving sympathetic consideration by the Syndicate and the Academic Council. In the meantime, on the recommendation of the Local Inquiry Committee of the University, the provisional permission given by it to carry on post-graduate tuition work at the Institute continues.

Triveni—Vol. IV, No. 2 (March—April)—contains a note on the Frescoes from Kerala by Mr. K. V. Ramachandran who refers to the paintings on the walls of the Siva shrine at Trichur and compares them to those of Ajanta. 'The loveliness of woman is,' he says, 'an eternal pre-occupation with art, not only at Bagh or Ajanta or Belur and Bhuvaneshwar, but also wherever Brahmanical influences have prevailed, from Khotan to the ends of Indonesia.'

In the Telugu Periodical *Bharati* (Vol. 8, No. 7) published on the 7th July 1931, there is a most informative article on the Saptarishis or the Great Bear Constellation and their Forward and Retrograde Motions. As the location of these stars in the path of the twenty-seven asterisms is used for purposes of fixing long periods,

may, even ages and according to some the date of the Mahabharata War and other Puranic incidents is determined from the position of this constellation in the firmament, the discussion of this subject by Mr. N. Jagannatha Rao will be found very instructive.

In the course of a very interesting and highly instructive note on 'A Stucco Head from Central Asia' belonging to the Fourth to Fifth Century A.D. and included in the Ross Collection, Dr. Ananda Coomarasamy says in the June number of the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston (Vol. XXIX, No. 173), 'the Stucco art is...vastly superior to that of the Gandhāran productions in the stone. The influence of the latter in India was purely formal, brief and superficial, because there already existed a vigorous and well-established sculptural art. In Central Asia, where the Northern Iranians had previously used only a symbolical and non-representational style, and had not depicted the human form until a time when the Greek models became known to them, the Hellenistic tradition left deeper traces. When ultimately the immediately derivative period had been passed (*viz.*, when the Gandhāran stone style had already decayed, and even in the Mediterranean Hellenistic art was in full decline), Central Asia created out of this inheritance (in combination with formal elements of Indian origin) an entirely new and living art which may fairly be called autochthonous, essentially a product of Iranian genius, and of more than provincial significance. The productions of Hadda (in Afghanistan)¹ and Tash-Kurgan in the Tarim Valley, north of Kashmir² evidently represent the classic stage of this development, and remembering the contacts which at this time united distant parts of Asia by intimate cultural links, it is of interest to note that this classical period of Central Asian art coincided with the analogous conditions represented in India in the contemporary Gupta Period: in both areas the gracious and cosmopolitan types and styles now established were destined to retain their prestige ever afterwards.' These and other discoveries of paintings and sculptures in this part of Asia have added a new chapter to history, revealing an art 'embodying Indian, Hellenistic, Iranian, and finally Chinese elements

¹ Barthoux, J. J., *Les Fohilles de Hadda*, 1930.

² Strzygowski, J., *The Afghan Stuccos of the N. R. F. Collection*, 1931.

in varying proportions,' not 'an inorganic combination of incongruous elements' 'like the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra,' but 'expressing indigenous energies, astonishing living qualities, and a 'true' style'. In Afghanistan, the use of stone for Buddhist sculpture represents a natural consequence of the original Indian influence; the later developed Stucco art may be regarded as of northern origin.

Writing on 'Paharpur' in the *Modern Review* for August 1931, Babu Sarojendranath Ray describes its site as representing one of the noblest historical places in Bengal and a most ancient and precious archæological spot so far discovered there. In another article, three Vishnu sculptures from Hmawza or old Prome in Burma are described by Babu Niharranjan Ray. In this place which has yielded the earliest Pali inscriptions up till now discovered in Burma relating to the subject-matter of Hinayana Buddhism are to be found relics of Brahmanical influence associated with Vishnuvite tradition so far brought to light within the Peninsula.

In the *Viswa-Bharati Quarterly* (Vol. 8, 1930-31, Part III) for June 1931 is published the Presidential Address of Vidhushekara Bhattacharya in the Vedic Section of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, December 1930, on 'Vedic Interpretation and Tradition'. He approaches some of the fundamental problems in the interpretation of the Veda with special reference to those who hold it as an inspired and sacred heritage, and find it a great source of peace and happiness in their lives. Veda is a treasure and a most precious inheritance of the past to humanity at large while to the Indians it is the ultimate source of their end and aim. It is universally accepted that the text of the Vedas has been preserved quite intact. It is only in the interpretation of Vedic texts that differences of opinion arise, of which the following mystic mantra from the *Rig-Veda* may be given as an example:—

चत्वारिंशत्त्रां त्रयो अस्य पादा द्वे शीर्षे सप्तहस्तासो अस्य ।

त्रिधावद्धो वृषभो ररवीति महादेवो मर्त्या आविवेश ॥

It means: Four are his horns; three are his feet; his heads are two and hands are seven. Bound with a triple bond, the strong one roars loudly; the great God enters into mortals.

According to Nirukta-parisishta, he is a Yagna. The four horns are the four Vedas; the three feet are the three *savanas* (or pressing out of Soma juice at three periods of the day); the two heads are the two libations; the seven hands are seven metres and the triple bond constitutes the three-fold scripture, Mantra, Brahmana and Kalpa.

But Patanjali, the commentator of Panini, takes the God as speech, the four horns being four kinds of words; the three feet comprising the three periods of time; the two heads are two forms of speech; the seven hands are seven case-endings; and the triple bond refers to the three parts of the body that help in uttering speech.

There are many other interesting explanations as well on which space forbids us to dwell. It stands to reason to say that consistently with the context only one of the explanations can be the correct one and the difficulty is to find out what that is amidst the bewildering maze of interpretations put by the highest authorities. The aim of the distinguished President has been to find out what explanation the Rishi or the author of the text himself intended.

Mr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji deals with 'Some Problems in the Origin of Art and Culture in India' in his paper read before the Fine Arts Section of the Sixth All-India Conference at Patna last December and published in the same issue of the *Visvabharati*. Of the several questions which he puts to himself and to which he endeavours to find an answer, may be mentioned: Did the people of the Veda—the Aryans among whom the hymns originated—attempt to translate into wood or stone the visions they had of Ushas and of Indra, of Rudra and of the Asvins? What success did they attain, if that attempt was ever made? Collecting the available evidence on this matter in a masterly way he concludes that 'the oldest objects of national culture in India that we can associate with a people of Aryan language and culture are the Maurya artifacts which take us only to a few centuries B.C.' He then proceeds to discuss in detail the objects of culture of other families—the Austric, the Dravidian and the Tibeto-Chinese. In the concluding paragraphs he arranges Indian art in ten strata: The Pre-Aryan Art of India; Rudimentary Art, mostly borrowed from Assyria and Babylonia; the Art of Aryan Persia;

the first expression of an Ancient Indian National Art ; Advent of Greek influence in Indian Art ; the Art of Amaravati and Madhura ; the Classical Gupta Art ; the development of Art in different parts of India into mid-mediaeval and late mediaeval and called local schools such as those of the Pallava, Rāshtrakuta, etc.; the art of Indo-China and Java ; and the Buddhist Art of Serindia, China, Korea and Japan.

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'The Sources and Nature of *Puruṣa* in the *Puruṣasūkta*' is the heading of an article by Mr. W. Norman Brown, of the University of Pennsylvania in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* for June 1931 (Vol. 51, No. 2). It throws a flood of light on the interpretation of the word '*Puruṣa*' as given in the Rīg Veda. He says that *Puruṣa* does not, as generally understood, represent a primitive conception of the Cosmos as a great man : he cannot be compared as others do to the Norse world-giant Ymir or the Germanic Tuisto, Mannus, between whom and *Puruṣa* a genetic relationship is often found. But *Puruṣa* has his chief importance as a blend of the derivative elements drawn from the sphere of the related deities Agni, Surya and Viṣṇu and perhaps faintly re-echoing an old folk-notion. *Puruṣa* 'seems a blend of characteristics of (1) Agni, as the typical male, as the essence of plants, waters, all that moves and stands, and the sacrifice, as the lord of immortality, as the lord of the sacrifice and the sacrifice itself ; (2) Surya, as rising above the worlds to the place of immortality ; (3) Viṣṇu, as the encompasser of earth, air and sky. *Puruṣa* is both the essence of creatures and also the inclusive principle, the first principle, the ruler, the immortal, the eternal. He is neither Agni, Surya nor Viṣṇu alone, nor is he a combination of the three. He is a combination of characteristics derived from them, fused in a rather shadowy way in a new unity, with especial reference to the Sun . . . he is most significantly a secondary derivation from notions established antecedently in the R. V. The authors of our hymn no more thought of the world as a human being than did the composers of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* think of it as the sacrificial horse (*BAI.*, i). The emphasis in the hymn is not on the man-like nature of *Puruṣa*, but on his qualities of universality and his functioning as the sacrifice, which last is of predominant importance.' In this connection, it has to be observed that *Puruṣa* in

the Puruṣa-sukta of the Rig-Veda is, as it were, merely the personification of this entire universe as set out beautifully in the Bhagavad Gita. In describing his Virata-Form to Arjuna Lord Sri Krishna says: In hundreds and in thousands see my forms, O son of Pritha! various, divine and of various colours and shapes. See the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, the two Asvins and Maruts likewise. And O Descendant of Bharata! See wonders in numbers unseen before. Within my body, O Gudākēśa! See to-day the whole universe, including (everything) movable and immovable, (all) in one and whatever else you wish to see.

"I stand supporting all this by but a single portion of myself." [S. B. E., VIII, pp. 91-2.]

The Bangalore Amateur Dramatic Association has been doing useful work in the field of literary publications for several years past, with which our readers are familiar. In addition to a number of popular works dealing with social topics and with the dramatic art, were published under their auspices the Kannada monthly, 'Ranga Bhumi', which we hope to see soon revived. Their new undertaking in the shape of an English Quarterly called the 'Theatre' ought naturally to appeal to a larger audience. The two numbers that have so far appeared contain articles of a high class. In India, this is, perhaps, the first journal to deal with dramatic art as such, and it is further welcome for this reason. In adapting the ancient dramas to a setting so as to suit the requirements of the modern stage and in translating classical dramas to modern languages, a great deal of useful work has already been done in the past. But it cannot be said that they are adjusted to suit the busy conditions of this age. We hope that this important work will be done by the Journal. The editor of the *Theatre*, Mr. V. Bhaskaran, is well known for his literary talents and journalistic experience. Messrs. G. Venkatachalam, art-critic and K. Sampatgiri Rao of the National High School are associate editors. They have several prominent men including Mr. T. Raghavachari of Bellary on the advisory board. We wish the concern every success; and we hope that lovers and sympathisers of dramatic art will ensure the success of the Journal by extending their liberal patronage by enrolling themselves as patrons, or as life members or at least as ordinary subscribers.

THE TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY.

Bangalore, 29th July 1931.

V. P. MADHAVA RAO, ESQ., C.I.E.,
in the Chair.

THE Twenty-first Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Wednesday, the 29th July 1931, with Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., Retired Dewan of Mysore, in the Chair. In offering a most hearty welcome to the distinguished statesman, the President of the Society, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen—Allow me on behalf of the members of the Mythic Society to tender our hearty welcome to the veteran statesman, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., who has kindly accepted our invitation to preside on the occasion of the Twenty-first Annual Meeting of our Society. A few days ago, I casually met Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty in one of my morning walks, and he expressed great pleasure that we had, to use his own words, 'dug out' Mr. Madhava Rao from his seclusion, to take part in the functions of this day. It struck me at the time, that the expression 'dug out' was a very happy one, for, as you know, the main work of the Mythic Society consists in a sense in its excavations in all fields of human activities, if only they bear on their face marks of some claim to a little antiquity. The members of the Mythic Society, most of whom are young men, have no desire to place themselves under the banner of the league of youth. They would far rather be the members of a league of old age. They love everything that is old : old friends, old books, old times, old manners, and if I may add, old statesmen also. To Mysore belongs the credit of having discovered the great talents of Mr. Madhava Rao and of giving the lead to Travancore and Baroda, to utilize them also. Though it

is now many years since Mr. Madhava Rao retired into private life the States that employed him have not forgotten him. It was only a short while ago that the Travancoreans invited him into their midst to express appreciation of his services to that State. While in service in our own State, Mr. Madhava Rao always enjoyed the reputation of being a statesman of progressive views tending towards social uplift, and the broad-basing of representative government. It is a pleasure to us all that he still enjoys physical health and mental vigour and I am sure I echo your sentiments when I say that we heartily wish him to enjoy these blessings for many years to come.

And now, Sir, I request you to accept on behalf of the Mythic Society our cordial welcome to this hall which is as much a tribute to the great services of the Society's first President, the late Father Tabard, as it is to the generosity of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and of His Highness' Government in enabling its members to carry on the research work in the past activities of the human race and to throw light therefrom on the advancing conditions of life.

Mr. S. Srikantaya, the General Secretary and Treasurer, next read the Annual Report for the year 1930-31 :—

THE REPORT.

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you, this evening, a Report of the Society's activities during the year 1930-31.

Membership.—The membership continues to be steady. We regret to observe the large arrears of subscription of our resident members and appeal to them to remit their dues early. We also appeal to all our members to introduce new members and thereby increase the strength and stability of the Society and of its valued periodical.

We offer our hearty congratulations to our Honorary President, the Hon'ble Sir S. E. Pears, on his being knighted, to our Honorary Vice-President, Sir C. V. Raman, who has achieved the signal distinction of being awarded the Nobel

Prize for Physical Science, and to our members, the Hon'ble Mr. C. W. E. Cotton and Dr. Leslie C. Coleman, on their becoming the recipients of the titles of C.S.I. and C.I.E. respectively during the year. The Committee also rejoice with the rest of their countrymen in India that one of our Vice-Presidents, Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza Mahomed Ismail, has been representing, in a most worthy manner, Mysore and several other Indian States in the councils of the British Empire.

We deeply regret to record the death of the following : Sir Richard Carnak Temple who was one of the foremost orientalist of our time and who was intimately connected with the Indian Antiquary from its inception up to the last day of his life ; Rev. R. Zimmerman, a distinguished scholar, particularly of Sanscrit literature and Oriental research ; Diwan Bahadur P. R. Narayana Iyer ; and Messrs. V. R. Gutikar, K. T. Paul and A. T. Setlur. We offer our condolences to the members of their bereaved families.

Meetings.—Several ordinary meetings of the Society were held during the year. Mention may be made of the following lectures which were delivered under the auspices of the Society : *Ramakrishna, the Indian Saint* by Swami Sri-vasananda ; *The Kadambas of Banavase* by Mr. V. Raghavendra Rao ; *Sayings of Basavanna* by Mr. M. Venkatesa Iyengar ; *Vijayanagara and Vidyaranya* by Mr. S. Srikantaiya ; *The Keladi Dynasty* by Mr. S. N. Naraharaiya ; *The Trend of Modern Philosophic Thought* by Sir Hari Singh Gour.

Journal.—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society is, as usual, published promptly and the standard of the contributions is maintained at a very high level. A new feature is the editorial columns introduced from the year under review. They are useful for inviting particular attention to noteworthy researches during the period and for making short references to important articles published in learned periodicals bearing on oriental literature. The change in the size of the Journal and the insertion of the Hoysala crest

on the cover have been well received. Besides, minor improvements have been made in the get-up of the Journal and in the arrangement of the matter contained in it.

The exchanges with the Journal of the Society have considerably increased during the past years and it is proposed to delete from the list such publications as have not been received regularly for some time. All the renowned periodicals of the world on the subjects of study connected with our aims and objects continue to be sent to us and we take this opportunity of acknowledging our indebtedness to the editors of the various periodicals who have been kind enough to assist us in completing the lacunæ in this section of our Library.

We have put on the sale list a few of our publications and reprints including the proceedings at our Annual Meetings. It is also under contemplation to reprint in book form important articles from our Journal, in consultation with the authors. These require financial obligations on our part and a benevolent attitude on the part of the authors. Nothing however, will be done which may strain the limited resources of the Society.

Library.—A large number of books and periodicals was received during the year by presentation from authors, publishers and the various governments in India; and additions were also made by purchase. We desire to express our gratitude to the Government of India; the Government of Mysore; the States of Hyderabad, Baroda, Travancore, Cochin, Kashmir and Pudukcottai; the Oxford University Press, Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. and other publishers; the various universities in India and several other institutions and authors who have presented us with a number of their publications. We have also to thank again the Director of Public Instruction in Mysore for his continued sympathy and patronage in this behalf.

We have been able to bring the series of the Mysore Archæological Reports with us up to date. Those of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and*

Ireland, the Indian Antiquary and the Epigraphia Indica are now nearly complete. These, added to the entire volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and a large number of the Reports of the various Circles of Archæology and Epigraphy in India, are a valuable asset to the Library. As regards the other periodicals, our efforts are meeting with success and we expect to be in possession of the full series of many of them at no distant date. A large number of volumes were bound during the year and over a hundred more are in the course of binding. We shall thankfully receive from members and other sympathisers, odd issues of any research periodical so that we may have as exhaustive a collection as possible. We shall also be thankful for the presentation of the Reports of the several Circles of Archæology and Epigraphy in India including Burma and of the Indian States. The Supplement to the Catalogue of Books in the Library has now been issued and is for sale at eight annas a copy.

The Library was completely re-arranged during the year with the assistance of one of our members, Mr. V. Raghavendra Rao.

The Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore were pleased to accord us permission to exchange or sell our duplicate volumes, as we thought fit. Most of them as have now been marked out for exchange or sale have been removed from the main Library and a list of them is under preparation. Additional accommodation for the Library and the Free Reading Room is urgently required but we are, at present, unable to make adequate provision. We look forward to the generous patronage of Government and of the philanthropic public to enable us to do so.

Reading Room.—Over sixty periodicals are made available to the public in the Free Reading Room attached to the Society. Some daily newspapers are also subscribed for. The number of visitors attending the Reading Room was over 3,000 during the year.

Daly Memorial Hall.—The Hall and its premises are maintained in good condition. In our last Report, we referred

to the want of accommodation and to the necessity for adding two rooms and a verandah in the rear; but that was not possible. The Government were unable to comply with our request at that time and it is proposed to renew the request at a more convenient opportunity.

Finance.—The subscriptions which are Rs. 5 and Rs. 3 a year respectively for local and mofussil members can hardly pay the price of the issues of the Journal that are supplied free to the members. Nevertheless, in the hope that a low subscription will induce a large number to become members of the Society and participate in its activities, it is not proposed to raise them now.

The grants from the Government of Mysore and the Government of India are being received as usual.

The accounts of the Society have been duly audited and certified correct by our Honorary Auditor, Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam, to whom our thanks are due.

The statement of accounts for the year shows that the Society has managed to have a credit balance. Our Reserve Fund stands at Rs. 11,650. A considerable amount has been spent on the purchase of books, missing volumes and numbers of valuable periodicals, as also on binding and on subscription to newspapers. Notwithstanding the substantial help we receive from the Government of Mysore and the Government of India, we find it very hard to meet our current expenses: our idea of increasing our activities and of quickly building up a large Reserve Fund has not been satisfactorily accomplished. To make the Society and its valuable Library more useful to the members and students engaged in research, an additional establishment and buildings are necessary. We are pressed for space even to keep back numbers of the Society's Journal which are in constant demand. Increase in life-memberships, donations and contributions towards the Reserve Fund of the Society and the institution of endowments on the part of the generous public are a *sine qua non* for any material augmentation in the usefulness of the Society's activities.

We take this opportunity of expressing how glad we feel at the progress Mysore has achieved during the fifty years after Rendition.

We desire to express our deep gratitude to our Patron, His Highness Sir Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur, the Vice-Patron, His Highness Sir Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore for their continued and unabated support and sympathy.

In proposing the adoption of the Report, the President, Mr. Shama Rao desired to record the Society's appreciation of the excellent work done by their indefatigable Secretary, Mr. Srikantaiya. On being seconded by Mr. K. H. Ramayya, the proposition with this amendment, was carried.

Then the election of the office-bearers and the committee was taken up. Rajasabhabhushana Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar proposed that Mr. Shama Rao be re-elected President of the Society for the ensuing year. In doing so, he said that after the death of Rev. Father Tabard, Mr. Shama Rao, so well known for his erudition and scholarship, was unanimously elected President, year after year. Mr. Shama Rao assisted by his energetic and able Secretary, Mr. Srikantaya, was carrying on the activities of the Society efficiently and had spread its reputation far and wide. Mr. F. R. Sell seconded the proposition which was passed unanimously.

Mr. D. Venkatramiah proposed and Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar seconded that the Committee be reconstituted for the ensuing year with the President and the following office-bearers and members. The proposition was duly adopted :—

Vice-Presidents :

Sir Mirza M. Ismail.

Mr. K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar.

Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao.

Mr. K. R. Srinivasiengar.

Mr. K. Chandy.

Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer.

Mr. C. S. Doraswami Iyer.

Mr. K. Matthan.

Mr. R. Narasimhachar.

General Secretary and Treasurer :

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Joint Secretary :

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan.

Editors :

Mr. F. R. Sell.

Mr. K. Devanathachariar.

Mr. S. Srikantaya.

Branch Secretaries :

Ethnology :—Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao.

History :—Rev. C. Browne.

Folklore :—Mr. B. Puttaiya.

AND

Mr. P. Sampat Iyengar.

Dr. R. Shama Sastri.

Mr. N. S. Subba Rao.

Mr. A. R. Wadia.

Dr. M. H. Krishna.

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS.

The Chairman then delivered amidst great applause a very interesting and instructive address in the course of which he referred to the *Purananuru* and the poet Kapilar's description of his patron Pari of Perambu-nadu, a ruling chief of the present Madras and Chingleput districts. Kapilar accompanied the two daughters of Pari after the latter's demise to find worthy husbands for them and took them to the court of a well-known potentate, Irungo-vel of Tuaravathi, who had descended from a line of forty-nine monarchs and who was also known as Puli-kadi-mal or the slayer of the tiger. It was suggested that this Tuaravathi might have been the Dorasamudra of the Hoysala Ballalas, and a further doubt

was cast upon the identification of the eponymous Sala. It was noteworthy that according to the *Annals of Rajasthan* by Col. Tod, there was a Tuaravathi in northern India belonging to the dynasty of Tuars. It was not unlikely that Irungo-vel of Kapilar might have been the Aranya-Kowal or Aranya-Camala of Col. Tod. From these emerged a few important questions for consideration by scholars :—

(1) The relationships between the princes Krishna, Vijaya and Ballala IV, the last of the historical Hoysalas, of whom we do not hear after 1346 A.D. ;

(2) The relationships between Aranyacamala and the eponymous Sala, if the former can be found to have been a historical personage, associated with fighting a tiger, according to Kapilar (Puli-Kadi-Mal) ;

(3) The identification of Tuaravathi referred to by Kapilar ; and,

(4) The tradition connecting Irum-Ko-Vel with the Agniculas.

Mr. Madhava Rao then proceeded to say a few words on the work of the Society during the past twenty years. He said :—

"You have secured a decent site where you have erected a beautiful structure amidst picturesque surroundings. An excellent and well-stocked library is yours. Leading oriental periodicals are available to the research student on your reading desk. In spite of the low subscription for your Journal, you have been enabled to build up a small reserve fund. More than all these, within the portals of your Society have gathered together an enthusiastic band of young men devoted to research under the distinguished banner of your worthy President. The name of your learned Quarterly Journal has travelled all over the world. These are no mean achievements for a Society which is but twenty years old and I congratulate the authorities of the Society on this splendid accomplishment.

"May the love of India and an abiding and affectionate interest in its past, its present and its future endure! May

the study of Mysore and its people prosper ! In this Society of antiquarian researches so carefully nurtured by Rev. Father Tabard in his day, and now by your distinguished President, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao, historical activities are kept alive. The Institution is, besides, a happy conjunction of Indian and European members. I repeat my good wishes for the continued prosperity and usefulness of the Mythic Society."

Rev. Father C. Browne proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and made a touching reference to his interest in antiquarian researches. He also incidentally referred to the interest Mr. Madhava Rao took in sports by presiding about twenty-four years ago over one of the functions of the St. Joseph's College. The proposition was enthusiastically received. The function came to a close with three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

THE MYTHIC
Statement of Receipts and

RECEIPTS					AMOUNT		
					Rs.	A.	P.
1. Opening Balance	..	..	..	..	995	3	9
2. Subscriptions—							
Resident Members	..	..	..	..	172	8	0
Moffussil Members	..	..	..	..	663	9	0
Life-Members	..	..	..	..	35	0	0
3. Grants—							
Government of Mysore	..	..	..	..	2,100	0	0
Government of India	..	..	..	..	300	0	0
4. Interest and Dividend	..	..	..	..	771	4	9
5. Recoveries from Staff	..	..	..	..	215	0	0
6. Sales	..	..	..	..	186	12	0
7. Hall Charges	..	..	..	..	91	0	0
TOTAL					5,530	5	6
Reserve Fund—					At Face Value		
					RS.		
1. Mysore State Loan 6½% Stock	..	..	..	..	9,850		
2. Mysore State Loan 6½% Bonds	..	..	..	..	200		
3. Mysore State Loan 5% Bonds	..	..	..	..	1,500		
4. Mysore Bank Share (one)	..	..	..	..	100		
TOTAL					11,650		

BANGALORE CITY, }
July 1931. }

SOCIETY, BANGALORE.

Expenditure for the year 1930-31.

PAYMENTS					AMOUNT		
					Rs.	A.	P.
1. Establishment—							
Pay of the Staff	..	..	..	..	1,092	0	0
Lighting Charges	..	..	..	..	246	15	0
Bicycle Account	..	..	..	..	30	10	0
Garden	..	..	..	..	87	15	0
Livery	..	..	..	..	18	8	6
Electrical Accessories	..	..	..	..	35	7	0
Premises	..	..	..	..	58	0	0
2. Journal—							
Printing	..	..	..	..	1,750	0	0
Postage	..	..	..	..	303	4	6
3. Library—							
Supplement to Catalogue	..	..	..	..	90	0	0
Books Purchased	..	..	..	..	312	14	0
Subscriptions to Newspapers	..	..	..	..	105	15	0
Book Binding	..	..	..	..	149	4	0
Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	24	12	0
4. Advances to Staff	..	..	..	..	383	0	0
5. Bank's Charges	..	..	..	..	7	10	0
6. Stationery and Miscellaneous	..	..	..	..	245	6	0
7. Subscription to Horticultural Society	..	..	..	..	11	0	0
8. Investments	..	..	..	..	475	0	0
9. Closing Balance	..	..	..	..	102	12	6
TOTAL					5,530	5	6

Details for Closing Balance—

Rs. A. P.

1. Bank of Mysore (as per Pass Book) 79-1-9							
Deduct cheque not paid 1-4-0	..	..	..	..	77	13	9
2. With the Curator	..	..	..	..	15	8	7
3. With the Branch Secretaries	..	..	..	..	9	6	2
TOTAL					102	12	6

Certified correct.

T.M.S. SUBRAMANIAM,

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer.

**Books received during the Quarter ending
30th September 1931.**

Presented by :—

The Authors—

1. ಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕಥೆಗಳು—by C. K. Venkataramiah.
2. ಪೈಗಂಬರ ಮಹಮದನು—by C. K. Venkataramiah.
3. ಮಂಜೋದರಿ—by C. K. Venkataramiah.
4. Studies in Vijayanagar Polity—by K. Iswar Dutt.
5. Classical Sanskrit Literature—by R. Vasudeva Sarma.
6. Beachside Songs—by R. Vasudeva Sarma.
7. Buddhistic Studies—by Bimala Churn Law.

Government of Mysore—

- I. Mysore Administration Reports for 1929—30 :
 1. Railway Department.
 2. Forest Department.
 3. Krishnarajasagara Works.
 4. Dept. of Health Quarterly Reports—Vol. II—4.
 5. Do. do. III—1.
 6. Joint Stock Companies.
- II. Bill to amend the Hindu Law as to the Rights of Women.
- III. History of Mysore—by Wilks : Edited by Sir Murray Hammick.

Jayakarnataka, Dharwar—

1. ಗರತಿಯ ಹಾಡು.
2. ಬಿಸಿಲುಗುದುರೆ.
3. ಹರಟೆಗಳು.

Messrs. B. X. Furtado & Sons, Bombay—

Kadamba Kula—by George Moraes.

Superintendent of Archaeology, Travancore—

Travancore Achæological Report for 1929—30.

Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona—

Report for 1930—31.

Calcutta University—

Journal of the Department of Letters—Vol. XXI.

Mysore University—

ಹರಿಶ್ಚಂದ್ರ ಕಾವ್ಯಸಂಗ್ರಹ—by Raghavānka.

Government of India—

An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia (Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 43)—by Aurel Stein.

Karnataka Sangha, Mysore—

ಅಸಾಧ್ಯತೆ—by A. N. Murthy Rao.

Mr. M. P. Somasekhara Rao—

1. ಇಕ್ಕೇರಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನ—by M. S. Puttanna.
2. ಪಾಗಲವಾಡಿಯ ಪಾಳೇಗಾರರು—by M. S. Puttanna.

Mr. P. Raghavendra Rao—

- I. Mahabharata: translated by P. C. Roy. Parvas—Adi, Vana, Santi (2 Volumes), Drona, Anusasana, Bhishma, Udyoga, Karna, Sabha (2 copies), Salya, Virata, Stree, Souptika and Ashvamedha.
- II. Ramayana of Valmiki: translated by R. T. H. Griffith. Volumes—II, III, IV and V.
- III. Bhagavadgita according to Madhvacharya—by S. Subba Rao.
- IV. Vali Episode in the Ramayana—by B. Ramakrishna Rao.

Purchased:—

1. Indian Annual Register—by Mitra, 1930—Vol. II (July—Dec.).
2. Government of Japan—by N. Kitazawa.
3. A History of Japan—by Hisao Saito.
4. Friendly Siam—by Ebbe Kornerup.
5. Points of View—by Sir W. Davies, etc.
6. More Points of View—by Archbishop of York, etc.
7. New Discoveries relating to the Antiquity of Man—by Sir Arthur Keith.
8. Parade of the Living: A History of Life on Earth—by J. H. Bradley.
9. World in the Making—by Count H. Keyserling.
10. The Drift of Civilization—by C. J. Abbot, etc.
11. Our Changing Civilization—by J. H. Randall.
12. Power of India—by Michael Pym.
13. Peeking to Lhasa—by Sir F. Younghusband.
14. Science and Human Progress—by Sir O. Lodge.
15. Indian Ferment—by H. G. Alexander.
16. The Life of Vivekananda and the Universal Gospel—by Romain Rolland.

MUGHAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

MESSRS. D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & CO., are to publish shortly an annotated bibliography of books and manuscripts relating to the Mughals in India on Art, Science, Biography, History, Geography, Travel, Literature, Philosophy, Religion, Economics, Sport, etc., etc., which is now being prepared. Every effort is being made to make the bibliography as complete as possible. Authors desirous of having their works included in the Bibliography are requested to send particulars of their books or magazine articles to the Editor, "*Indian Literary Review*", 190, Hornby Road, Bombay, as early as possible. The full title, author's name, number of pages and illustrations, year and place of publication should be clearly mentioned. If possible, a very short summary of the contents also should be given. If any persons or Institutions happen to have any unique manuscript, full particulars of the same may be kindly given.

NOTICE.

The Mythic Society having been registered as an Associate Society of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Rule 105 of the Rules of that Society governing the privileges of members of Associate Societies is published for information :—

"Rule 105.—Members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Branch and Associate Societies are entitled, while on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland, to the use of the Library as non-resident members, and to attend the Meetings of the Society other than special General Meetings ; and in the case of any Member of any Society aforesaid applying for election as a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, nomination as laid down in Rule 4 shall not be necessary."

S. SRIKANTAYA,
General Secretary and Treasurer,
Mythic Society.

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The
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of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XXII

JANUARY, 1932

No. 3

TULU INITIAL AFFRICATES AND SIBILANTS.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

IN two papers of mine [*JOR* (1929) and *IA* (1931)] I had tried to discuss the nature and affiliations of the initial affricates and sibilants of Dravidian from a general standpoint. I had pointed out therein that the initial affricates and sibilants are differently distributed among the different dialects; but of all the dialects, Tulu in this matter offers the most complicated (and therefore the most interesting) set of features, inasmuch as we find here native words with the affricates *c-* and *j-* and the sibilants *ś-* and *s-*, in initial positions. None of the other dialects shows such a large number of native words with *c-*, *j-*, *ś-*, and *s-* initially (in different forms). It would be useful to attempt to classify these Tulu forms with reference to the local variations and to the possible history of each of these initial sounds, as reconstructed with reference to the cognates in different dialects. Though no evidence is available in Tulu in the shape of literary or inscriptional matter, it is possible to pursue our enquiry inductively with the data now available for us.

Our method of procedure—the only possible one in the circumstances—is to classify the Tuluva forms, to compare

them with cognates of other dialects and to outline perspectives by the application of rules of phonetic change of which we can be more or less certain in Dravidian.

The problem of the initial affricates and sibilants of Dravidian is an extremely complicated one, and its final and unequivocal solution may never be possible, in view of the absence of direct evidence attesting the primitive character of these forms. All the same, we have to utilise the materials at our disposal as best we can, and adumbrate views.

I. Tulu words with initial *c-* or *j-* and significant cognates from the other Dravidian dialects.

- (a) Words with *c-* or *j-*, followed immediately by *-a-*:—
canna (handsome)—cf. Kannada *canna*, Tamil *sem-*, *sev-* (straight).
cācu (to stretch)—cf. Kannada *cācu*, Tel. *tsā-tsu*, Tamil *śāy* (to lean)—common Dr. base* *kā*¹ (to move, etc.)
cāpæ (mat)—cf. Kannada *cāpe* (mat), Tam. *śāppai*—south Dr. *śā-*, *cā-* ← common Dr.* *kā*.
cadar-, *kedar-* (to be scattered)—cf. Kann. *cadar-*, *kedar-*, Tam. *śadar*, etc.,—common base with *k-*.
cali, *cali* (cold, wetness) } —cf. Tam. *śāli*, Kann.
cammi (dampness) } *cali*, (?) Kûi *jili* (cold)
 (?) Kurukh *cāe* (to get wet), Tam., Kann., Mal.
taṇ, Tel. *tsaṇ-nīllu* (cold water), Tulu *taṇpu*,
saṇpu (cold)—common Dr. base* *taḷ-*, *taṇ-*².
caṭṭæ (litter)—cf. Kannada *caṭṭa* (flatness), Tam.
śaṭṭ-ai (frame)—common base *taṭṭ-* (to hammer
 out into shape).
caṭṭi (pot, spittoon)—cf. Tam. *śaṭṭi*, Kann. *caṭṭi*, etc.
 —common base *taṭṭ-*, given above.
caræ (head)—the more common form in Tulu is
taræ, *talæ*, while sub-dialectally *salæ* is also

¹ Vide my paper on "Deictic Word-Bases" in *Anthropos* (1931).

² -*ṇ-* of *taṇ-* may have been secondary and derived from original -*f*- through assimilation occurring in the common compound *taṇ-nīr* (cold water).

found—*caræ* is a rare¹ sub-dialectal form in Tuḷu—*cf.* Tam. *tal-ai*, Kann. *tāle*, Kûi *tlāu* [result of accent-shift and aphasis], Gôḍi *talā*—common base has initial *t*- only.

câræ (coconut tree)—the more common forms are *târæ*, *taḷæ* [the latter in the Brahmins' colloquial]—*cf.* Tam. *tāl-ai* (coconut) occurring in line 9 of verse 17 of *Puṛaṇānūru*: குலையிறைஞ்சிய கோட்டாழை—*câræ* (coconut) in Tuḷu is a rare sub-dialectal form. The common base has initial *t*- only.

Significant points to be noted in the above:—

(i) The first four instances, it will be seen, are common to Tuḷu and Kannaḍa and all of them go back to original *k*- bases.

(ii) The next four instances are derived from original *t*- words and here again all of them appear to be identical in Tuḷu and Kannaḍa.

(iii) The last two instances are rare sub-dialectal forms and not common at all in Tuḷu.

(b) *Words with initial c- or j- followed by the front vowels -e and -i:—*

cindi (rag)—*cf.* Mal. *śindu* (piece, rag), Tam. *kittru* (fragment), Tam. *kīṟ*. (to tear), Tel. *cīntsu* (to tear)—base *kīṟ*- (to tear).

cīpu (bunch)—also Tuḷu *sīpu* and *kīpu* with the same meaning—*cf.* Tam. *sīpu*, Mal. *sīpu*—the original base has initial *k*-.

cikka (small)—identical with Kann. *cikka* (small) and ultimately related to Tam. *śir*-, Kann. *kīṟ*-, Tuḷu *kīr*- (small).

¹ In my "Materials for a Sketch of Tuḷu Phonology" (to be published in the forthcoming Grierson Commemoration Volume), I have tried to demarcate the Tuḷuva sub-dialects which vary with communities and with areas. Here we need only remember in reference to initial *t*-, *s*-, *c*-, and *ʃ*- that, while certain forms are common sub-dialectally, there are others which are not so common even in the sub-dialects and which crop up even there only occasionally in certain "corrupt" speech-varieties. These are described in this essay as "rare sub-dialectal" forms.

cirkæ (turning)—a rare sub-dialectal form with *c-*, the more common sub-dialectal forms in Tuḷu being *tirkæ*, *sirkæ*, with the same meaning—common Dr. base *tir-*.

cēlu (scorpion)—rare sub-dialectal form, the more common ones being *tēlu* and *sēlu*—*cf.* Tam., Kann., Tel., Mal. *tēl*, Brāhūi *tēlh* (scorpion). The common base has initial *t-*.

cikk- (to be entangled)—rare sub-dialectal, the more common sub-dialectal forms being *tikk-*, *šikk-*, *sikk-*; *cf.* Tam. *šikk-*, Tel. *cikk-*, Mal. *tikk-*, Mal. *tirakk-* (to be thronged), Tam. *tikk* (to stutter), Kann. *sirk-*, *sikk-*, Kūi *seh-* (to be entangled). The original base is *tir-k-*.

cint- (to burn) *cf.* Kannaḍa—*śi-* (to be scorched), Tam. *śind-* (to hiss, be angry)—original base *tī-*.

jiñja (full)—rare sub-dialectal form, the more common word being *dinja* (full), *diñj-* (to be full) which words are related to Mal. *ting-* (to be crowded). The original base has *t-*.

Significant points :—

(i) The first five forms are derivable from *k-* originals. These [*k* > *c*] forms have been discussed by me elsewhere.¹ Here we need only note that some among these five forms are common to Tuḷu and Kannaḍa.

(ii) The other forms with *c-* are rare sub-dialectal ones in Tuḷu, the more common ones being those with *t-* or *s-* (or in the case of *cikk-*, *ś-* also). In all these the initial *c-* goes back to an original *t-*.

(c) Tuḷu words with initial *c-* or *j-* followed by back vowels :—

cucc- (to pierce)—rare sub-dialectal, the more common form being *tucc-* which is related to south Dr. *tir-*, *tu-* (to open).

cū- (fire)—very rare, *tū*, *sū* being far more common.

¹ *Vide* my paper on "The *k-* Dialects of Dravidian" (*Educational Review*, Madras, 1931).

coli (skin, bark)—again a very rare sub-dialectal form heard in the corrupt speech of the Tuluva *holeyas*—the more common forms (which however are sub-dialectal) being *tól*, *solí*—cf. Tam. *togal*, Tel. *tól*, Kann. *tól*, Mal. *tól*.

juṭṭu (tuft)—cf. Tam. *śuruṭṭu* (coil), Tel. *tsuṭṭu*, etc., all of which go back to *kuṛ-* (to be coiled, shrink, contract).

jonkæ (bunch, cluster)—the Tulu verb *soṅg-* (to swing) is related to Tam., Kann., Mal., Tel. *toṅg-* (to be suspended), Kurukh *toṅg-*, Kûi *toṅg-* with cerebralisation of the dental *t*. The original base has initial *t-*.

Significant points:—

(i) *juṭṭu* (tuft) with its Tulu cognates *suruḷ-*, *suruṇṭ-* and many cognates with *c-*, *ś-*, or *s-* (as the case may be) in the other dialects, goes back to old *kuṛ-*, *kiṛ-*, *kūṛ-* *kīṛ-* [which find modern representation in forms occurring in all the dialects].

(ii) All the other forms are very rare. It will be seen later that in Tulu *c-* followed by back vowels easily becomes the dental sibilant *s-*.

II. Tulu words with initial *s-*.

(a) Tulu forms with *s-* followed by *-a-*:—

sani- (to become cold) } —cf. Tulu *tampu* (coldness)
sampu (coldness) } and Tam., Mal., Kann. *taṇ*,
 Tel. *tsaṇṇiḷḷu* (cold water).

sappu (mistake)—sub-dialectally alternates with *tappu* which is identical with the Tamil, Kann., Tel. and Mal. *tappu* (mistake, etc.).

salæ (head)—sub-dialectally alternates with *talæ* (head)—common south and central Dr. base has *t-* only.

sajapu (piercing)—rare sub-dialectal form, the more common sub-dialectal form being *tajapu*—cf. Tam. *taṛ-*, Kann. *taṛ-*, etc. The original base

form has *t-* [Tuḷu *-j-* is normally < south Dr. *-ṛ-*].

sāvu (death) } —common to all Tuḷu sub-dialects, the
sai (to die) } rare *tai-* (to die) appearing only in the
 Pombada speech where initial *s-* has a tendency
 to become *t-*; cf. for the common Tuḷu form,
 Tamil *śā-*, Kann. *sā-*, Mal. *cā-*, Gōṇḍi *sai*, Kūi
sā-, Kurukh *khē-*, Malto *ke-*, Brāhūi *kah-*.

saḷi, *caḷi* (cold) } —the *s-* forms in Tuḷu are
saṭṭæ, *caṭṭæ* (litter) } rare sub-dialectal ones; for
 the *c-* forms, see above.

Significant points:—

(i) We shall find later that Tuḷu has developed the native initial *s-* in a large number of forms, even Skt. *c*¹ and *ś-* becoming naturalised as *s-* in Tuḷu.

(ii) We have to distinguish between those *s-* forms that are common to *all* Tuḷu sub-dialects from those which occur only in some; in the above list *sani-* (to become cold) and *sai-* (to die), *sāvu* (death) belong to the former category while the others to the latter.

(b) *Tuḷu words with initial s- followed by the front vowels -i-, -e-:—*

sikk- (to be entangled)—sub-dialectally alternates with *tikk-*; for cognates, see above.

siri- (to turn)—sub-dialectally alternates with *tiri-* which appears to be more common—cf. Tam. Kann., Tel., Mal. *tiri* (to turn), Kūi *tij-*, *tih-*, *ter-* (to turn, etc.), Gōṇḍi *tirit-*.

śipæ (sweetness)—sub-dialectally alternates with *tīpæ* and sometimes with *śipæ*—cf. Kannaḍa *si* (sweet), Tam. *tī* (sweet), etc.

sigur (to sprout)—sub-dialectally alternating with words having initial *t-*, *c-* and *ś-*.

seræ (wave)—sub-dialectally alternating with *teræ*.—
 cf. Tam. *tirai*, *terai* (wave), Kann. *tere* (wave),

¹ Cf. Tuḷu *śaṅke* for *śaṅkhu*, *śakti* for *śakti*, *śakra* for *cakra*, *śukra* for *śukra*, *śumbana* for *cumbana*, *śōra* for *cōra*, etc.

Mal. *tira*. The original base is *tir-* (to turn). [Basal *-i-* > *-e-* before an open vowel in the next syllable.]

sird- (to correct)—Again sub-dialectal, the other forms being *tird-*, *šird-*; cf. Tam. *tiruttu* (to correct), Kann. *tidda*, Tel. *trippu*, and Mal. *tiruttu*. The original base is *tir-* (to turn) which is represented also in Kûi *ter-pa* (to wind) and *tih-pa* (to turn), etc.

Significant points:—

(i) There are no *si-* or *se-* forms in Tuḷu which are common to all sub-dialects.

(ii) Even the few sub-dialectal instances given above are less frequently heard than corresponding words with *t-*.

(c) *Tuḷu words with initial s- followed by -u- or -o-:—*

<i>sû</i> (fire)	{	Except <i>suḍu</i> which is common to all Tuḷuva nâḍ, the forms alternate sub-dialectally with words having initial <i>t-</i> . The other dialects all show in a greater or lesser degree initial affricates or sibilants beside cognate ancient <i>t-</i> forms. I have tried to trace this entire set of ancient forms to <i>tû</i> (fire, to be hot, etc.) elsewhere. ¹
<i>sû-</i> (to see)		
<i>suḍ-</i> (to burn)		
<i>suḍaru</i> (lamp)		

<i>sutt-</i> (to wind)	{	These also belong to an ancient set of forms with representatives in all Dr. dialects (except Kurukh and Brâhûi where we have only <i>k-</i> cognates), having initially <i>c-</i> , <i>j-</i> , <i>ś-</i> or <i>s-</i> , by the side of others with ancient <i>k-</i> . I consider <i>k-</i> to be original. ²
<i>suruḷ-</i> (to turn round, to contract)		
<i>suḷi</i> (whirlpool)		

suri-, *suli-* (to flay)—cf. Tam. *toli* (to flay), Kann. *toli*, etc., and *tôl* (skin).

sûng- (to nod, be drowsy)—sub-dialectally alternates with *tûng-*; cf. Tam., Kann., Mal. *tûng-*, Kurukh

¹ *Vide* my paper on "The Linguistic History of a few south Dravidian Words" in Vol. XXI of the Calcutta University Journal of Letters.

² *Vide* my "*k-* Dialects of Dravidian".

tûngul (sleep), Brâhûi *tûgh-* (to sleep), Kûi *sûng-*.

The original base has *t-*. Note that Tuḷu and Kûi alone have *s-* forms.

sôl- (to be defeated)—sub-dialectally alternates with *tôl-* (to be defeated)—*cf.* Tam., Kann., Mal. *tôl-*.

sôj- (to appear)—sub-dialectally alternates with *tôj-*—*cf.* Kann. *tôṛ-* (to appear), Kûi *tôñj-*, Tam. *tônḍr-*, Tel. *tsôpu* (appearance).

sôḷu (shoulder)—sub-dialectally alternates with *tôḷu*. The cognates in Tam., Kann., ['arm' in Kann.], and Mal. show *t-*.

Significant points :—

(i) The first two sets of instances should be differentiated from the rest inasmuch as they belong to two ancient groups which have representatives with initial *c-*, *ś-* or *s-* in most dialects.

(ii) Among the others, the cognates in other southern speeches generally show *t-* only, while cognates with *s-* are found in Kûi alone. While the fondness of Tuḷu for initial *s-* is conspicuous sub-dialectally, Kûi shows *s-* uniformly in initial positions.

III. Tulu words with initial *ś-*.

(a) Native words with *ś-* followed by *-a-* are rare even sub-dialectally.

(b) Similarly, native words with *ś-* followed by *-u-* or *-o-* are also very rare, the reason probably being that *ś+* + back vowel, easily changes to *s-* [*cf.* the following Tuḷu adaptations of Sanskrit words: Tuḷu *sukra* (for Skt. *śukra*), *sambhu* (for Skt. *śambhu*), etc.]

(c) There do occur a few words with initial *ś-* followed by *-i-* or *-e-*, but these are sub-dialectal and less frequently heard sub-dialectally than their alternants with initial *t-* or *s-*.

śiguru (sprout)—*siguru*, *tiguru*, *ciguru*.

śeræ (wave)—*seræ*, *teræ*.

śipæ (sweetness)—*śipæ*, *tīpæ*.

śird- (to correct)—*sird-*, *tird-*.

[For cognates for these, see above.]

IV. Occurrence of initial *c*-, *s*- and *ś*-.

[A] *c*-

(a) *c*- followed by *-a*- :—

We have seen above that there are three groups in this category, that one of them (*caræ* 'head', *câræ* (coconut tree), is rare even sub-dialectally and that another group appears to be identical in Tulu and the neighbouring dialect Kannaḍa which has loaned out to Tulu a very large number of words of every-day use.

The words *caṭṭa*
 caṭṭi
 canna
 cadar-
 caḷi

do not have sub-dialectal alternants in Tulu itself but are commonly used in the whole of Tuluva nāḍu. Can this set be considered to form part of the ancient inheritance of Tulu or does it represent only a part of Kannaḍa loan-words? The question is not easy of solution in view of the absence of historical evidence regarding the past condition of Tulu, but two facts may be noted here:— (i) that (except *cadar-*) none of them are verbs and that even *cadar-* has an alternant *kedar-* in Tulu exactly as in Kannaḍa with slightly differentiated meanings as between the variants; (ii) that all of them are identical in meaning and structure with the corresponding Kannaḍa words; and finally (iii) that none of these words show *unique* Tulu features. Probably, therefore, these words are Kannaḍa loans.

(b) *c*- followed by *-i*-, *-e*- :—

Except *cikka* (small) which is undoubtedly a Kannaḍa loan-word, the other *ci*-, *ce*- words of Tulu are sub-dialectal in occurrence. Mostly, these words have in the other dialects *t*- cognates.

(c) *c- followed by -u-, -o- :—*

As we have already noted, *cu-*, *co-* words are rarely heard in Tuḷu even sub-dialectally, the more common sounds before *-u-*, *-o-* being *s-* or *t-*. Here again the cognates of other dialects show *t-* mostly.

[B] *s-*(a) *s- followed by -a- :—*

Two groups have been distinguished by us here : *common* Tuḷuva words like *sani-* (to become cold), *sai-* (to die); and sub-dialectal words alternating with *t-* words, like *sajapu* (piercing), *sappu* (mistake), etc.

The cognates in the other dialects show *t-* for both these groups.

(b) *s- followed by -i-, -e- :—*

These are all sub-dialectal in occurrence, the variants having *t-* or *ś-* (or rarely *c-*), and the cognates of other dialects showing mostly *t-*.

(c) *s- followed by -u-, -o- :—*

We have two groups here as in (a) above: one group [ancient and common to a large number of all Dravidian dialects, particularly southern and central] constituted of two sets of words represented respectively by *suḍ-* (to burn) and *sutt* (to wind); and another group consisting of *s-* forms sub-dialectally alternating with *t-* words.

Here again, the cognates of other dialects show *t-* for the second group, while in the first group (as we have already seen), *suḍ-*, etc., has cognates with *t-* on the one hand and others with *c-*, *ś-* or *s-* on the other; and *sutt-*, etc., have cognates with *k-* on the one hand and others with *c-*, *ś-* or *s-* (as the case may be) on the other, the *k-* forms being original.

[C] *ś-*

Only a few Tuḷu words with *ś-* occur and even these are sub-dialectal. Further, all of them are followed by front vowels only.

V. The probable history of Tulu *c-*, *t-*, *s*.

I have tried to show in my papers published in *IA* and *JOR* that the initial sibilants, and affricates *c-* and *j-* are derivable either from ancient *k-* or from ancient *t-*.

So far as Tulu is concerned, with the exception of a few words, the forms with initial *c-*, *j-* and *s-* appear to go back to ancient *t-* forms.

Tulu, like Kannaḍa, Kurukh and Brāhūi, possesses a very large number of presumably ancient *k-* words which have been palatalized in certain Dravidian speeches by the influence of front vowels (*vide* my paper on "The *k-* Dialects of Dravidian").

Consistent with this feature, we note that the large majority of the Tulu words (with initial *c-*, *j-* or *s-*) given above are traceable only to ancient *t-* forms. This fact emerges directly from the analysis of the meanings and from the existence of cognates with initial *t-* distributed among all the dialects, southern, central and northern.¹

[A.]

(a) *c-* followed by *-a-* :—

If we eliminate as Kannaḍa loans the words showing identity of structure and meaning in Kannaḍa and Tulu, we have to consider here only rare sub-dialectal *caræ* (head) and *cāræ* (coconut tree).

Here, the palatalization of original *t-* can be postulated, as the immediately following *-a-* is in modern Tulu undoubtedly "front" in character. *tala* and *tāl* (ℓ) the respective cognates of these words in other south Dr. dialects show only an *-a-* or *-ā-* with more or less a back value; but in the Tulu words there has been a development towards "frontalization"; the final *-æ* [the Tulu representative of Tamil *-ai* and Kann. *-e*] is distinctly palatal and under the influence of this final *-æ*,

¹ The fact that every Dravidian dialect—southern, central and northern—possesses in large numbers elementary verbs and nouns with initial *t-*, and that these words in the different dialects could be shown to be inter-allied structurally and semantically, directly points to the original and ancient character of Dravidic *t-* in initial positions of these words.

the basic *-a-* has also acquired in modern enunciation a forward value.

(b) *c-* followed by *-i-*, *-e-*.

Here again, the sub-dialectal *c-* may very well have been the palatalized resultant of original *t-*. Palatalization of initial *t-* by immediately following front vowels has occurred in Kannada and in a few instances in Kûi, and the change here in a few sub-dialectal Tuḷu words may have been parallel and ancient.

The fact that in certain instances the alternant *s-* appears as a sub-dialectal variation can be explained as a further change of *c-* to *s-* under the influence of *s-* which (be it noted) has developed numerous in Tuḷu sub-dialects through direct fricativization of *t-* before dorsal or back vowels.

(c) *c-* followed by *-u-*, *-o-*.

These, as we have seen, are extremely rare even sub-dialectally.

I am inclined to consider that, in view of this rarity and further in view of the fact *c-* cannot arise by palatalization before the back vowels *-u-* or *-o-*, the original change should have been fricativization of *t* > *s-* as represented in the sub-dialects, and the further change of this *s-* in a few rare and extremely "corrupt" forms of speech to *c-* under the influence of common words with initial *c-*.

[B] *ś-*.

śi-, *śe-* words of the sub-dialects of Tuḷu may all have been due to palatalization of original *t-*. The occurrence of variants like *tigur-*, *cihur-*, *śigur-* and *sigur-* directly shows the stages of development: *t* > *c* > *ś* > *s-*. That a *c-* stage should have preceded a *ś-* stage would be clear from the fact that in the palatalization of *t-* the retention of the occlusion would normally produce only *c-*.

[C] *s-*.

(a) *si-*, *se-* words are sub-dialectal alternating in all instances with *ti-*, *te-* and in a few instances with *ci-*, *ce-* and *śi-*, *śe-*. *s-* in all of these may therefore be considered to be ultimately due to the palatalization of original *t-*.

(b) Now we come to words with *s-* followed by *-a-*, *-u-*, *-o-*.

Of these we shall treat about the ancient sets first.

(i) *suḍ-* (to burn)

sû, tû (fire), etc., etc.

These have cognates in other Dr. languages, with *t-* on the one hand, and *c-, ś- or s-* on the other. I have tried to show that the basic form from which all of these are derived is *tû-* or *tî-* meaning 'fire', 'heat', 'light'.

Was it palatalization or fricativization that operated here? The presence of *c-* and *ś-* in some of the southern derivatives need not necessarily lead us to think of palatalization, for in these dialects *c-* or *ś-* may have been the result of the tendency to uniformity with a general fondness to tolerate only a particular initial sound. I have shown elsewhere that Tamil uniformly has the sibilant *ś-*, and Telugu and Mal. *c-*. This general fondness, it is possible, may have affected the fricativized resultants of *tû-*.

But at the same time we cannot forget that *tû-*, the base, cannot easily be dissociated from *tî-* its ancient variant, and that it is possible that the vowel of *tû-* may itself have had a "front"¹ character; if so, the process of change may have been one of palatalization.

The question of the exact nature of the change of *t- > s-* in this group has on the whole to remain open.

(ii) *sutt-* (to wind)

suruḷ- (to roll), etc.

The cognates of other dialects show *k-* on the one hand, and also *c-, ś-, s-* (as the case may be) on the other. Tulu itself has *kurunḷ-, kuruḷ-* (to roll, shrink) which are undoubtedly cognate. *k-* cognates are found in *all* dialects, while central Dr. shows *s-* cognates and south Dr. has, beside the *k* forms allied words with *c-, ś- or s-* as the case may be. I have tried to show that the original base here is *kuṛ-, kiṛ-* signifying 'small', which base has given us numerous derivatives meaning 'small', 'to shrink' etc.

¹ Cf. the alternating *-i-* and *-u-* in Kann. *kiṛ-, kuṛ-* (small), Tam. *tīṛ-, tuṛ-* (to open), *tīu-*, colloquial *tūu-* (to eat), *tīḷ-aṅ-, tuḷ-aṅ-* (to be bright), *niḷ*, coll. *nīḷ-* (to stand), etc.

If *k-* is original here, how did *k-* change to *c-*, *ś-* or *s-*? The only conceivable process is palatalization: *k-* > palatal plosive [c] > affricate *c-* > *ś-* > *s-*. The presence of the back vowel *-u-* in many modern forms may militate against this view; but the original base form (as we could reconstruct it) appears to have had a vowel with a front tonality which induced palatalization. The existence of Kurukh *kiṛ-* (to turn back), Brāhūi *kur* (to be turned round) on the one hand, and of Tam., Kannaḍa, Tuḷu *kuṛ-* (small) and its derivatives by the side of *kiṛ-* (small) and its numerous derivatives on the other, would point to the ancient alternation of *kuṛ-*, *kiṛ-* with the primary meaning 'reduced, small'.

- (iii) *sai-* (to die)
sāvu (death)

The cognates of all Dravidian speeches except Kurukh, Malto and Brāhūi show *c-*, *ś-* or *s-* (as the case may be). Kurukh has *khe-*, Brāhūi *kah-* and Malto *ke-*.

The character of the basic vowel is not uniform, but varies between *-a-* and *-e-*.

Palatalization of *k-* induced by the influence of a front vowel may therefore be postulated here.

(iv) We now come to those sub-dialectal instances of Tuḷu where *s-* followed by *-a-*, *-u-* or *-o-*, corresponds to the *t-* cognates of other Dravidian speeches. These words are unique in Tuḷu, a few parallels being found only in Kūi:

sūṅ-, *tūṅ-* (to sleep)—Kūi only *śūṅ-*

sōl-, *tōl-* (to be defeated)

sup-, *tup-* (to spit)—Kūi only *sup-*

sōj-, *toj-* (to appear)—cf. Tel. *tsōpu* (appearance)

sol-, *tol-* (to flay)

sūka, *tūka* (weight)—only parallel for initial *s-*:

Kūi *sūka*

sēlu, *tēlu* (scorpion)

salə, *talə* (head)

samṇu, *tamṇu* (coldness)—cf. Tel. *tsaṇṇillu* (cold water)

sapṇu, *tapṇu* (mistake)

There appears to be little doubt that the sibilant *s-* of these instances most of which are unique in Tuḷu, is the result of the fricativization of *t-*. This fricativization of *t- > s-* occurs occasionally in the corrupt colloquial of the illiterate masses of Tamil nāḍu and Keraḷa: cf. corrupt Tamil *sogayal* for *togayal* (chutney), *soḍai* for *toḍai* (thigh), etc., and corrupt Mal. *sôkku* for *tôkku* (gun), *soḍaṇṇ-* for *toḍaṇṇ-* (to begin), etc. Sub-dialectally, this fricativization appears to have been to a certain extent normalized in Tuḷu.

VI. Conclusion.

The results of our discussion may be summarized thus:—

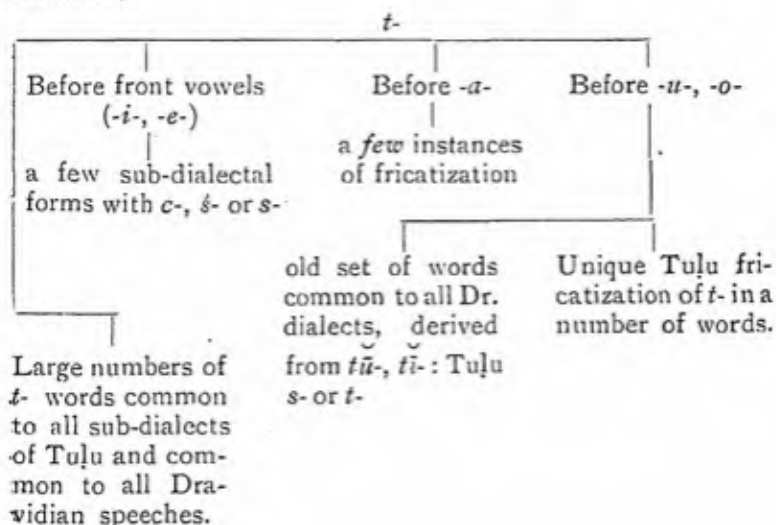
(1) Most Tuḷu words with *c-*, *ś-*, *s-* appear to be derived from original *t-*.

(2) Palatalization of *t-* in one class of Tuḷu sub-dialectal words and fricativization of *t-* in another class (with immediately following *-u-*, *-o-*, *-a-*) are the processes of change that have operated, the former taking the following course:—

t- (+ *-i-*, *-e-*) $>$ *c-* $>$ *ś-* $>$ *s-*,

and the latter being direct:

t- (+ *-u-*, *-o-*, *-a-*) $>$ *s-* (through the removal of occlusion).



MANDOOKYA UPANISHAD.

BY DR. M. SRINIVASA RAO, M.A., M.D.

THE Mandookya Upanishad is the shortest of all the Upanishads and gives a succinct but clear exposition of the philosophy of Advaita. Its very brevity seems to have been to many an insuperable obstacle to a proper understanding of its contents. Sri Goudapada, the revered Guru of Sri Sankara, prepared a Karika, a collection of verses expounding the philosophy in somewhat greater detail. This Karika has been so highly thought of, that it has been raised almost to the level of the Upanishads and revered accordingly. All the same, to men of mediocre intellect, even this was found to be insufficient and Sri Sankara had to write a Bhashya or commentary, explaining in great detail, the philosophical principles dealt with in the Upanishad and the Karika.

The necessity for the Karika and the Bhashya is due to the fact that the great majority of men cannot think seriously about any question and are content to adopt others' opinions. A few may begin to think in earnest but the process is so difficult and troublesome that they stop short and accept opinion based on insufficient data and reasoning. It is very few that will not yield but overcome all difficulties and arrive at opinions which cannot be shaken. It is to this last and select class that Sri Goudapada and Sri Sankara belong.

Even with the help of the Karika and the Bhashya, only a few, at the present day, can be said to have mastered the truths inculcated in the Mandookya Upanishad. The Karika and the Bhashya have been written in the Sanskrit language which has now ceased to be in common use and is studied only by a select few. In the present-day conditions of life in India, English has become the medium of communication among all parts of the country. Only a handful know Sanskrit. Men of education think in English and use it in their speech to the neglect of Sanskrit and the various

vernaculars. This may be deplorable but is a fact to be faced. Hence the apology for the use of a foreign language in the attempt to popularise Advaitic truths expounded in the Upanishad, the Karika and the Bhashya.

In the following pages nothing is omitted that is essential to the proper understanding of the Upanishad. Only a few unimportant things, which are not likely to appeal to modern Hindus, are not alluded to. The excellence of the Mandookya Upanishad consists in the fact that no assumptions of any kind are made. When an assumption is once made, there is no reason why we should not make as many assumptions as we like. Such a method saves one from the necessity of hard thinking. Taking some things for granted, and subsequently trying to find reasons for supporting them is a much easier method of thinking than beginning with no pre-conceptions and trying to find out the truth and reality underlying all phenomena perceived with the aid of the senses. It is necessary to face the fact first and think patiently till a new philosophy emerges. This will set free our minds and permit honest thinking.

It is hoped that the opinions of some of the western philosophers quoted and the few observations thereon will elucidate the teachings of the Upanishad.

The Upanishads in general and this in particular are intended for all people who, with an open mind, will take the trouble to think for themselves. The student need not be of a high grade of intelligence indulging in philosophical speculations and metaphysical subtleties. Men of average intellect capable of understanding all the experiences of the three states of waking, dream and sleep and of reasoning thereon will benefit by a study of this Upanishad.

In the Mandookya Upanishad, *Om* is taken as the symbol of and as the means for realizing the true nature of the self or *Ātman*. The Taittiriya Upanishad also says "*Om* is Brahman" and "All is *Om*".

Whatever one may do, one cannot get out of one's self. The universe outside of us can exist only in so far as it

can and does affect us. Therefore the only object of philosophical investigation can be one's own self and its content. Whatever one wishes for is for the satisfaction of one's own self. The world exists for each one of us. The self does not exist for the sake of the world. Each man is born by himself and he has to die by himself. So what is to be meditated upon and investigated is one's own self. If one is at all thoughtful, he will ask "why and how did I come into this world of precepts and concepts? Is there any ultimate reality and if so, can I know it?" In trying to answer these questions, he will have to fall back on himself and on the method of introspection.

All the worldly experiences of every human being are comprised in the three states of waking, dream and sleep. Outside these three states, no experience is possible. Commonly, and especially in the western countries, all the stress is laid on the waking experience which alone is believed to be real, the experience of dream being relegated to the background and that of sleep being altogether denied. Some go so far as to consider dream and sleep as appendages of waking.

This Upanishad points out the true philosophical method of taking a comprehensive view of life, by considering the whole of human experience and not confining its attention to only one, the waking state, to the exclusion of the other two. One studying this Upanishad recognizes that philosophical speculation based on the experience of the waking state alone can lead to no final result. This is well seen in the case of the western philosophical systems, which neglect dream and sleep. Vedantic truths can be established only by reason based on the experience of all the three states. These three states are common to every person and nobody can be said to be free from them. A man may keep awake as long as he likes, experiencing all the objects, and the pleasures and pains accruing from them, but sooner or later, he will be compelled to go to sleep. Deprivation of sleep is felt to be the greatest punishment that one can be subjected

to. Every sleeper experiences dreams. On waking he forgets most of them and may have faint recollections of dreams which he had just before waking. However this may be, everyone feels sure that he slept.

Everybody recognizes that in the waking state, there is a perceiver who perceives numerous objects believed to be outside of one's self. These latter may be called by the name of percepts. Very few stop to consider whether there can be any percepts without the perceiver, but nobody disputes that the perceiver is apart from and independent of the percepts. The perceiver may feel attached to the percepts or detached from them. He may, in the former case, feel various emotions such as pleasure, pain, desire, anger, fear, etc.

In the dream, as long as the state lasts, the dreamer feels that he is perceiving various objects apart from and independent of him and may be drawn by them or repelled by them. The emotions felt in the dreaming state are exactly like those felt in the waking condition. To the dreamer, all the dream enactments are quite real and he does not then feel that they are in any way unreal. But after waking from dream, he compares such of the dreams as he may remember, with the waking state and declares that the latter only is real, condemning the dream as wholly unreal.

All of us feel that in the state of deep sleep, we have no experience of any kind comparable to that of the other two states. The "I" of the waking and the "I" of dream both disappear in sleep. During sleep, nothing is perceived and it is only after waking that a man can say that he knew nothing and was happy. In other words, one is conscious of not having been conscious of anything. To enable him to say this, consciousness must have been present but perceiving nothing, as there was nothing to perceive.

These three states are altogether independent of each other. They do not succeed each other as they appear to do, when one thinks of them in the waking state. Time, space and causation are characteristic of waking and dream. But

the time of the waking state is not continuous with that of dream. Each state has its own exclusive time unconnected with the other. So also, the space of waking is not contiguous with that of dream. The space experienced is peculiar to each state. The two states of waking and dream have no sort of relation with each other, though it is commonly believed, in the waking condition, that dreams are caused by the impressions or Vasanas of the waking state. Many dreams are quite new experiences unrelated to any in the waking state. Some dreams even seem to be omens of what is going to happen to the dreamer in the near or distant future.

The waking and dream worlds show no contiguity to each other. The dream world is real while the dream lasts and the world of the waking state has as much reality during the waking condition. The waking ego is different from the dreaming ego. The physical body, the mind, the senses and the objects are different to the two egos. The only common factor is the undifferentiated consciousness.

During sleep, there is no ego or non-ego, no subject or no object. The mind and its inseparable correlate the world as experienced in waking and dream are absent, but there is no unconsciousness as some profess to believe. In fact we can never conceive unconsciousness. In sleep there is just simple consciousness, transcending time, space and causation. The waking ego and his world and the dreaming ego and his world dissolve in the consciousness intuited in sleep, and forming the connecting link between the two. The consciousness is common to the three states and is all one and is the witness of the three states. Hence this consciousness spoken of as Brahman or Atman, is the only source of both ego and non-ego. The ego is essentially the witness and becomes the knower or perceiver when associated with intellect.

If one takes the sum total of one's experiences into consideration, one cannot but say that the perceiver is one and the same, that is, himself, but that the percepts are different and apart from himself. A thinking person would

also feel that his self is the central factor round which all the percepts appear to move. Whatever beliefs he may have about the nature of the percepts, he can have no doubts about the reality of his own self.

The Upanishad takes the fact of this triple nature of one's experience and symbolises it by *Om*. Words are necessary for explaining anything including Brahman. And so, to Brahman, both Parabrahman or the higher Brahman and Aparabrahman or lower Brahman, is given the name *Om*. To show that what is described in words as Brahman is not something remote and somewhere the Upanishad says "this Ātman is Brahman" pointing by a gesture to one's own self or Ātman. This is also known as Pratyagātman, that is, Ātman present in or limited by the body.

Om and Brahman or Ātman are described as being made up of four Pādās or, better, Mātrās, which are to be understood as something serving as instruments of knowledge.

At first are described the Pādās of Ātman and subsequently those of *Om*. The first Pādā of Ātman is Viswa, whose sphere of action is the waking state. He has nineteen avenues of communication with the outer world, for cognizing external objects and enjoying them. These are the five organs of sense, five organs of action, five Prānas or life-breaths and the four factors of Antahkarana, the internal organ, comprising mind or Manas, intellect or Buddhi, memory or Chitta and egoity or Ahankāra. Viswa enjoys gross or Sthoola objects in the waking condition.

The same Ātman is seen in all living beings and all living beings are seen in the same Ātman. According to Isavāsyā Upanishad, whoever sees all living things in the one Ātman and the one Ātman in all living beings, he is not troubled by anything. So Virāt, who forms the combination of all living beings in the gross state, is the same as Ātman in the form of Viswa.

The second Pādā of Ātman is Taijasa whose sphere of action is the state of the dream and who is conscious of internal objects and is the enjoyer of subtle impressions.

That is to say, he experiences in dream, the mind and its impressions. Just as Virāt is the combination of all gross bodies, Hiranyagarbha is the combination of all subtle bodies. He is therefore the same as Ātman in the form of Taijasa.

The third Pādā of Ātman is Prāṇa, whose sphere is deep sleep, cognizing no objects and only identified with Bliss which is characteristic of Ātman. The combination of all Prāṇas is known as Avyākṛita or the unmanifested, who is the same as Ātman in the form of Prāṇa.

In answer to his repeated questions as to what the self is, Prajāpati refers Indra first to the physical body, then to the self in dream and lastly to the self in deep sleep, where it becomes identical with Brahman. There, it is not connected with corporeality and there is no plurality. When a man is taught and feels that he is not a mere aggregate of body, senses, Manas and Buddhi, but is pure consciousness, he raises himself above the illusion of the body and knowing Brahman, becomes Brahman. In deep sleep, knowledge of the Upadhis and of differences is removed and not knowledge in its entirety. For the knower, there is no interruption in knowing.

The Lord of all is the source of all the variegated world. In him all beings have their origin and dissolution. As he is in all and cognizes everything in the three states, he is known as the All-Knower. He dwells in all beings and governs them and hence he is Antaryāmin. In his natural form of consciousness, he is the Lord of all.

He experiences the three states of waking, dream and sleep and relates them to himself by his memory, "that I am". Viswa, Taijasa and Prāṇa are but different names of Ātman. Viswa, acting through his sense-organs, sees a variety of forms. Closing his eyes, he remembers them and sees them again in the form of impressions or Vāsanās, as if in a dream. In the actual dreaming condition, he remembers the impressions of the waking state and re-enacts them in the mind. Therefore, Taijasa who is in the mind, is the same as Viswa. When the activity of the mind in the

form of memory is stilled, Viswa becomes one with Prāṅna who is mere consciousness, as the mind is not active. But as Prāṅna is not conscious of his identity with Ātman and on awaking acts as if he is ignorant of that identity, Prāṅna in the state of sleep is said, by one in the waking state, to be covered by Avidya or Agnāna. This Agnāna acts as the seed of the waking world in which there is Anyathāgnāna, that is, mistaking one thing for another. Really in sleep there is no Avidya or ignorance, but a man after waking says, "I knew nothing in sleep" and thus the one experiencer in the three states resides in the body in a three-fold way as Viswa, Taijasa and Prāṅna. Ātman of the nature of 'sat' or be-ness and 'chit' or consciousness, forms the basis for the superimposition or Adhyāropa or Adhyāsa of Viswa, Taijasa and Prāṅna. This superimposition of the world on Ātman is got rid of by a proper knowledge of Brahman and that is Moksha or release.

Consciousness intuited in sleep forms the connecting link between the waking-ego and the dream-ego. Sleep has two aspects and more attention has been paid to that aspect in which we cease to cognise the world consisting of ego and non-ego. The other aspect is the identity of sleep with consciousness, dimly recognized by the expression used by the sleeper after waking, "I was happy". This consciousness is persistent through all the three states waking, dream and sleep, and enables us to refer them to the self.

From this point of view, the term creation of the world is a misnomer. Man has an ingrained notion of causality and cannot get rid of the idea of the world being an effect, the cause being Īswara. Such people attribute the creation of the world to the glory of Īswara. Others say that it depends on the will of God or that it arises from Time.

Some assume that Brahman is transformed into the world. If so, the transformation must be either partial or total. In the first case, Brahman becomes subject to division and consequently not eternal but subject to the laws of space

and time. In the second case, Brahman would be before us as the world and there can be no need of a search for it. Therefore, Brahman cannot be taken to be either partially or wholly transformed into the world and the whole plurality of appearances simply rests on Avidya. In other words, we simply superimpose the world of appearances on Brahman.

A thing does not become divided because ignorance takes it to be divided. The appearing change or transformation rests merely on words. That is to say, names and forms constitute the world of egos and non-egos. The whole extension of the world is a mere illusion and differs from the illusion of a dream only in the fact that the world-illusion lasts till the Jiva realizes Brahman, whereas the dream-illusion is refuted every day on waking from sleep.

Some also assume that divine activity proceeds in and through Chit-sakti and that cause and effect are identical, both being Brahman. But this is not a final answer to such questions as how the one becomes the many, how the immutable can yet change, how the Infinite can be identical with the finite, and how pure intelligence or Chit-sakti can evolve out of itself an effect which is inert and having no intelligence. The mediation of Chit-sakti serves no useful purpose. It may command faith and adoration but gives no explanation of how things have come about. In the light of reason, Chit-sakti offers no final solution of the problem of creation or that of the one and the many.

Others say that creation means the subtle becoming gross. This also is no good, as the question is how do name and form of the gross arise from the homogeneous subtle. How does the Sookshma become the Sthoola? What are the agents involved and what are the instruments employed?

To say that the latent becomes patent, is giving no explanation of creation. It affords no answer to such questions as how does the latent become the patent. What was holding the process in check? If the two are identical, is one justified in giving them different names? The difficulties of causation are thus ever present.

There are also those who hold that the Lord created everything for his own enjoyment or for his sport or that it is the nature of *Iswara* to create and that he does so. One of the nature of *Iswara* cannot have any desires unsatisfied. To attribute desires to such a Being is not possible.

Those who believe in the creation of a universe by a god who forms no part of it and is extraneous to it, are confronted with the solution of the problem of evil. Evil is then to be regarded as being included in the act of creation. Of course no religiously-minded man will assent to this. That is why some philosophers take God to be *one* though the highest and most perfect among the finite individuals contained in the Absolute. But this conception shows no way out of the difficulties about the evil. It only exists outside God limiting his power. As any finite being has an inherent element of defect, an evil in itself, a finite god also has some evil inherent in him. Thus a finite ethical god, however exalted, cannot be an adequate object of religious devotion. A. E. Taylor thinks that "anything less than the Absolute is an inadequate object of religious devotion and that the Absolute itself has the structure which such an object requires." At the same time, he admits the fact "that we cannot represent the object of our worship to ourselves in an individual form of sufficient concreteness to stir effectual emotion and prompt to genuine action without clothing it in imagination with anthropomorphic qualities, which metaphysical criticism proves inapplicable to the infinite individual." He then says, "I do not think that we need shirk from the conclusion that practical religion involves a certain element of intellectual contradiction." Taylor is prepared to consider the possibility that there may be within the Absolute many finite beings of a superhuman power and goodness, with whom man may co-operate for ethical ends. In other words, polytheism is possible but cannot be either proved or disproved.

All the speculations about the Absolute, God, Ultimate Reality, etc., are based on the experience of the waking

state only and therefore cannot give any firm basis for religion, ethics and æsthetics. And so, it is no wonder that Taylor confesses that "metaphysics adds nothing to our information and yields no fresh springs of action. It is finally only justified by the persistency of the impulse to speculate on the nature of things as a whole."

Georges Clemenceau "In the Evening of My Thought" says, "Bergson declares that evolution creates, as our need requires, not only the forms of life, but the ideas that enable the mind to understand both it and the terms that serve to express it. These are high-sounding phrases. They all come from the inability to tell us what is meant by the word 'creation'."

So, creation of the world is said to be due to nothing but Avidya which is wrong knowledge and knowledge by which we mistake one thing for another. This is nothing more than a confession of our ignorance to 'explain' the creation of the world. But to satisfy the human craving for causation, Brahman is represented as becoming a subject. The subject identifying itself with mind and intellect, becomes an ego which separates itself from the object or non-ego. While the subject merely witnesses without forming attachments, the ego wants various things, wills to obtain them and thus separates into the waking world. When the ego acts in order to satisfy its requirements, good, bad and indifferent, it developes into an actor and enjoyer. Therefore any theory of creation is more unintelligible than the world itself. Looking upon the world as the effect of an unknown cause, is the same as affirming that both are phenomenal in nature. After waking from sleep which is the same as consciousness, we perceive the world. This consciousness is a matter of daily intuitive experience. Therefore it appears reasonable to take the world as a manifestation of consciousness.

The fourth Pādā of Ātman is known as Turīya which is not cognisant of internal or external objects. Words can only refer to relations, qualities, actions, etc., and as Ātman

is devoid of such, no words can possibly describe it as such and such. Therefore, words can only be used to signify that it is not this or not that. From this it should not be supposed that it is pure void or negation or *Sūnya*, because a superimposition is not possible without an underlying basis. For instance, superimposition of silver and of a snake cannot be said to occur without mother-of-pearl and rope respectively. As A. E. Taylor says, "All propositions, directly or indirectly, refer to real existence. Hence it would be self-contradictory to assert that nothing exists."

It may be said that *Prāna* is held in *Ātman* just as water is held in a pot and so *Ātman* may be described in words. But it is not so, as *Prāna* is a mere superimposition on *Ātman* and is quite as unsubstantial as the silver in mother-of-pearl. There can be no real relation between the substantial and the unsubstantial, that is, that which has no real existence. The *Turiya* has no limiting conditions and can never become the subject of any instrument of knowledge. It does not undergo any modifications and therefore is not a causal agent. It is not like a *Guna* or quality inhering in a *Dravya* or substance, as in *Ātman* there are no qualities whatsoever. So it is not possible to describe it in any words.

Turiya is not to be thought of as a something apart from the three *Pādās*, *Viswa*, *Taijasa* and *Prāgna*. If so there would be no way of knowing *Turiya* and the teaching of the sacred texts would be useless. *Turiya* is that on which are superimposed the three states waking, dream and sleep or *Viswa*, *Taijasa* and *Prāgna*. When the superimposition of the snake on a rope is got rid of by a true knowledge, the knowledge of the reality of the rope arises at the same time. Similarly when the superimposition of the three states, or, in other words, of the world of *Samsara*, on *Ātman* is got rid of, the full knowledge of the reality of *Turiya* arises at once. Therefore, we need not seek any other *Pramāna* or other instrument to know *Turiya*. In sleep there are no obstacles to the comprehension of the reality

but there is a lack of instruments like mind, intellect, etc. Therefore, true knowledge can be acquired only in the waking state. The dawn of knowledge means release from all bonds of Samsara. When consciousness is recognized as the only reality, waking and dream will come to be looked upon as absolute non-entities.

When the superimposition of Viswa, Taijasa and Prāṇa disappears there ceases to be any differences or duality, such as the knower, the known and the knowledge. As Ātman can be understood only through negation, it does not become the object of knowledge, that is, it cannot be seen. Because it is unseen, it does not lend itself to experience. It cannot be grasped by organs of action. In the absence of any signs for recognition, it is uninferable. Hence it is unthinkable and indescribable by words.

As the experience of the three states of waking, dream and sleep are referred to one and the same Ātman, not subject to any changes such as increase or decrease, the Ātman is one continuous stream of consciousness. As the consciousness of Ātman forms the sole means for knowing the fourth, the Turiya is also the continuing stream of consciousness.

As the Turiya is devoid of all limiting conditions of the states of waking, dream and sleep, it is ever peaceful, not subject to changes, non-dual and devoid of all differentiations.

To determine the real nature of Turiya, it is necessary to consider the characters of Viswa, Taijasa and Prāṇa. An effect is that which is brought about as the result of something else. The cause is in the form of a seed, bringing about something as a result of its action. Agnāna or Avidya, that is, not knowing the true nature of Tattva or reality and Anyathāgnāna, that is, wrongly knowing the reality as something else, such as the body, etc., form the seed and the fruit respectively, that is, cause and effect. Viswa and Taijasa are bound by both these, cause and effect, and are enmeshed by them. But the Prāṇa is subject to cause only, that is, Avidya, not knowing the true nature of reality.

Agnāna and Anyathāgnāna do not exist in Turiya. If the cause Agnāna or Avidya is a real entity, it can never be destroyed and then there would be no true Advaita or non-duality.

Viswa and Taijasa are aware of duality, the product of the seed Avidya as something other than Ātman and as being outside of themselves. But Prāṇa in sleep is not conscious either of his own true nature, nor of anything else. The other two are bound by Avidya, ignorance of Tattva and by wrong knowledge of one thing as another, that is, the product of Avidya.

Turiya is beyond all this and remains as the eternal witness of everything. There is no room in Turiya for Avidya or for its product. Non-cognition of duality is common both to Prāṇa and Turiya, but the former is united with sleep in the form of cause. This sleep is nothing more than not knowing the true nature of reality or Tattva and is the cause of cognition of specific objects in the waking and dreaming states. So the binding cause Avidya or sleep is never associated with Turiya who is the eternal witness of everything.

When a Jiva superimposing both dream and sleep on his own Ātman and merged during the waking state in Samsāra or phenomenal world, is taught by a Guru to the following effect, "you are not of the nature of cause and effect, but 'that thou art'", he will come to have true knowledge of reality or Tattva, and Turiya will be revealed to him as his own Ātman.

All empirical action and plurality are as true as are dream phenomena, until awakening comes. Then the effect may be unreal but the perception of it is real and is not removed by awakening. In the non-reality of the world of appearances, the soul remains real. The teaching is directed to the soul and thus it does not cease, when the world of appearances ceases.

It may be said that only when the phenomenal world of duality disappears, that the knowledge of Tattva may be said

to arise; but as long as it persists, there can be no non-duality. This objection seems to be founded on a misconception. If a thing exists, it can disappear. But the duality spoken of as this world, is a mere superimposition or *Māya*. As it is only superimposed like a snake on a rope, it really does not exist. The snake superimposed by *Māya* on a rope, never existed in the rope and does not disappear on the dawn of knowledge.

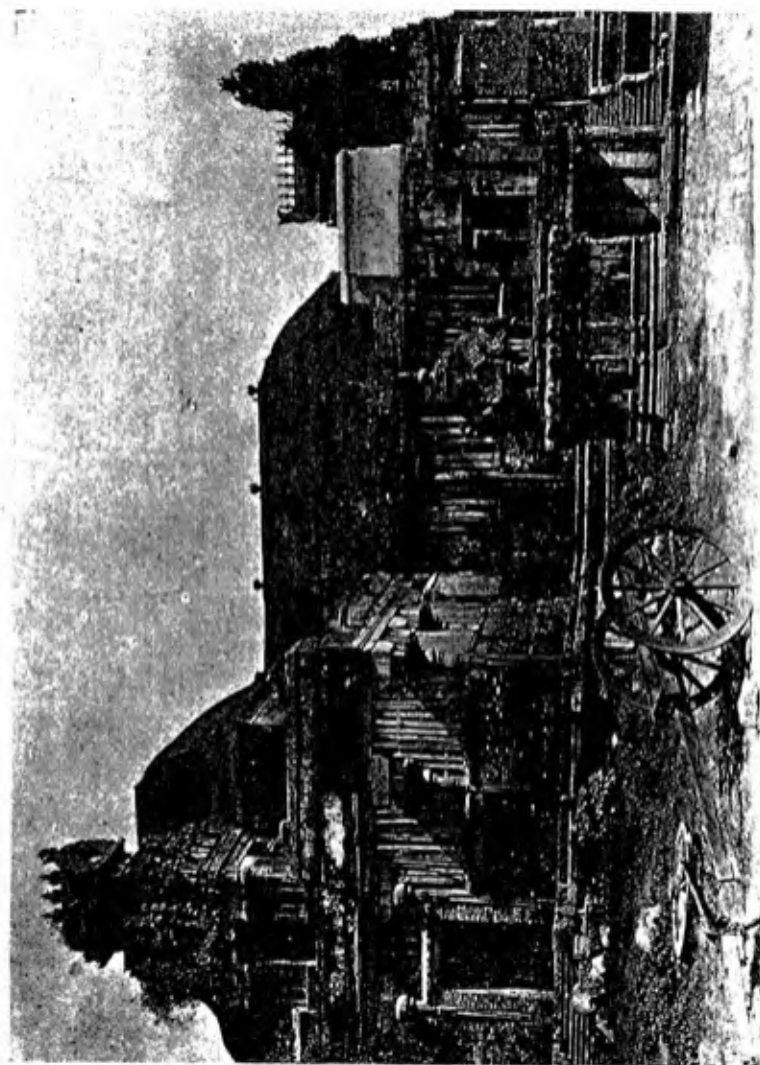
Moreover, knowledge of Brahman destroys the phenomenal world, not physically but metaphysically. In other words, one who has realized Brahman, might perceive the world, but having at the same time the knowledge of non-dual reality, he is not affected by the world. Thus when properly considered, no sort of a world exists or disappears.

One may retort, how does the duality of a teacher, a pupil and the scriptures ever disappear. The truth however is, that all this talk of a teacher, a pupil and the scriptures is a part of the superimposition and is useful only for the purpose of the initiation of the pupil, before the rise of knowledge. If as the result of initiation, a true knowledge of reality, *Tattva*, arises, there will be no duality in the form of the world.

Coming back to *Om*, which is taken as the symbol of *Ātman*, its *Pādās* or *Mātrās* are *A*, *U* and *M*, which respectively correspond to *Viswa* of the waking state, *Taijasa* of the dream and *Prāṇa* of sleep. In pronouncing *Om*, also known as *Pranava*, *A* and *U* become merged in *M*, just as *Viswa* and *Taijasa* become merged in *Prāṇa*. The *Om* as a whole corresponds to *Turīya*, free from *Pādās* or other differentiations. Constant contemplation of *Pranava* leads one to the realization of *Turīya* as his own *Ātman*.

(To be continued.)





THOUSAND-PILLARED MANTAPAM: CHIDAMBARAM

THE HUNDRED-PILLARED MANDAPAM AT CHIDAMBARAM.

BY S. R. BALASUBRAHMANYAN, ESQ., B.A., L.T.

PART I.

THE Hundred-Pillared Mandapam at the Nataraja temple in Chidambaram has a long and chequered history. It is situated west of the 'Sivaganga' (the Holy Tank) and south of the 'Amman' temple (Temple of the Goddess) and between the second and the third enclosures. I shall try to trace its history so far as epigraphical evidence permits.

The veteran South Indian epigraphist, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, has written in the *Annual Report on the Archaeological Survey of India* (1908-1909), "The high towers of most of the famous temples of the South must have been built in the time of Krishnaraya, as also the picturesque and extensive additions known generally as 100-pillared and 1000-pillared mandapas. We frequently hear of 'Rayar Gopuram' which means the Tower of Rayar (*i.e.*, perhaps Krishnadeva Raya)"¹ This has been quoted with approval by the author of the new edition of the *Mysore Gazetteer* (Vol. II, Part III, page 1879).

High Towers.

The question arises whether there were high towers before the days of Krishnadeva Raya. My answer is in the affirmative. The Tribhuvanam temple (in the Tanjore District) said to have been built by Kulōttunga III is an instance. While the *vimana* and the main structure is after the model of the Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore, the towers at the outer enclosure are like those styled 'Raya Gopurams' by Mr. Krishna Sastri. Further, I shall give another instance which may settle the point beyond doubt. An inscription from Attur in the Chingleput District dated in the fifth year of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Kōpperunjiṅgadeva

¹ Page 181, note 4.

records the gift of this village by this chief for "the building of the southern entrance of the temple of Tiruchiṟṟambalamudaiyar at Perumbaṟṟappuliyūr (i.e., Chidambaram) as a gopura of seven storeys".¹ Kōpperunjiṅga's date of accession has been fixed by calculation at 1243 A.D. So that, at least by the middle of the thirteenth century, such high towers were not unknown in South India. We often find references to "வழுநிலை கோபுரம்" in Tamil literature. This means tower with seven storeys.

The 1000-Pillared Mandapam.

When did the thousand-pillared mandapams come into vogue in South India? Did they exist before the days of Krishnadeva Raya or at least before the Vijayanagar days? So far, my search to find epigraphical evidence for the construction of thousand-pillared halls before the days of Vijayanagar has not been fruitful. A number of inscriptions refer to a place called 'Ayirattaḷi' (ஆயிரத்தளி) which literally means "the thousand-temple".² These inscriptions range from the days of Rajaraja I to those of Kulōttunga I. There is a further reference to a "Palace of Ayirattaḷi";³ and another inscription⁴ mentions a coronation-hall of the Cōḷas at Ayirattaḷi—"ஆயிரத்தளியில் சோழவளலனபிஷேக மண்டபம்". But we cannot say definitely whether this term has any reference to the existence of a hall of a thousand pillars. In this connection, it is very interesting to note that Śekkiḷār, the author of the *Periyapurānam* ("Life of the 63 Saivite Saints of the Tamil Land"), is said to have composed his work in the thousand-pillared mandapam at Chidambaram.

Umāpati Śivāchāriyar who has written in verse the life of Śekkiḷār⁵ writes:—

¹ 285 of 1921.

² 249 of 1911, 254 of 1911, 304 of 1911, 350 of 1918, Nos. 578 and 579 of S.J.I. V.

³ 163 of 1906.

⁴ 49 of 1890.

⁵ *Śekkiḷār-Swamigal Purānam*.

“வந்து சூழநீரைத்த வையிருநூறு நான் மணிமண்டபத்
தெந்தையார் திருவருளை யுன்னி யிருந்து சேவையர் காவலர்
செந்தமிழ்தொடையால் வினங்கிய திருவிருத்த நிருத்தலர்
தந்த சொன் முதலா வெடுத்தனர் தாணுவான புராணநூல்.”

Thus there is a clear literary reference to a thousand-pillared mandapam at Chidambaram at least in the days of Umāpati Sivāchāriyar, who lived in the early part of the fourteenth century, if not in the days of Śekkiḷār, who was a contemporary of the Cōḷa king Anapāya, generally identified with Kulōttunga II of the twelfth century. However there is no epigraphical evidence to substantiate the statement. Even supposing there were a thousand-pillared mandapam in the twelfth or fourteenth century, it is not possible to say whether it was the same as the present structure.

The 100-Pillared Mandapam.

If Mr. Krishna Sastri held the view that even the hundred-pillared halls began to be built only during Vijayanagar days, exception will have to be taken. We have such halls at Tiruvadi, near Panruti and at Chidambaram, both in the South Arcot District. Both were built by a Cōḷa chieftain called Naralōkavīraṇ who was a famous general and minister of Cōḷa kings, Kulōttunga I and Vikrama Cōḷa—the eleventh and the early part of the twelfth centuries. Both these inscriptions are verses in Tamil and describe the building activities of this chief in the temples at Tiruvadi and Chidambaram. Here are extracted the relevant portions of the inscriptions:—

(a) *Tiruvadi Inscription* (திருவதிகை) 369 of 1921.

“மன்னொளிசேர் நூற்றுக்கான் மண்டபத்தை மால்வகையால்
மன்னதிகை நாயகர்க்கு வந்தமைத்தான் மன்ன
ரிசை கொடாதோட விகல்கொண்டாங் கெட்டுத்
தசை கொடார் கடத்தன் தெரிந்து.”

(b) *Chidambaram Inscription* (120 of 1888).

“மல்லற்குலவனாயால் நூற்றுக்கால் மண்டபத்தே (தைத்)
நில்லைய பிரானுக்குச்செய்தமைத்தான்—கொல்லம்
அழிவுகண்டான் சேரன் அனப்பரிய ஆற்றல்
வழிவுகண்டான் தொண்டையர் கேளேறு.”¹

The above inscription is found outside the first Prākāra on the north side of the Nataraja temple. In the hundred-pillared hall, there are a few inscriptions on the pillars of the hall. One set of them refer to “Svasti Sri Vikrama Cōla”. Hence it has to be inferred that this is the very hall built by Nalōkavīra, who should have dedicated it to his overlord, Vikrama Cōla and named it after him.

Thus it is clear that the hundred-pillared halls came to be built at least as early as the beginning of the twelfth century A.D.²

PART II.

Naralokavira—the Builder of the 100-Pillared Mandapam.

Sources :—

The sources relating to the history of this chief are :—

(a) *Literary*—*The Vikrama Cōlan Ulā*. This Tamil work mentions the achievements of this chief.

“வேங்கையினுங்கடார் விழிஞத்தும் கொல்லத்தும்
கொங்கத்தும் ஒடாவிரட்டத்துமொட்டத்தும்
நாடாத்தடியெடுத்து வெவ்வேறர சிரிய வீரக்கொடி
யெடுத்து காலின்கர் கோனும்.”

(b) *Epigraphical*.—

- (1) 374 of 1908—Neyyennai—23rd year of Kulōttuṅga I.
- (2) 369 of 1909—Siddalingamadam—Saka 1025—King Jayadhara.
- (3) 207 of 1923—Tiruppulivanam—45th year of Kulōttuṅga I.

¹ *S.I.I.*, IV, No. 225, pp. 33-34.

² For a long time, the hundred-pillared hall at Chidambaram was kept closed. Last year I noticed the existence of these inscriptions and drew the attention of the authorities of the Epigraphical Department of Madras. They have since copied them.

- (4) 97 of 1927-28—Tiruppugalūr—2nd year of Vikrama Cōḷa.
- (5) 250 of 1925—Tirukkadavur—4th year of Vikrama Cōḷa.
- (6) 175 of 1919—Tribhuvani—5th year of Vikrama Cōḷa.
- (7) 128 of 1896—Madurāntakam—6th year of Vikrama Cōḷa.
- (8) 367 of 1909—Siddalīngamadam—Rajendra Cōḷa II.
- (9) 473 of 1919—Kañṇipuram—Naralōkavīra's building activities.
- (10) 120 of 1888—Chidambaram—Verses detailing the building activities of Naralōkavīra.
- (11) 369 of 1921—Tiruvadi—Verses detailing building activities of Naralōka.
- (12) 98 of 1908—Tirupputtūr—3rd year of Parākrama Pāndya.
- (13) 131 of 1908—Tirupputtūr—12th year of Parākrama Pāndya.
- (14) Inscription Nos. 220, 633, 634 and 798 of the List of Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State, found at *Kottaiyur* in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the State.

They refer to the temple called "Naralōkavīra Vinna-gara Ālvār Koil"—called in modern days—'Karukamānikka-Perumal Koil'.

From *No. 6 (supra)* we learn that his name was Arum-bākākiḷan Madurāntakan Ponnambalakūttan *alias* Porkōyil Tondaimanar residing in Maṇavil. He had various surnames like Tondaiyarkōn, Naralōkavīra, Maṇavilārēru, Maṇavil-kūttan, Arulākarā, Sabhānartaka, Kālingarāya, Mānāvātāra, etc.

He was a resident of Maṇavil in Tondaimaṇḍalam—Maṇavil was a place in Maṇavil-nadu belonging to Maṇavil Kottani in Tondaimaṇḍalam (175 of 1919—*No. 6 supra*). This place has been wrongly identified with *Eyil* in South Arcot or *Kañci*. But it should have been situated on the southern

bank of the Pennar.¹ He was a famous minister and general of Kulōttuṅga I and Vikrama Cōla. He claims credit for victories over the kings of the Pāndya country, of Kollam, Kongam, 'Orissa' (ஒட்டம்) and Kalingam.

From the provenance of his inscriptions in the Pāndya country (Nos. 12, 13 and 14 *supra*) and his assumption of the title of Madurāntakan, we have to infer that he was responsible for breaking the power of the Pāndya contemporary. Further, the reference to the Naralōkavīran hall and *Sandi* (service) in inscriptions of the contemporary Pāndya king Parākrama Pāndya should point out that the Pāndya king had to submit to Cōla supremacy.

Discussing No. 11 (*supra*), the Government Epigraphist holds the Naralōkavīran of this record "to be different from the Naralōkavīran of the Ramnad record" (Nos. 12 and 13) and postulates two Naralōkavīras. He further opines that 'Naralōkavīra' may probably be "one of *his* (Parākrama Pāndya's) surnames. But there is no warrant for such a theory. Parākrama Pāndya was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I and Naralōkavīra claims to have conquered the Pāndya king. Hence it is but proper to assume that the Ramnad records also refer to the same hero as the one eulogized in the Chidambaram and Tiruvadi records and there is not sufficient reason or evidence for the duplication of Naralōkavīras.

He was a very pious man. He was devoted, with equal impartiality, to Vishnu and Siva. He is said to have constructed the kitchen room, a mandapa, the prakāra walls, and set up a recumbent image of Hari (Vishnu) at the Aruḷa Perumāḷ temple at Kañçipuram. At Kottaiyūr (in the Pudukkottai State) was built another Vishnu temple called after him. The Siva temple at Siddalingamadam was built by him. He made extensive building works at Tiruvadi and Chidambaram, among them the hundred-pillared mandapams in these two places.

¹ Vide 'தென்கலாமணவிற கோட்டம்'—S.J.I., I, No. 86.

Is Naralōkavīra surnamed Tondaiyarkōn the same as Karunākara Tondaimān, the hero of the expedition to Kalinga described in the Tamil poem—*Kalīngattupparaṇi*? No. Karunākara belonged to Vandai Nagar and belonged to “மறை மொழிந்த பதிமரபின் வந்த குலதிலகன்.” On the other hand, Naralōkavīra was a resident of Maṇavil and was the chief of Arumbākkam; and he belonged to a different caste.
 “வேளாண் குடிமுதலான் தொண்டையர் கோன்.”

This was the hero who built the hundred-pillared mandapam at Chidambaram.

(To be continued.)

TEMPLE LEGENDS IN TRAVANCORE.

BY A. PADMANABHA IYER, ESQ.

THOUGH all Hindus have common deities for worship, the management and inner working of the temples and the mode of *Puja* or worship differ considerably in various parts of India. The system of temple worship in Malabar is unique. While caste distinction in other parts of India permits of certain elasticities, it is very rigidly observed here, to the extent of one of a higher social scale being considered polluted if touched by another of a lower status. That being the case, the method of worship is necessarily strict. The *Santhikaran* or officiating priest in a temple is polluted if touched even by a Tamil Brahmin and can get rid of the pollution only after dipping himself in cold water, because bathing in water that is warm is always considered not sufficiently holy.

In Travancore there are, it has been calculated, nearly 10,000 temples and 15,000 other places of worship for Hindus alone—in the shape of groves for the propitiation of serpents, goddesses, etc. Many of these are private institutions, having been endowed by pious Hindus hundreds of years ago. When starting the temples the custom was to hand over landed properties of considerable value to members of their own families or other trustees who met the necessary expenditure for the temples from these properties. Thus, a large amount of landed property, valued at about Rs. 2 crores, is held by these temples.

With these prefatory remarks, I shall proceed to the narration of some legendary stories that are associated with a few important pagodas in Travancore. To all English-knowing people, both in India and elsewhere, Trivandrum is familiar as the capital city of Travancore and the modern headquarters of the administration and the residence of the maharajas or rulers of the State. But to Hindu devotees and other orthodox Hindus mostly of North India it is known as *Ananthasayanam* which means sleep or rest of

Anantha, an incarnation of Vishnu or *Tiru Ananthapuram* which signifies *Puram* or city of *Anantha* or Lord Vishnu. The modern name, then, is the anglicised form of the latter. The following interesting legendary tale is supposed to account for the origin of this temple which is largely resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of India—a legend in the veracity of which all Hindus believe.

A *Sanyasi* or ascetic by the name of Divakara Swamiyar was, in accordance with his daily routine and practice, doing *Pooja* on the banks of the sacred river, the Ganges, at Benares for a long time. One morning, in the course of his *Pooja*, a small child disturbed him and obstructed the pious course of his task. The *Swamiyar* put up with the disturbance for some time but soon lost patience. He got angry and elbowed the little intruder away, when the little lad became invisible. Just as the lad disappeared, an astral voice to the following effect was heard:—"If you want to see me again, you must go to *Ananthankadu*." This set the *Swamiyar* thinking that he had made a great mistake in driving away the youngster. He got troubled in mind and said to himself thus:—"It was Lord Vishnu who presented Himself before me and I am sorry that I drove Him away without knowing it. It was for this very purpose that I have been performing this *Pooja* for these long years and when He did come before me and blessed me with His appearance I failed to take advantage of it. Now that He has disappeared from this place, I do not know where I shall be able to see Him. I have further been told that, if I should see Him again, I should go to *Ananthankadu*. I do not know where this *Kadu* (or jungle) is. But I can ill-afford to miss His sight and must find out how I can get back the object of my ambition." Thus perplexed in mind, the ascetic left the seat of his daily *Pooja* and began his wanderings. He travelled far and wide throughout the Indian continent and at last rested almost despairingly at a place of the whereabouts of which he knew absolutely nothing. He was cogitating as to how he could attain the height of his desire when he heard

a human voice angrily giving expression to the following:—
 “If you persist in crying like this, I will throw you in the *Ananthankadu* (or jungle) close by.” The disconsolate and dejected Divakaran’s hopes revived and he set about enquiring as to whence the human voice came. When advancing a few paces, he saw a Pulaya woman and approached her. On being queried, she said that her child having become rowdy and troublesome, she threatened it saying that she would throw it away into the *Ananthankadu* if it continued crying. The Pulaya woman then took the *Swamiyar* to the *Kadu* or jungle of his search. It was found to be a wild and bushy jungle with a few tall trees here and there. The *Swamiyar* resumed his *Pooja* in this jungle and gained the object of his weary peregrinations. For, it is said that a big *Iluppa* tree (*Bassia longifolia*) fell down suddenly and it is supposed that the Lord Vishnu took that form under the name of *Sri Padmanabha*. Even to-day *Sri Padmanabha* is worshipped in a lying posture and there are three doorways one at the head, another at the feet, and a third at the belly.

As for Divakara Swamiyar, it must be said that he felt extremely glad at having been able to see Vishnu or *Sri Padmanabha* once more. He continued his *Pooja* in the usual manner. One important item in connection with Hindu *Poojas* is the offering of *Nivedyam* which takes the form of cooked rice. The *Pooja* performer cooks the rice and, after offering it to the deity with the usual ceremonies, shares it with one or more Brahmins who may chance to be present at the temple. When it was time for preparing the *Nivedyam* the *Swamiyar* wanted fire to cook the rice. The place was an utter jungle and the only individual to whom to apply for any help was the lonely Pulaya woman. Ordinarily speaking, no high caste Hindu would take any thing from a Pulaya—the lowest caste in the social scale. But in the present case there was evidently no helping it and as there was no fire match box in those days, the *Swamiyar* indented upon the good offices of the Pulaya woman for fire and a vessel for cooking the rice. All the vessels that a poor Pulaya woman could

boast of were a few articles of earthenware and a few cocoanut shells. Religious scruples do not generally permit a high caste Hindu to utilize earthenware vessels from a Pulaya. The only cooking vessel available was a cocoanut shell. The rice was boiled by the *Swamiyar* in the cocoanut shell and, with a pickled mango said to be got also from the Pulaya woman, offered to the deity. Just then a Tamil Brahmin entered the temple and was invited to partake of the cooked rice. The man who was way-worn and much fatigued said that the quantity of food in the cocoanut shell was too little even for one man and, therefore, he could not understand how it would suffice for two. So saying, he declined the offer and went his own way. Soon afterwards a Nambudri Brahmin entered the temple and being offered the food, he gladly accepted it. As on each occasion the cocoanut shell was emptied, it was again full and thus the two men had a hearty meal.

Some of the incidents in this legendary tale may look strange and even incredible. But the existence of certain practices even to-day in the temple lends colour to the version narrated above, although it must also be said that other circumstances may be adduced to account for some of the current practices. Every Hindu knows that it is not usual in a Hindu temple in Malabar to offer a pickled mango to the gods. But it is a fact that even to-day it is used in the temple of *Sri Padmanabha* every day along with other accepted *Nivedyams*. There is again in the same temple a golden vessel made in the shape of a cocoanut shell set with rubies and other precious stones in which are taken the pickled mangoes; any one who may go to the temple at about 10 or 11 in the morning can satisfy himself by witnessing it himself with the contents mentioned above. It may also be mentioned here that the daily routine of functions in the temple is preceded by the *Pooja* of a *Sanyasi*, who, it is believed, is a descendant of the first Divakara Swamiyar. There is also current among the orthodox people a belief that should the source of fire in the temple fail on any account, it

should be supplied by a Pulaya family living to the north-east of the temple in the midst of paddy lands belonging to the pagoda itself, because it is handed down by tradition that it was a Pulaya woman of this family that first supplied fire to Divakara Swamiyar in consideration of which the family originally received a portion of land as free gift from the then Maharajah.

There is another version of the legend. Once upon a time a Pulaya and his wife were living in a jungle which went by the name of *Ananthan Kad* and were following the peaceful occupation of a cultivator. One day when the Pulaya woman was working in the paddy-field, she saw a small child crying. In appearance the child was exceedingly handsome and attractive; in fact, it was too fair to be a human child. At any rate, thus it struck the Pulaya woman. So she looked at the child keenly; and as it was crying, the Pulaya woman bathed and, after washing herself, took the child, caressed it and gave milk from her breast. On being fondled in this manner the child became jolly and began to play about when the Pulaya woman left it under the shade of a tree and resumed her work in the field. After a while, she returned and found a big five-headed serpent playing with the child whom it latterly carried away in its hood and placed inside a large hole in a tree and thus the child was protected under the shade of the tree. The Pulaya and his wife were eye-witnesses to this scene and worshipped the five-headed serpent and the child every day, offering them milk and *conjee*. The news reached the Maharajah who at once commanded that a temple should be built in that place, because a cobra is always associated with Vishnu as his favourite.

Though no authentic information is available as to the exact date of the erection of the temple at Trivandrum, the earliest inscription takes us back to about the year 1165 A.D. when it is recorded that some additions and repairs to the existing temple were made. The temple as seen to-day is the result of the labours of His Highness Marthanda Varma (1729-1758 A.D.) who rebuilt the pagoda with the spacious

verandahs, tall towers, the stone architecture and other excellent adjuncts which are the admiration of modern engineering and sculpture. It may also be added here that during the reign of the same sovereign the idol of Sri Padmanabha Swamy which, as stated before, is in a lying posture, was sanctified by being filled with *Salagramoms* and by other means, because it is the belief of the Hindu that the *Pooja* of a single *Salagramom* will give him beatitude and so when a number of them is propitiated there will be that heavenly happiness enhanced several-fold. Though the description of the temple itself, the *Poojas* performed, and other aspects of temple life in Travancore will be read with considerable interest, they have to be postponed to another contribution.

HARSHA~~WARDHANA~~ IN THE KARNATAK.

BY DR. B. A. SALETORÉ, M.A., PH.D. (LOND.)

(Concluded from Vol. XXII, No. 2.)

It may be argued that the designs of Pulakeśi's successors were merely the ambitious attempts of aggrandisement to imitate the campaigns of their great king, Pulakeśi II. But it seems more reasonable to suppose that an attempt was made by one of the Valabhi kings, perhaps just before the western Chalukya branch was planted in Gujerat, under one of the kings called Śilāditya, to conquer, or to consolidate an earlier acquisition, the Sahyas, which were certainly within the jurisdiction of the western Chalukyas; and that either in the early years of Pulakeśi II himself, or more probably in the years closely following his death, his successors retrieved their lost honour by founding a branch of the western Chalukya dynasty in Gujerat. If this be accepted, then the Gaddemane Viragal might be placed in the seventh century—a supposition which explains the name of Śilāditya as found in the Viragal, the incursion of a general of that king into Karnataka, and especially the fact of the character of the letters being those of the seventh century A.D.¹

This would mean two things—

- (a) The rejection of the identification of Mahendra as found in the Viragal with Mahendravarman, the Pallava king;
- (b) The rejection of the attempts hitherto made of explaining the relation of Harśa with the western powers; and especially with Pulakeśi II. I shall first deal with the identity of Mahendra, although I must confess I shall still be in the sphere of suppositions.

The Pallava king, defeated by Pulakeśi II, was Mahendravarman I.² If Mahendra, who was frightened, as we see him in the Gaddemane Viragal, was Mahendravarman I, and if he

¹ *Mf. Ar. Report, O.C.*, p. 8.

² Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (2nd Ed.), 329; Dr. J. Dubreuil: *The Pallavas*, p. 36.

was the enemy of Pulakeśi, he would have made common cause with Harśa, when the latter came from the south conquering Pulakeśi's territories, against an enemy who had scored a great victory against Mahendravarman himself. But if the Gaddemane inscription is to be believed, Mahendra fled having been frightened by the bravery of Pettaṇi Satyāṅka. It cannot be that Mahendravarman fled both from Harśa and Pulakeśi. That would have been incompatible with the position of a great king held by Mahendravarman I. He is said to have had the title of "Śatrumalla".¹ And "A Wrestler amongst Foes" would have been the last person to take to his heels on the approach of an ordinary general. Moreover one would like to know, even supposing the identification of the Mahendra of the Gaddemane Viragal with Mahendravarman I were correct, what the reason was which made a Pallava king join hands with a petty chieftain and face a contingent under a dashing soldier, who was not even of the status of a commander. I say that the ally of Mahendra was only a petty chieftain. In the Viragal we have only "Bēḍara Raya" and not "Bēḍara Maharaya", nor "Bēḍara Daṇḍanāyaka". Would Mahendravarman I, king of the Pallavas, have allied himself with a mere forest king (the word Bēḍaru is generally applied to hunters in the Karnataka), only to be "frightened" by the courage of a "brave soldier"? It would have been disgraceful not only to Mahendravarman I as king of the Pallavas but also to the great tradition of the Pallavas who had successfully carried their flag into the Karnataka about the middle of the seventh century. Then, if Mahendra of the Mysore Viragal is not Mahendravarman I of the Pallava dynasty, with whom is he to be identified? I believe—but this is only a supposition for the present—that he may be identified with a Nolamba king called Mahendra. But here I must confess we have two difficulties—that of chronology, and that of having more than one Mahendra in the Nolamba, or rather a part of the Karnataka, history. It is

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 225; Rangachari: *A Topographical List of MS. in the Madras Presidency*, I, No. 339, p. 169.

true that, as I said just a while ago, the Pallavas established a branch of theirs on Nōḷambavāḍi about the middle of the seventh century A.D.¹ But the history of the kings of Nōḷambavāḍi as yet does not admit of clear discussion. Hence we find the name of Mahendra in 800 or thereabouts and also in A.D. 870. About 800 A.D. we have Nōḷamba, the merciful-minded Cholu Perumāṇaḍigal and Mayindra (Mahendra) ruling with the Kiṟu-tore (little ruler) as their boundary, and being angry with Kaḍuvatti because of his having deceived them, and Vallevarasa Devaraya attacking the eastern guardian Baruma, and a fight.² In 878 A.D. Mahendra having pitched his camp in Bāragūr, and having succeeded in his scheme of sowing dissension among those outside his frontiers dependent on his original territory, rejoiced at having increased his kingdom and at having become a supreme king.³ About 870 there ruled Mahendra, and some persons were busy building tanks.⁴ This was the son of Poḷachōra Nōḷamba by a Ganga princess, the sister of Nītimārga.⁵ In 900 or thereabouts Mahendrāḍhirāya of the Pallavakula was ruling the Gangavāḍi Six Thousand.⁶ An inscription of Dilīpa Nōḷamba, dated 943 A.D. mentions his grandfather, Mahendra who had "his two feet bending the crowns of hostile kings like a cow of plenty."⁶ There is another Mahendra whom we meet with while studying the relations of the Gangas with their neighbouring kings. The youngest brother of Rājamalla Satyavākya was Bhujagendra (who is also called Bhutarasa, Yuvaraja in 870), who gained victory over his enemy Mahendra in Hiriyr (Chitaldroog District) and Sūlūr, and also in the Sāmiya battle.⁷ The son of Bhutugendra and Chandrōbbelabba was Eṟeyanga. This ruler slew Mahendra who attacked him. Mr. Rice has in almost all instances identified this Mahendra with the Pallava Nōḷamba king, Mahendra, nephew of

¹ Fleet, *O.C.*, p. 318.

² *Ep. Carn.*, X, Sp. 30, p. 276.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Si. 38, p. 95.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hr. 33, p. 108; *Ibid.*, Introd., p. 7.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, X, Bp. 64, p. 151.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Si. 28, p. 92.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Introd., p. 3.

Nītimārga.¹ One point suggests itself from the history of the Pallava Nōlambas, and that is the following—that it was more probable for a king of the position of Mahendra of the Nōlamba line to ally himself with a forest king than for a monarch of the status of Mahendravarman I, the Pallava king, who could have called feudatories of higher status to his aid. But the date given to Mahendra by Rice (800 A.D. till about 870), and that given to the Gaddemane inscription (seventh century) do not agree. This difficulty, however, does not preclude us from doubting the identity of the Mahendra of the Viragal with Mahendravarma, the Pallava king.

The attempts made hitherto of explaining the relations which Harśa had with the western powers, and especially with Pulakeśi II, also seem to be highly unsatisfactory. It has been said that Dadda II, king of Gujerat, gave protection to the lord of Valabhi, when the latter was defeated by the great lord or Parameśvara, the illustrious Harśadeva.² This has led scholars to surmise that from the year 633 till the year 642 or thereabouts, the western powers had leagued themselves against Harśa. Dr. Smith remarks—"The war with Valabhi, which resulted in the complete defeat of Dhruvasena (Dhruvabhata) II, and the flight of that prince into the dominion of the Raja of Bharoach (Broach), who relied probably on the powerful support of the Chalukya monarch, seems to have occurred later than A.D. 633 and before Huiien Tsiang's visit to western India in 641 or 642."³ Perhaps it is this which has led Dr. Muzumdar to write that the campaign against Valabhi was between the year 633 and 641 or 642 A.D.⁴ The following conclusions may be drawn from the above arguments of scholars :—

(a) That Harśa's campaign against Valabhi took place between 633 and 642 A.D. ;

(b) That this campaign resulted in a confederation of the princes of western India under Pulakeśi against Harśa ;

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Introd., p. 3.

⁴ Muzumdar, *O.C.*, p. 316.

² *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 73.

³ Dr. Vincent Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 354.

(c) And that, therefore, the defeat which Pulakeśi inflicted on Harśa followed closely on the heels of the Valabhi campaign, somewhere between 633 and 642 A.D.

While it is true that the Valabhi campaign may be dated 633 A.D., it cannot be admitted that this war which Pulakeśi waged against Harśa, and which ended in the latter's famous defeat, took place in or nearabout 642 A.D. How much of indefiniteness there is about the exact date of the defeat of Harśa can be gathered from the remarks of scholars who have attempted to explain the subject. Dr. Fleet alone comes nearest to the date but, curiously enough, even he has failed to give us the exact date. Admitting the uncertainty about the relations of Harśa with the western powers, let us confine ourselves to his warfare with Pulakeśi. Dr. Smith writes, "This campaign may be dated about the year A.D. 620."¹ Dr. Mookerjee speaks about the defeat of Harśa but does not enlighten us as regards the exact date of the battle.² Dr. Maurice Ettinghausen writes in his *Harsha Vardhana* that the defeat of Harśa at the hands of Pulakeśi II might be placed between 610—634 A.D.³

None of those dates can be accepted when we examine the activities of Harśa towards the end of his reign. We have seen, how the militant ideas of a Digvijaya gave way before the nobler ones of Buddhism. Harśa was under the influence of Buddhism. His sister was with him. The promise which he had made while in the presence of the great sage of the Vindhya must have been kept alive in his mind by his sister. We have it on the authority of Huien Tsiang that, as has been already remarked, he spent the first six years of his reign in warfare, and the next thirty in peace.⁴ From this same Chinese pilgrim we learn that "Once in five years he held the great assembly called Mōksha. He emptied his treasuries to give all away in charity, only reserving the soldiers' arms,

¹ Dr. V. A. Smith, *O.C.*, p. 353.

² Mookerjee, *O.C.*, pp. 32-33.

³ M. Ettinghausen, *Harsha Vardhana Empereur et Poète*, p. 4.

⁴ Watters, *O.C.*, II, p. 343.

which were unfit to give as alms. Every year he assembled the Śramaṇas from all countries and on the third and seventh days he bestowed on them in charity the four kinds of alms (*viz.*, food, drink, medicine, clothing).¹

If it be true that in 644 A.D.² or thereabouts Harśa held the last quinquennial assembly,³ and that Harśa was a devout Buddhist, then the first quinquennial assembly must have been held in about 619 A.D. A monarch of the type of Harśa would not have undertaken a great campaign when he had assumed, if not the red robes, as he had promised the sage of the Vindhyas, at least the duties of a devout Buddhist. It cannot be believed that Harśa was engaged in a campaign of any magnitude after the year 620 A.D. when he seems to have set himself the task of spreading the influence of Buddhism over the land. But an exception need be mentioned here. Even after holding one of his great Buddhist meetings, the exigencies of the State did not prevent Harśa from sending out an expedition against Ganjam.⁴ The conquest of this province was the last acquisition of Harśa. But for this exception, the reign of Harśa seems not to have been marked with warfare; and if the evidence of Huiien Tsiang can be relied upon, the quinquennial assemblies were held since the year 619 A.D. Over and above the dramatic incidents which took place about this time during the sad sojourn of Harśa in the forests of the Vindhyas, and which profoundly influenced his mind, we must go to the contemporary history of the western Chalukya king to find out why Harśa gave up all ideas of a world conquest, and why he never thought of sending any contingent to the south. It will be seen that the evidence gathered from the inscriptions of Pulakeśi II and of his successors corroborates the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim.

Huiien Tsiang himself says that Harśa never succeeded in subduing Pulakeśi. "The great king Śīlāditya at this time

¹ Beal, *O.C.*, I, p. 214.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 232.

² Beal, *Life, O.C.*, p. 83.

⁴ *Priyadarśika*, Introd., p. xxxiii.

was invading east and west, and countries far and near were giving allegiance to him but Mohalacha (Maharashtra under Pulakeśi) refused to become subject to him."¹ Moreover, we have inscriptions of Pulakeśi himself, of his successors, and even of kings of another dynasty, the Rastrakutas,—all of which speak of the memorable defeat of Harśa at the hands of Pulakeśi. The failure of Harśa to subdue Maharashtra, therefore, might be taken to be an undisputed fact.

I shall first take the famous inscription of Pulakeśi which has been till now considered by many to be the earliest reference to his victory over Harśa. This is the well-known Aihole inscription dated A.D. 634—635.

It runs thus—

"Envious because his troops of mighty elephants were slain in war, Harsha—whose lotuses, which were his feet, were covered with the rays of the jewels of the chiefs that were nourished by his immeasurable power—was caused by him to have his joy melted away by fear."²

Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, says that there is no reference to Harśa at all in this Aihole inscription. "It is noteworthy," says the Doctor, "that the Aihole inscription which bears the date 634 A.D., makes no mention of king Harshavardhana. The documents posterior to it mention the victory gained by Pulakeśin over Harsha. It is probable that it was about the year 634 A.D. that Harsha vanquished Dhruvasena II, king of Valabhi; Harsha wished to extend his conquests much more, but was stopped by Pulakeśin. This event probably took place about 637 or 638 A.D."³ This opinion, I believe, cannot be justified. But I shall proceed to cite more evidence in the inscriptions of Pulakeśi, of his successors, and of kings who belonged to an altogether new royal family. I shall first deal with the inscriptions of the immediate successors of Pulakeśi II.

¹ Watters : *O.C.*, II, p. 239.

² *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 244 ; *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 10.

³ Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil : *Ancient History of the Dekhan*, p. 113 ; *Ind. Hist. Q.*, II, p. 384.

An undated grant of Nāgavardhana, also called Tribhuvanāśraya, the son of Jayasimhavarma, also called Dharāśraya, who was one of the younger brothers of Pulakeśin, says—".....was Sri Pulakeśi Vallabha.....who possessed a second name (which however is *omitted*) which he had acquired by defeating the glorious Sri Harsha, the supreme lord of the northern region."¹ In a grant of Ādityavarma, son of Pulakeśin II, we read—"Satyāśraya (Pulakeśin II) who was decorated with the title of 'Supreme Lord' which he acquired by defeating Sri Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the regions of the north."² A grant of Vikramāditya VI, dated A.D. 675, runs thus—"The dear son of Maharaja and Paramēśvara, Satyāśraya, the favourite of fortune and of the earth, who acquired the second name of Paramēśvara or Supreme Lord by defeating Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the regions of the north."³ This is repeated in the grant of 680—681 of the same monarch,⁴ and again in the grants of 689—690 of the same Vikramāditya.⁵ A grant by Vinayāditya says—"His (*i.e.*, Kirtivarma's) son was Satyāśraya—the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who acquired the second name of "Supreme Lord" by defeating Sri Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the regions of the north."⁶ An inscription dated 694 A.D. says—"His son, who by defeating Harsha, the lord of all the north, gained another name of Paramēśvara, was Satyāśraya Sri Prithivi-vallabha Mahārāja Paramēśvara."⁷ In 757 A.D. again we have the following—"His (*i.e.*, Kirtivarma's) son, who by defeating Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the north, acquired the title of Paramēśvara, was Satyāśraya Sri Prithvi-vallabha Mahārāja Paramēśvara, etc."⁸ Even so late as the twelfth century the memory of the crushing defeat suffered by Harśa was carefully preserved, as can be made

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 123.

² *Ind. Ant.*, XI, p. 68.

³ *J. Bom. B.R.A.S.*, XV, p. 226.

⁴ *J. Bom. B.R.A.S.*, XI, pp. 228, 230.

⁵ *J. Bom. B.R.A.S.*, XI, p. 232.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 87.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg. 66, p. 42.

⁸ *Ep. Carn.*, X, Hl. 63, p. 15.

out from the following inscription dated A.D. 1123—
 "Satyāśraya on his becoming a young man,—for who of the Chalukyas would deviate from the path of righteousness?—to him who conquered the regions, subdued the great king Harsha, gave more than a hundredfold of their desires, etc."¹

But what is more interesting is that this defeat should have had almost an international significance. When the Raṣtrakutas measured swords with the western Chalukyas, in connection with the supremacy of the Karnataka, they recorded their victories in as eloquent a manner as any other royal family did in South Indian history. An inscription of the Raṣtrakuta king (dated Śaka 690) named Dantidurga, son of Indra Raya II, says that that monarch "forcibly with a few soldiers conquered the endless forces of Karnataka, which were invincible to others, and which were skilled in effecting defeats on the lord of Kanchi, the king of Kerala, the Chola, the Pandya, Sri Harsha and Vajrata, etc."² From the above epigraphs we may conclude the following:—

(a) that Harṣa was always called Sri Harṣavardhana in the southern inscriptions, and never Śilāditya;

(b) that he did indeed suffer a great defeat at the hands of Pulakeśin II;

(c) that the memory of this defeat was not only handed down in western Chalukyan tradition but was also transmitted to non-western Chalukyan tradition as well; and

(d) that the victory secured for the great western Chalukya king, Pulakeśi, the title of "Parameśvara"—a title by which Pulakeśi was known in the history of the South.

The question now is—when was this title of "Parameśvara", which Pulakeśi is said to have acquired as a mark of his triumph over Harṣa, appended to his name for the first time? It has been taken for granted by most of the scholars that the Aihole inscription dated 634—635 A.D. is the earliest record of the victory of Pulakeśi. But as Dr. Fleet has already pointed out, this was not the earliest

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg. 1, p. 21.

² *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 281.

mention of Harṣa's defeat at the hands of Pulakeśi. There is a grant of Pulakeśi himself dated Śaka 535 which speaks of his victory over a hostile king (or over hostile kings) who applied himself (or who applied themselves) to a contest of a hundred battles. It is the Haidarabad grant which runs thus—

"The favourite of the world, the great king Satyāśraya—who is the abode of the power of statesmanship and humility and other good qualities, and who has acquired the second name of 'Supreme Lord' (Parameshvara) by victory over hostile kings (or over a hostile king), who applied themselves (or himself) to a contest of a hundred battles—issues this command to all the people, etc."¹

Two objections might be brought against this Haidarabad grant—first, whether the clause "of a hostile king" admits of a double meaning; second, why the name of Harṣa which appears so clearly in the Aihole inscription—although, as we have seen Dr. Dubreuil has denied its existence in the inscription—is not to be seen in the Haidarabad grant. If the defeat which Pulakeśi inflicted on Harṣa was so memorable as to have received recognition even at the hands of the Raṣtrakutas, and if indeed all the records of Pulakeśi himself and of his successors make us believe it was so, and if this Haidarabad grant is the earliest record which mentions this defeat, then the name of the king who was beaten, and whose discomfiture made the name of Pulakeśi renowned, would certainly have been given in the grant. Its absence is a proof that this Haidarabad grant does not speak of the defeat of Harṣa, and this record is not the earliest record of the victory of Pulakeśi.

To reject these two objections we have to examine the clause itself and then the course of conquests of Pulakeśi as given in the Aihole inscription. That the clause "by victory over hostile kings (or over a hostile king) who applied themselves (or himself) to a contest of a hundred battles", admits of some ambiguity is evident on an examination of the same in the original, which runs thus—

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 74; also Fleet, *Dy. Kan. Dist.* (2nd Ed.).

“श्रीसत्याश्रयपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजः समरशतसंघट्टसंसत्कपरत्पति-
पराजयोपलब्धपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयः”¹

Dr. Fleet himself admits that the Haidarabad grant says that he (Pulakeśi) acquired “by defeating hostile kings who had applied themselves (or a hostile king who had applied himself) to a hundred battles” and that subsequent records state more specifically that “he acquired it (the title of Parameshvara) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the regions of the north.”²

There was no other monarch in North India in the early years of Pulakeśi's reign to whom this title could be more fittingly applied than Harśa. He was, as we have already seen, while only in his teens, sent along with his brother Rajyavardhana, against the Hunas in the north. Immediately after his return from the north, he vowed to take revenge against the Gowda king. It was Harśa who, as we have seen, brought the five Indies under his sway. Even on the eve of his career he showed his great ability as a commander by his subjugation of Ganjam. It is evident, therefore, that the reference in the Haidarabad grant could be only to Harśavardhana, who was, indeed, a king who applied himself to the contest of a hundred battles. The omission of the name of Harśa was perhaps intentionally done in order to enhance the glory of Pulakeśi by his victory over a king whose name was too well known in the whole of the continent. If so, it has to be remembered that as the originator of an era, as a great soldier, as one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism and as a remarkable royal dramatist, in all likelihood, Harśa must have been very well known all over the Indian world.

That this reference is the earliest reference in Pulakeśi's own inscriptions can be made out also by an examination of the Aihole inscription. The cause of conquests as given in that famous epigraph, I am afraid, is not in any geographical, and is certainly not in any chronological, order. Before

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, VI, O.C., p. 73.

² Fleet, *Dy. Kan. Dist.* (2nd Ed.), p. 351, note (4).

I examine the Aihole inscription itself, I shall cite the opinions of Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet who were the earliest to write about it. Dr. Bhandarkar says the following:—

“The date of the inscription (Aihole inscription) from which the greater portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Śaka, corresponding to A.D. 634, so that Pulakeśi's career of conquest had closed before A.D. 634.”¹ Writes Dr. Fleet—“Such is the account given in the Aihole inscription of A.D. 634—635. It may doubtless be accepted in its general outlines. That all the earlier events recorded in it took place before August A.D. 612 is established by the Haidarabad grant, which shows that Pulakeśin II was then in possession of Badami, and though it does not mention Harshavardhana by name, implies by the title which was acquired by the victory over him that that victory had then already been achieved; and they are probably to be placed in A.D. 608—609.”²

That we are to agree with Dr. Fleet and Dr. Bhandarkar can be made out by an examination of the Aihole inscription itself. To begin with, this epigraph had no royal sanction behind. It is an eulogy “by certain Ravikirti, who during the reign of the Chalukya Polekeśi Satyāśraya (i.e., the western Chalukya Pulakeśi II) whom he describes as his patron, founded the temple of the Jaina prophet Jinendra, on which the inscription is engraved, and who uses the occasion to furnish an eulogistic account (praśasti) of the history of the Chalukya family, and especially of the exploits of Pulikeśin II.”³ In its mode of beginning, ending, and in its accuracy as regards chronology and geography, this inscription is not like the one which might have been ordered to be engraved by Pulakeśin II himself. This inscription begins with an invocation to Jinendra—“Victorious is the holy Jinendra etc.”⁴ and ends

¹ Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, *The Early History of the Deccan*, p. 39.

² Fleet, *O.C.*, p. 351.

³ Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 2.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 7.

with a praise of the Jaina mansion, "caused to be built by the wise Ravikirti, who has obtained the highest favour of Satyāśraya whose rule is burdened by the three oceans. Of this eulogy and of this dwelling of the Jina in the three worlds, the wise Ravikirti himself is the author, and also the founder. May that Ravikirti be victorious etc., etc., who by his poetic skill has attained to the fame of Kalidasa and and of Bharavi."¹ The western Chalukya grants begin and end in another manner. Either they speak of the greatness of the monarchs, as is revealed in the beginning of the Haidarabad grant of Pulakeśi—"Hail! The grandeur of the great king Satyāśraya Sri Polikeśivallabha whose body by ablutions performed after celebrating horse sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the glorious Chalukyas who are etc., etc., and who have had all kings made subject to them by the mere sight of the sign of the Boar which they had acquired through the favour of the holy Narayana, etc.",² or they commence with the usual verse in praise of God Viśṇu in the form of the Boar, and end with the customary address to future kings, about continuing the grant, followed by two of the usual benedictive and imprecative verses, and the name of the engraver."³

The point to be noted is that the Aihole inscription being an epigraph written by a poet, could not have the accuracy of an inscription ordered to be engraved under the royal seal. We see, moreover, the inaccuracy of the geographical and chronological parts of the inscription. The course of Pulakeśi's conquests as given in the Aihole inscription next deserves to be studied. The first enemies whom Pulakeśi encountered were Appāyika and Govinda, north of the River Bhīmarathi (verse 17). From there Pulakeśi came southwards to Vanavasi which he besieged. This city was on the Varadā (verse 18). Then he came to the extreme south on the west coast—to the territory of the Alupas, viz.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

² *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 74.

³ *J. Bom. B.R.A.S.*, XVI, pp. 278-79.

Āḷvakhēda Six Thousand—which was partly on the Western Ghauts and partly in Tuluva. He brought under his influence the Gangas and the Alupas. Then he turned northwards again and destroyed a maritime city called Puri (verse 21). From here Pulakeśi is represented as having gone directly to the land of the Latas, the Malavas and Gurjaras, who became his allies (verse 22). Then is introduced the defeat of Harṣa. The order of events here set forth is unintelligible. We are to assume that Pulakeśi was firmly established at Badami when he issued his Haidarabad grant. This Badami is near the Malaprabha river, a branch of the Kṛṣṇa, in the Kaladgi District, now called the Bijapur District in the province of Bombay. It is taken for granted that Pulakeśi started from his capital Badami. In that case, according to the Aihole inscription, he went almost in a westerly direction, for the territory of the two persons Appāyika and Govinda, whom he encountered at the beginning of his campaign, was near the River Bhīmarathi. This is the name given to the River Bhīma which joins the Kṛṣṇa. Then he suddenly turns in a south-westerly direction to the river Varadā and onwards to the Āḷvakhēda, returning again to the north to subjugate Puri, the maritime stronghold of an unidentified enemy. All this is untenable if we once realize that by Śaka 535, Pulakeśin was already firmly established at Badami. "The rājyābhiśeka" or coronation of Pulakeśin II took place on some date, still remaining to be exactly determined, from Bhādrapada Sukla 1 of Śaka Samvat 532 current, falling in 609 up to the Purnimanta Bhādrapada Krishna 15, the new moon day of S. S. 533 current, falling in A.D. 610; and it may probably be safely placed somewhere in the latter part of A.D. 609."¹ If Pulakeśi was indeed crowned king in A.D. 609 or thereabouts, it is evident that all the surrounding country was completely within his sway by the time he was crowned. And any wandering of his from the capital westwards, and thence southwards, turning afterwards

¹ Fleet, *O.C.*, p. 351.

to the north, within his own dominions, would look highly preposterous. If we say that Pulakeśi was consolidating his territories, it would be going against the tenor of the Haidarabad grant which says that that grant was issued in the third year of his coronation, and that it was a command to all the people. Further, in the Haidarabad grant it is clearly stated that Pulakeśi defeated a great king. But this defeat is not at all mentioned in the Aihole inscription. If the Haidarabad grant is to be accepted—and there is no reason to doubt its identity—Pulakeśi began his wars from the third year of his reign, *i.e.*, A.D. 612. The Aihole inscription is dated A.D. 634 and if we are to believe that the events narrated in it are in any geographical and chronological order, we are to assume that Pulakeśi went on fighting from 612 A.D. till 634 A.D. This assumption would fit in neither with his position as Paramēśvara nor with status of these little kingdoms which, it is hard to believe, required such a long time to be subjugated : Therefore we conclude that—

(a) the Aihole inscription of 634 A.D. is not the earliest record of Pulakeśi's victories and especially of his victory over Harśa ;

(b) that the geographical and chronological order of conquests as given in it cannot be relied upon ; and

(c) that it is more or less a general resumé of the conquests of Pulakeśi written by his court poet.

Having failed to secure any clue as regards the date of the great victory which Pulakeśi won over Harśa from the Aihole inscription, we fall back upon the evidence as given in the Haidarabad grant dated Śaka 535 (612 A.D.). The evidence of this epigraph is in perfect harmony with the testimony of Huien Tsiang. The Haidarabad grant is a proof of what the Chinese pilgrim has told us of the ambitious activities of Harśavardhana. As has been already pointed out, Huien Tsiang represents Harśa as fighting with his enemies during the first six years of his reign. Now, if we agree with Dr. Fleet in placing the date of accession of Harśa in 606 A.D. Harśa went on fighting, according to Huien Tsiang, till 612

A.D.¹ and in 612 A.D. Harśa met his greatest enemy. For in that year, as we have seen, Pulakeśi beat a king who had applied himself to the contest of a hundred battles—a king who could be no other than the monarch who had just finished conquering the Five Indies, and was almost planning a Dig-Vijaya, when he met with a crushing defeat. 612 A.D., therefore, is the date when Pulakeśi defeated Harśa. It is based on the Haidarabad grant of Pulakeśi and it marks exactly six years of warfare which, according to Huiien Tsiang, Harśa undertook after his coronation. It was just the year when Harśa, failed in his attempts at a world conquest, laid down his arms, wise as he was, and guided by the deep influence of Buddhism, as well as by the affectionate counsel of his sister, Rajyaśri, remained contented with the conquest of the Five Indies, and inaugurated a long reign of peace and prosperity. This explains to us why he held so many quinquennial assemblies of learned Buddhists in the course of thirty years of his reign; and why he never thought of conquering the south of India which was almost completely within the influence of his great western Chalukya adversary, Pulakeśin II.

¹ Fleet, *Corpus Indicarum*, Vol. III (*Int. of the Guptas*), 178 (n), p. 316.

ĪŚĀVĀSYĪPANIṢAD.

BY D. VENKATRAMIAH, ESQ., B.A., L.T.

Foreword

THOUGH classed as one of the major Upaniṣads, Īśa occupies the smallest compass among them, containing only eighteen mantras. It is the last chapter (40th) of Śukla Yajurveda Samhita and is, in consequence, known as Mantrōpaniṣad.

Within its narrow limits are discussed a few abstruse problems, so abstruse indeed that in their elucidation commentators belonging to the same school of thought as the Advaita have differed considerably. Ānandagiri alone has consistently adhered to the commentary of Śankara.

The Vēdas, in their totality, are divided into the Karma-kānda and the Jñānakānda. The Mīmāṃsakas regard that Karma or ritual is the main teaching of the Vēdas and Jñāna or knowledge is subsidiary to it. Whereas according to the Vēdantins, the reverse is the teaching of the Vēdas. Śankara holds that with the rise of knowledge Karma ceases to exist. His teaching is opposed to the Samuchhayavāda or the theory that advocates the combination of knowledge and ritual as essential to liberation and whenever the pursuit of Jñāna and Karma conjointly is advocated in the Śrīti it is meant, as Śankara points out, only for those persons who are yet in the realm of nescience and have not risen to the shining heights of pure knowledge.

Now Īśa enjoins Samuchhaya as obligatory and condemns, in unmeasured terms, the pursuit of either Jñāna or Karma singly. Śankara points out that this insistence on the joint pursuit of Jñāna and Karma is only with reference to the lower order of men, whose spiritual equipment is incomplete. The Upaniṣad has, therefore, two classes of people in view—one, those who by their self-discipline are fit to attain the

highest ideal by the path of knowledge ; and the second, those who by performance of works as enjoined in the Śṛti and by meditation on Saguna Brahma, are fit to attain a high state of bliss, though it may not be the highest. These points will become clear if we analyse the Upaniṣadic texts with a view to conveying the specific significance of the different verses.

Verses 1 and 2 make clear the classification between the more advanced and the less advanced on the divine path ; vv. 3 to 8 expound the nature of the Ātman and the rest deal with Karma (works) and Upāsana (meditation). The key-note of the Upaniṣad is struck in the very first verse where we are asked to sublimate the whole universe and think of God only as the all-enveloping entity. This idea of the immanence of God and of His sole existence is rendered explicit in vv. 3 to 8. Hence, we may regard these verses as explanatory of the first. Verse 2 enjoins the performance of works on all those who, as noted above, are not fit for the highest knowledge, but are yet seekers after God. It is this verse that has given occasion for different interpretations, some like Uvata holding that work done with the aim of obtaining release will not affect the person and hence it is obligatory on him to continue to discharge the scriptural rites till the end of life. Śankara, as has been remarked, is positive that this injunction to perform works till life ends is applicable only to the ignorant (अज्ञानिनः). Max Müller thinks that in commenting on Bādarāyaṇa Sūtra (3-4-14) Śankara contradicts himself, but a careful perusal of the commentary on the said Sūtra will make it clear that Śankara is merely expounding Bādarāyaṇa, who himself permits of an alternative interpretation which however does not vitiate the doctrine of the superiority of knowledge over works. In fact, Max Müller, who at first quotes with approval the explanation of Mahīdhara, vv. 9 to 14, which differs from that of Śankara, is obliged to set it aside since Mahīdhara concludes like Śankara that both Vidyā and Amṛta in the text are used in a limited sense (अपेक्षिकं).

The next point for elucidation is whether the Upaniṣad recommends Jñāna (knowledge) cum Karma combination or meditation cum Karma combination. Śankara's view as evidenced from (the Sṛtis) here and elsewhere is that the possible combination is between meditation and works and never between knowledge and works, for Karma has no place after the identity of the individual self with the Universal is realized. This realization is the true and highest form of knowledge and it suffers no association with works.

It may be of interest to note here the passages from this Upaniṣad which Śankara has quoted in his commentary on Brahma Sūtras in elucidation of certain fundamental doctrines. Īśa v. 7 is quoted in Śankara's Bhāṣya on Sūtras 1-4 in support of the view that Brahma-knowledge is immediately followed by liberation and that no additional effort need intervene. Liberation is not something that comes into being as the outcome of action as, for example, Svarga or heavenly happiness to one who offers sacrifices to the gods. It is not a thing to be achieved by following some scriptural injunction. Scriptural injunction has a place only when something has to be actually done or something has to be avoided (विहित and निषिद्धकर्म). All this is the province of Karmakāṇḍa and not of Jñānakāṇḍa which is concerned with the elucidation of the true nature of reality and not with the laying down of injunctions of an obligatory character (बोधका एव वेदान्ताः न विधायकाः). In 1-4-22 the same passage is quoted to establish the immutability of the Ātman as otherwise there will arise no knowledge of the one unfailing reality. Knowledge that is pure and unassailable can only be in relation to the Ātman wherein all questionings are resolved. Compare Mundaka 3-2-6. 3-4-7 is a Pūrvapakṣa Sūtra. The contention is that Brahma-Vidyā is subsidiary to Karma (कर्मशेष) and in support of this is quoted the Īśa Text 2 (कृत्वा वेदकर्मणि, etc.). 3-4-8 is, however, a Siddhānta Sūtra which controverts the previous view and establishes the doctrine that Brahma-Jñāna is *sui generis* and has nothing to do with Karma.

Vv. 12 to 14 deal with meditation on Sambhūti and Asambhūti, *i.e.*, the created and uncreated, or as Śankara paraphrases, Hiraṇyagarbha who stands for the sum-total of all creation in its subtle aspects, and Avyākṛta or the primordial matter or Prakṛti. Here again the Śṛti urges the conjoint meditation upon Sambhūti and Asambhūti. It may be taken as illustrative of the general statement made regarding the combination of Vidyā and Avidyā. Max Müller thinks that these are corresponding verses and that Sambhūti should refer to Vidyā and Asambhūti to Avidyā, the former meaning the true cause, *i.e.*, Brahman and the latter what is not real but phenomenal. The decided teaching of this Upaniṣad, according to Max Müller, is a combination of works and knowledge. As has been shown above, this position is untenable. Max Müller misses the point, because he takes Vidyā to mean the highest knowledge which scarcely fits in with the general trend of the Upaniṣadic teaching. The use of Vidyā in the sense of meditation is well established by Bādarāyaṇa in his Sūtras dealing with this topic.

The concluding verses of the Upaniṣad bring into prominence the attitude of the person who has disciplined himself throughout life by the pursuit of knowledge and works and is about to depart from this world on his heavenward journey. The last utterances of the devotee are remarkable: it is not the voice of a slave or mendicant but of one who has reached the shining heights of glory. Worship is here at once purified and spiritualized. A careful study of this short but brilliant Upaniṣad cannot but edify and ennoble the spiritual aspirant.

Śankara, anticipating an objection, meets it towards the end of his commentary on this Upaniṣad. A free rendering of the passage will, it is hoped, clarify the position. Hearing such passages as "overcoming death by Avidyā one attains Amṛta by Vidyā" (*ibid.*, 11), "overcoming death by Vināśa one attains Amṛta by Sambhūti" (*ibid.*, 14); "some raise a doubt to dispel which we shall make a brief enquiry. What

is the ground of this doubt? The word Vidyā must mean Paramātmavidyā—the knowledge of the highest reality. Why not take Amṛta also in its real sense, *viz.*, final liberation? It may be said that Samuchhaya is untenable because of the incompatibility of Ātma-knowledge and Karma. True (says the Purvapakshin) but the contradiction may not be admitted, because the scripture itself authorizes both compatibility and non-compatibility. Just as the scripture is the authority for the performance of works and meditation on some Vidyā, it is also the authority for their combination or otherwise. For example, the scripture enjoins that no creature should be hurt. But it authorizes the killing of goats in sacrifices. Even so, there is scriptural authority for both Vidyā and Avidyā. Now the rejoinder to such an argument is that there can be no association between Vidyā in the highest sense and Karma. Compare दूरमेते विपरिते विद्वन्वी, etc. (Katha, I, 2—4). If it be said that there is no inconsistency because of the text विद्यान्व अविद्यान्व (*ibid.*, 11), the answer is that inconsistency is inevitable because knowledge and works result from different motives; are different in their nature; and yield different fruit. If it be said that since option is not permissible to pursue the one or the other, none need find any inconsistency in the pursuit of both. The answer to this is that their simultaneous existence does not stand to reason. If it be said again that a man may pursue knowledge and works one after another, the answer is 'No, because with the rise of knowledge, Avidyā is extinguished altogether and can no longer remain in association with Vidyā'. For example, when one understands that the nature of fire is to emit warmth and light, one cannot posit in it the opposite qualities, namely, cold and darkness; compare the text यस्मिन् सर्वाणि भूतानि, etc. (*ibid.*, 7). When Avidyā is absent, its effect Karma also must cease.

In the phrase Amṛtamasnute "He attains immortality", the word Amṛta or immortality must be taken in a relative sense. If the word Vidyā is to be construed as Paramātmavidyā or the knowledge of the highest reality, the text

हिरण्ययेनपात्रेण, etc. (*ibid.*, 15) wherein the devotee is described as seeking the way to reach heaven, would become irrelevant; because liberation is immediate and there is no journey to be undertaken to reach the goal; compare अनध्वगाः अध्वसु पारयिष्णवः. The conclusion, therefore, is that works can be conjoined only with Upāsana (meditation), not with Paramātma-Vignāna or the highest knowledge.

Text.

Śrī Śankarāchārya, in the introduction to his commentary in this Upaniṣad, says that the eighteen mantrās contained herein do not deal with the ritual nor form a subsidiary section of the Karmakānda (Pūrvamīmāṃsa) inasmuch as their object is to expound the real nature of the Ātman. The Ātman, as described here, is characterized by purity, aloofness from sin, unity, eternity, incorporeality, all-pervadingness, etc. Hence, there can be no relation of any kind between the Ātman and ritual. The real nature of the Ātman precludes the possibility of its being an auxiliary to a ritualistic act; for, then it would become a product, undergo change, be possessed, modified, or become an agent or enjoyer. Ātman is not something that can be seen, moulded or fashioned. It is beyond the grasp of our physical senses and is immutable. The end and aim of all Upaniṣads is the determination of Ātman's true nature and that is also the aim of the Bhagavadgīta and Mōkshadharma of the Mahābhārata.

Then has Karma no place at all? It has a place so long as one attributes to self, like the rest of the world, plurality, agency, enjoyment, impurity, contamination of sin, etc. It is only for such a one that Karma is enjoined. Action is meant for those who desire to achieve some end either in this or in the other world. For instance, they may wish for spiritual power here or in Svarga, that is to come hereafter, and be conscious of their fitness for acquiring them as evidenced in the statement: "I am a twice-born person, I am not deaf or dwarf, etc." It is for such men as these that Karma is regarded as binding.

These mantrās are, therefore, to be understood as intended to convey the true conception of Ātman which conception removes the innate ignorance that shrouds its real being. They further engender that wisdom by which we can realize our oneness with the Absolute and thus extricate ourselves from delusion and sorrow which are the concomitants of samsāra or endless series of lives.

Śankara now proceeds to annotate the mantrās since it has been pointed out that they are a fit subject of study by one whose mind is bent on knowing the Brahman (अधिकारी), that their subject-matter (विषय) is the unity of the individual and universal soul, that the relation (संबन्ध) between the Adhikārī and Viśaya is well established as one of grāhya (fit to be received) and grāhaka (one who receives) and that finally such a study yields fruit (फल) which is no other than liberation. Any branch of knowledge (Śāstra) to be worthy of study should satisfy these conditions known as Anubhandhachatuṣṭaya (अनुबन्धचतुष्टय).

The Peace Chant.

ॐ पूर्णमदः पूर्णमिदं पूर्णात्पूर्णमुदच्यते ।

पूर्णस्य पूर्णमादाय पूर्णमेवावशिष्यते ॥

ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः

Infinite is That, Infinite is This

From Infinite Infinite springs

From Infinite Infinite take

Infinite alone remains.

Om, Peace ! Peace ! Peace !

Brahman (That) is infinite, i.e., whole or integral, not fractional; infinite also is the Universe (This) since it is but a manifestation of God who pervades it. (Hence) the Infinite proceeds from the Infinite. Now if the Infinite is taken, i.e., if the all-pervading Infinite is cognized by true knowledge, the superimposed Universe vanishes and the Infinite Being alone remains. (Vide Śankara-Bhāṣya on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, V. 5. 1.)

हरिः ॐ ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत् ।

तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथा मा गृधः कस्यस्त्रिद्वन्द्वम् ॥ १ ॥

1. By the Lord is all this to be veiled,
Whatsoever in the world doth move
By discarding that thou may'st enjoy;
And covet not another's wealth.

Īśvara is the indwelling spirit of the universe which must consequently be understood as but the manifestation of God.

ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वं—You must clothe the world with God so that God alone is seen in place of everything. Veil all things by God or as Deussen puts it: 'The entire universe should be immersed in God, i.e., the Ātman.' That which, owing to primal ignorance, appears as something different from Īśvara must be regarded, in the light of knowledge, as Īśvara himself.

यत्किञ्च जगत्यां जगत्—not only the world of ours but the universe itself with all its complex furniture has to be enveloped in the shining glory of the Lord.

तेन त्यक्तेन भुञ्जीथाः—by surrendering which enjoy or triumph. The enjoyment (भुञ्जीथाः) consists in saving one's own soul (पालयेथाः). How? By the knowledge that all duality is naught and that the only reality is God.

'तेन' qualifies त्यक्तेन—त्यागेन.

मा गृधः कस्यस्त्रिद्वन्द्वम्—Do not covet wealth, yours or some one else's.

The sentence is construed in another way : मा गृधः, do not covet; why? कस्यस्त्रिद्वन्द्वमस्ति?, is there any one's wealth? न कस्यस्त्रिद्वन्द्वमस्ति, there is no wealth belonging to anybody.

The world of phenomena when abandoned leaves nothing to be desired. All things belong to God and all are God. Even when looked at from the worldly point of view one must recognize that the world of sense is dependent upon the Ātman without whose illumination nothing in reality exists. In the absolute sense everything is Ātman itself; hence there is nothing which can be the object of one's desire.

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतः समाः ।

एवं त्वयि नान्यथेतोऽस्ति न कर्म लिप्यते नरे ॥ २ ॥

2. If thou wouldst live a hundred years
Observe thy duties here on earth
Other way there is none to one like thee;
No taint from works to such a man.

It has been declared in the first mantra that the Self-Ātman, has to be saved by devotion to knowledge and abandonment of desire for worldly

happiness. The second mantra enjoins the performance of karma on those who are yet unfit for jñāna. The question arises whether jñāna and karma are not enjoined on one and the same person. The existence of both in the same individual has been shown (*vide* Introduction) to be quite incompatible. The Jñānayōgin is he who has renounced the world and there is nothing that ritualistic observances can bring to him. In the case of others, performance of prescribed duties is imperative as otherwise they will incur sin for violating scriptural injunctions, while yet in the realm of ignorance. The Yōgins are engaged in action in a spirit of detachment only for the purification of Self : *Cp.*

‘योगिनः कर्मकुर्वन्ति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वाऽऽत्मशुद्धये’

Gita, V. 11.

जिजीविषेत्-जीवितुमिच्छेत् ; यदि जिजीविषेच्छतं वर्षाणि तदा कुर्वन्नेव कर्माणि-
त्येतद्विधीयते—For those who have not acquired the right knowledge performance of duties is obligatory till the full term of their life which is a hundred years.

एवं त्वयि—loc. absolute ; while you are (doing thus your duties).

‘नरे’ should be taken with ‘त्वयि’

कर्म, अशुभकर्म—sin.

नलिप्यते—is not affected.

Nityakarma or obligatory duties such as Agnihōtra, as enjoined in the scriptures, have the effect of destroying one’s sins and should continue to be performed till the rise of knowledge. No other karma such as kāmya or work done with the object of gaining some reward as svarga, can bring about the desired effect, *vis.*, the purification of the Self.

असुर्या नाम ते लोका अन्धेन तमसाऽऽवृताः ।

ताऽस्ते प्रेत्याभिगच्छन्ति येकेचाऽऽत्महनो जनाः ॥ ३ ॥

3. Godless indeed are all those worlds
By blinding darkness overspread
And them they reach parting this life,
The witless men, who’ve slain their souls.

This is in condemnation of those who out of ignorance are ever engaged in such works as secure for them rewards like svarga. Such men, the Upaniṣad says, after departing this life go to the regions of darkness. In unfigurative language, the Ṣṛti means that men who neglect to acquire true knowledge and are immersed in selfish activities are bound to take on endless births.

असुर्याः—of the demons ; as compared with the blissful state accruing from the knowledge of the identity with the supreme, even the region of the gods may be described as that of the Rākṣasas (असुर्याः).

असुर्याः is also explained as असुषु-प्राणेषु रमन्ते इत्यसुराः; प्राणपोषण-मात्रपराः, अज्ञानिनः, केवलविषयासक्ताः; i.e., those whose one thought is to cater to their selves; those who cannot resist the attractions of the world of sense.

लोकाः—regions; the fruit of karma.

अन्धेनतमसावृताः—veiled in the darkness of ignorance. The lives which one has to pass through as the result of karma are indeed shrouded in ignorance being unlit by true knowledge.

आत्महृनोजनाः—men who have killed their souls.

How is it ever possible to kill the soul which is *नित्य* eternal? We certainly smother our souls by turning away from God and not understanding His infinite wisdom and love, thereby missing the goal of immortality. As there is no expiation for this sin of discarding the knowledge of the divine we must, as the fruition of our deeds, take on recurring births.

अनेजदकं मनसोजवीयो नैनद्देवा आप्नुवन्पूर्वमर्षत् ।

तद्भावतोऽन्यानस्येति तिष्ठत्तस्मिन्नपोमातरिश्चादधाति ॥ ४ ॥

4. It trembles not; 'Tis lone; than thought
'Tis faster; It, which has gone before,
The senses cannot reach. Outstripped
Is all else that runs, the while It stays.
Being thus, all sin and action springs
From Mātariṣva (Creation's Lord).

It has been declared that the ignorant by destroying their souls are lost in endless *samsāra*, while the wise attain liberation by safeguarding their souls. Then what is the nature of the soul or Ātman? This, the present verse expounds.

अनेजत्—does not move; movement is from place to place or within the object itself without change of place (परिणाम like milk turning into curds), and since the Ātman pervades all space and is partless there can be no movement either of the former or of the latter kind.

एकं—the one, the single. Though the individuals are many, the soul is one.

मनसोजवीयः—It is faster than thought even. How quickly we are transported on the wings of thought to the remotest corners of the world, we know from experience. But because of its pervading nature the Ātman seems as though it has preceded thought to those far-off regions. Hence the Ātman may be said to outstrip even thought.

नैनद्देवाः आप्नुवन्पूर्वमर्षत्—The senses (देवाः, द्योतनाद्देवाः, चक्षुरादीनि इन्द्रियाणि, because they shine, the senses, sight, etc., are called *dēvas*)

fail to reach *It*, because *It* has already gone in advance of them (पूर्वमर्षत्). When it is said that thought lags behind, no wonder that the senses cannot reach it since all movement of the senses presupposes the movement of thought.

तद्वावतोऽन्यानत्येति—The Ātman surpasses all movements such as those of mind, speech, senses, etc.

तिष्ठत्—Staying, remaining motionless. The Ātman is immutable (कूटस्थ) and immovable and all its motion is only apparent. The idea underlying this contradictory description is that one of them, *i.e.*, movement, is apparent, and the other, *i.e.*, changelessness, is real. तस्मिन्—तस्मिन्सतिनित्यचैतन्यस्वभावे—on the premise of the existence of Brahman, the eternal consciousness.

अपः—कर्मणि, used in a secondary sense, meaning actions; movement in the case of earthly creatures; burning, lighting and illuminating and raining, etc., in the case of gods—Agni, Sun, Parjanya, etc.

मातरिश्वा—*lit.* wind; here used to denote Hiranyagarbha, the Sūtrātman who is characterized by jñānaśakti and kriyāśakti. It is the latter aspect that is emphasized.

Hiranyagarbha, at the bidding of the Lord, assigns their respective activities to men and gods; *cp.* 'भीषास्माद्वातःपवते, etc.' *Tait. Up.*, II. 8.

तदेजति तन्नैजति तद्दूरे तद्वन्तिके ।

तदन्तरस्य सर्वस्य तदुसर्वस्यास्यबाह्यतः ॥ ५ ॥

5. It moves and moves not too; 'Tis far
And yet 'tis near; within this all
It is, ev'n so without this all.

The same idea as contained in v. 4 is repeated. Well has Śāṅkara said 'the mantrās do not weary of repetition—नमन्त्राणां जायिताऽस्ति'. The paradox 'It moves and moves not' is to be explained thus—The Absolute is in reality motionless but only appears to move. Similarly 'It is far and yet is near,' *i.e.*, those who remain in ignorance of the Lord may wait for aeons without approaching Him, but to those who are imbued with wisdom He is near, being their very Self:—वर्षकोटि शतैरप्यविदुषामप्राप्यत्वादूरइव; तत् उ, अन्तिकेच विदुषामात्मत्वात्. It is again the one all-embracing entity. As constituting the inner self of the universe and as manifesting itself in names and forms It interpenetrates the whole creation leaving room to nothing else; *cp.* 'यआत्मासर्वान्तरः', that Ātman who resides within this all; 'अन्तर्बहिश्च तत्सर्वं व्याप्यनारायणःस्थितः'; Narayana dwells filling all that, both inside and outside.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. XXXVII.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Lhota Naga Ætiological Myth about the Evolution
of the Common Myna.]

THE Common Myna (*Acridotheres tristis*) is called in Bengali *Sālik* or *Bhāt Sālik* and in Hindi *Desi Maynā*. It is found throughout the whole of the Indian Empire and Burma, as also in Beluchistan and Afghanistan. It also ascends the Himalayas up to an altitude of 8,000 feet. I have found it ranging about in large numbers at Kalimpong which is situated at a height of about 4,500 feet in the Eastern Himalayas, where I resided from March to June 1928. It used to build its nests and rear its young ones in the chimneys and eaves of the P.W.D. bungalow in which I stayed with Tinkari Mitra, Esq., B.E., I.S.E., Assistant Engineer of that place. So numerous were the young ones that often full-fledged nestlings used to fall on the floor down the flues of the chimney almost every day.

These Common Mynas are essentially birds frequenting civilized localities and are not found in jungles and forests until man has prepared the way for them. They are excellent pets and common favourite cage-birds with the Indians. Their extreme conceit renders them very amusing. They chiefly feed upon insects. They also take fruit and grain. They often take their seat upon the backs of cattle and pick off the ticks from their hides. In the evening, they often assemble in great numbers together with crows and Pied Mynas in clumps of trees and bamboos, and create a great commotion by their chattering. This bird is so common that it is quite unnecessary to give a description of its coloration.

There is a small bit of romance connected with the scientific name *Acridotheres tristis* of the Common Myna. The great naturalist Linnaeus, at first, thought it to be a poor

and dull-coloured relative of the gorgeously-coloured Bird of Paradise and, therefore, named it *tristis*—"the sad-coloured". On this point the well-known ornithologist Mr. F. Finn says :—

'I am not black in my heart, though yellow in my legs.'
—*Shakespeare.*

"It is no wonder that Linnaeus probably having only seen a Myna stuffed, and concluding from his general style that he was some poor relation of the Bird of Paradise, called him *Tristis*, the sad-coloured, for as a *Paradisea* he did not show up well. He has long, however, been degraded to his proper rank among the starlings, and named with a happiness somewhat rare among ornithologists, *Acridotheres*—"the grasshopper-catcher"—and so he is likely to remain *Acridotheres tristis* till the end of the chapter; the general rule being that a bird always bears the first specific name bestowed on it."*

The Lhota Nagas are a mongoloid tribe living in the Naga Hills of the north-eastern frontier of India. These Lhota Nagas, numbering some 20,000 souls, occupy a piece of territory that may be roughly described as the drainage area of the Middle and Lower Doyang River and its tributaries down to the point where it merges into the plains.

As the Common Myna (*Acridotheres tristis*) is found in Assam and the Naga Hills, the Lhota Nagas must be very familiar with this bird and its peculiar call-note. They, therefore, narrate the under-mentioned myth to account for the evolution of this bird :—

Once upon a time, a man named Kimongthan summoned his wife's relations together and gave them rice-beer to drink and addressing them, said : "I have cut down a cheutong tree and made it ready for being used as a sacrificial post. Go and drag it inside for me ; but do not let a single leaf of it fall to the ground." On this, they went and dragged the tree ; but its leaves were half withered and they allowed the

* *The Birds of Calcutta.* By Frank Finn, B.A., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U. Third Edition, Calcutta. Thacker Spink & Co., 1917. Pages 53—54.

same to fall to the ground. Then they decided not to let the leaves fall; and tied them on to the twigs of the tree. They now began to drag the felled tree. Notwithstanding the precautions, all the leaves fell off the tree. They were ashamed to go back to the village and meet Kimongthan. Therefore they fled away into the forest and the men were metamorphosed into Common Mynas and uttered the call-notes of "*Kyon, kyon*". But the women of the party besmeared their foreheads with the rice-flour which they had ground up for turning into rice-beer and called out: "*Woka, woka*". Thereupon they were metamorphosed into Gibbons or Haslacks. It is for this reason that the Gibbons or Haslacks have a white forehead upto the present day.*

From a study of the aforescribed myth, we find that :-

1. The Lhota Nagas consider it a point of honour to perform tasks set by their friends and relatives, and consider it highly disgraceful to themselves if they are unable to execute the aforementioned jobs.

2. They are over-sensitive to feelings of shame and disgrace, so much so that they are unwilling to show their faces to their friends and relatives whom they have not been able to assist in any way.

3. They seem to possess magical powers and to be capable, by means of their knowledge of magic, of changing themselves into any shape they like. In the preceding myth, these Lhota Naga men and women, who were directed by their employer to drag home the felled tree-trunk without letting the leaves thereof fall to the ground, felt so much ashamed at not being able to perform the task set them by their employer that, by means of their inherent magical knowledge, metamorphosed themselves into Common Mynas and white-browed Gibbons respectively.

4. It would appear that, as the tree-trunk was required for being converted into a sacrificial post, the leaves of the

* *Vide* the article entitled: "*Folkstories in Lhota Naga*" by J. P. Hills published in *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N. S., Vol. XXII (1926), No. 5, pages 308-309.

tree also possessed some religious sancity and were, therefore, required for lending additional sacredness to the sacrificial post. (The collector of this myth ought to have added a note explaining why the leaves are required.)

It would appear from the myth that the Lhota Naga labourers, who were employed to drag home the felled tree-trunk, did their utmost to carry the leaves thereof intact. But their efforts in this behalf proved abortive. So, out of sheer shame, they metamorphosed themselves into mammals and birds. The Lhota Naga myth-maker would have done much-needed justice if he had made the benign gods feel sympathy for them and restore them to their former human shapes.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS.

No. XV.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On an Ancient Indian Ætiological Myth about the Evolution of the Sacred Basil or Tulasī Plant, the Pipal or Aśwattha Tree, the Palāsa Tree and the Āmlakī Tree.]

THE Tulasī Plant or Hari Plant (*Ocimum sanctum*), which belongs to the Order *Labiatae*, is one of the most sacred plants of the Hindus. The Hindus believe that the god Vishṇu or Hari (the Preserver) is incarnate in this plant. It is for this reason that they worship the plant. Hindu ladies pour water upon the Tulasī plant to the accompaniment of the recital of the following *mantram* or prayer-formula :—

Text (in Devanāgarī script) of the Bengali *mantram* :—

তুলসী তুলসী নারায়ণ, তুমি তুলসী বৃন্দাবন ॥ ১ ॥

তোমার শিরে ডালিজল, অন্তিম কালে দিয়ো—ও—ও স্থল ॥ ২ ॥

English translation :—

1. O Tulasī ! O Tulasī ! The god Nārāyaṇa is incarnate in thee. Thou art (equivalent to) the pilgrimage-place of Brindāvana.

2. I am pouring water upon thy head. I am praying to thee so that thou mayst grant me a resting-place in my moment of death.

After reciting the foregoing prayer-formula, the worshipping lady joins the palms of her hands and makes obeisance to the plant.

The leaves of the sacred Basil or Tulasī plant (*Ocimum sanctum*) have expectorant properties ; and their juice is used by Indian physicians in catarrh and bronchitis. This juice is also applied externally to the skin in ringworm and other cutaneous diseases. An infusion of the leaves of this plant is used as a stomachic in gastric ailments of the children and also in hepatic disorders. Its dried leaves are powdered and used as a snuff in ozoena. Its root is made into a decoction which is administered in malarial fevers as a diaphoretic. Its seeds are

mucilaginous and demulcent and are given in diseases of the genito-urinary system. Its leaves are also an efficacious remedy for the removal of maggots. The juice of its leaves, when poured into the ears, is a very excellent remedy for ear-ache.

The Pipal Tree or *Āśvattha* (*Ficus religiosa*), which belongs to the Order *Urticaceæ*, is a very sacred tree of the Hindus. Its bark is used in tanning. Its leaves are used by the Arabs for this purpose. The bark, when boiled in water, yields a reddish pale-brown colouring substance. It is also used, along with other barks, in the preparation of a permanent black pigment in Bengal. Its roots, when boiled with alum in water, produce on cotton cloths a pale-pink colour. In former times, a paper used to be manufactured from the fibre of this tree in Burma. But this industry is now dying out in that province.

The bark of the Pipal tree possesses astringent properties and is used as a remedy for gonorrhœa. It has also maturative properties. It is used as a remedy for scabies. The berries of this tree possess laxative properties and promote digestion. When these berries are dried and powdered and taken with water for fourteen days, it is reported that this powder will cure asthma and make barren women fruitful. The seeds of this tree have cooling and alterative properties. Its leaves and young shoots are used as a purgative and also as a remedy for skin-diseases. The bark of this tree, when ground and made into a paste, is used as an absorbent in inflammatory swellings.

The Palāsa Tree (*Butea frondosa*), which belongs to the Order *Leguminosæ*, was well known to the ancient Aryans for its gorgeous scarlet flowers. In another paper entitled *Studies in Plant-Myths, No. IX*, which has been published in a previous issue of this *Journal*, I have described and discussed another ancient Indian myth about the evolution of this tree. It is, therefore, quite unnecessary for me to say anything further on the subject of the Palāsa tree.

Then we come to the Āmlakī or Āorilā Tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*) which belongs to the Order *Euphorbiaceæ*. It

produces fruits which, crystallized with sugar, make an excellent conserve. These preserved fruits are extensively used for dessert by the Hindus of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and of Bihar. An infusion of the fruits of this tree and of those of the *Terminalia chebula* and *Terminalia bellerica*, taken every morning, is said to improve the general health by regulating the action of the liver.

The Āmlakī or Āorilā tree (*Phyllanthus emblica*) is also considered a sacred tree by the Hindus of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh as also of Bihar who consider it an act of piety to take their meals once under the shade of this tree, during the bright half of the month of Kārtik (October—November), and also to feed Brahmans thereunder. The Hindus, sometimes, plant the five sacred trees—the Banyan, the Pipal, the Nim, the Mango and the Āmlakī together. The planting of these five sacred trees is called *Panchabati* and orthodox Hindus consider it an act of great virtue to live in a grove like this.

The ancient Aryans invented the under-mentioned myth to account for the evolution of the Tulasī plant, the Pipal or Aśwattha tree, the Palāsa tree and the Āmlakī tree:—

On one occasion the god Siva or Mahādeva (the Destroyer) was wandering about in the heavenly regions. To Indra's enquiries as to who he was, Siva did not condescend to reply. Thereupon the god Indra, being full of wrath, hurled his thunderbolt at Siva. Flames began to issue from the forehead of Siva and to burn the god Indra. Indra, being tormented with the insufferable pains of burning, fell at Siva's feet and implored his pardon. Seeing this submissiveness on the part of Indra, Siva's anger cooled down and he threw the fire from his forehead to the middle of the ocean. As soon as the fire fell into the ocean, the flames were miraculously transformed into a handsome and laughing male baby. The ocean took this baby to Brahmā the Creator and made it over to him for being brought up by him. To this proposal of the ocean, Brahmā agreed and began to rear the boy. Brahmā named this boy Jalandhara who subsequently

became the king of the Asuras or Titans. Brahmā further conferred on his adopted child the boon that no weapon, except Siva's trident, would be able to wound him. When the boy grew up to manhood, he went to Lankā and married Brindā, the daughter of Rāvana's maternal uncle Kālanemi.

Thereafter Jalandhara waged war with the gods and defeated them. Then he became the king of the heavenly regions and began to cut off the heads of the gods. At this, Indra went to Siva and informed him, in pathetic language, of the gods' distressed condition. Siva became angry and promised to punish Jalandhara. Then Siva began to wage war with Jalandhara. But, by reason of a boon which had been granted by Vishṇu to Jalandhara's wife Brindā, Jalandhara had become immortal. Siva was, therefore, unable to vanquish Jalandhara. Subsequently, the gods went in a body to Vishṇu and implored for his help in this time of their distress.

Therefore Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, advised Vishṇu to assume Jalandhara's shape and to go to Brindā and, by wiles, to lure her from the performance of her austerities and penances. Vishṇu acted accordingly, and, as soon as Brindā ceased to perform the penances and austerities, Jalandhara was killed by Siva with his trident.

When Brindā discovered the deception that had been practised upon her by Vishṇu himself, she was about to curse the latter. But, on the latter's asking her pardon, she agreed to immolate herself on the funeral pyre of her husband Jalandhara. Accordingly she immolated herself with the dead body of her husband. From the ashes of Brindā sprang the Tulasī plant or sacred Basil, the Pipal or Aśwattha tree, the Palāsa tree and the Āmlakī tree. It is for this reason the Tulasī plant is called the Hari plant and that, without the leaves of this plant, the god Vishṇu or Hari or Nārāyaṇa cannot be worshipped.*

*Summarized from the article *The Birth Story of the Tulasī Plant*, published in the Bengali monthly Magazine *Śiṣu O Sātāṅ* (published from Calcutta) for Māgha 1333 B.S. (January-February 1927 A.D.), pp. 376-381.

From a study of the preceding ætiological myth we find that :—

(1) The gods even, sometimes, stooped to practise deception upon others. In the foregoing myth, it is narrated that Viṣṇu the Preserver, assuming the shape of Jalandhara, deceived the latter's wife Brindā into desisting from performing the penances and austerities and, thereby, brought about Jalandhara's death at the hands of the god Siva. This kind of deception and fraud is justifiable on the ground that it was perpetrated for the purpose of stopping the war between the gods and the giants and the slaughter of the gods resulting therefrom. In a previous paper (*Studies in Bird-Myths*, No. XXXV), I have already shown how the domesticated cock deceived the Sun-god into rising and shining upon the earth. This act of deception is justifiable on the ground that it was done for the purpose of preserving all men, beasts and birds and all trees and plants which were about to perish for want of sunshine. I have also shown therein that this kind of fraud was also justified in the great Indian epic—the Mahābhārata,—in which it is narrated how the Pāṇḍava Prince Yudhishtira—"the Exemplar of Piety"—brought about the death of the great Kaurava warrior Dronāchārya by falsely informing the latter that his son Aswatthāma had been killed and (for the purpose of palliating his own guilt) adding, in an undertone, that Ashwatthāma the elephant had been slain. This act of fraud and deception is justified on the ground that it was perpetrated for the purpose of putting a stop to the great war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, in which warfare thousands and thousands of men were being killed.

(2) The next noteworthy point in the foregoing myth is the transformation of the fire from Sivā's forehead into a male baby. I am not sure as to whether there is any parallel to it in the folklore of other races and nations. But an approximate analogue to it is the resuscitation of Rāvaṇa, the Demon-king of Lankā, after he had been burnt into ashes by the charred mustard-seeds which were cast on him by Sītā. (*Vide* my article entitled "*Note on the Birhor Legend*")

about *Rāvaṇa's Abduction of Sītā* " published in *The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* for December 1928.) The Greek myth about the fabled Phoenix rising resuscitated from its ashes may also be cited as another instance.

(3) The next noteworthy point in the preceding myth is the fact that, under the influence of Viṣṇu's boon, Jalandhara, the king of the Asuras, became invulnerable by all weapons except the trident of Siva. The nearest analogue to it is the Greek myth about the invulnerability of the Greek hero Achilles. He was the son of Peleus, king of Phthia and a sea-goddess named Thetis. It is stated that, during his infancy, Thetis plunged her son Achilles in the river Styx, by which reason the whole body (excepting his heel by which his mother held him) of Achilles became invulnerable.

(4) The last noteworthy point in the foregoing myth is the growth of the Tulasī plant, the Pīpal or Aśwattha tree, the Palāsa tree and the Āmlakī or Āorilā tree from Brindā's ashes. As I have already shown in previous papers, the vegetation-spirit or the vegetable-soul is contained in the flesh or blood of a human being and, when the flesh is burnt to ashes, the vegetable-soul blossoms forth in the shape of trees and plants. This belief is illustrated by many examples which are to be found in poetry and folklore.





HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE

A ROYAL PILGRIMAGE TO KAILĀSA

Acknowledgment

I beg to tender my most loyal homage and express my deep gratitude to His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, Maharaja of Mysore, for his gracious permission to use tour notes, diaries and photos of the Mysore party regarding His Highness' recent pilgrimage to Mānasarōvara and Mount Kailāsa. Standard works on the subject have also been consulted. To facilitate reference, a map and an itinerary indicating the route of pilgrimage are given. The illustrations are from blocks made out of the photographs taken by the party.

I must express my obligations to Rajasabhabhushana Mr. T. Thambu Chetty, B.A., Huzur Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja, and to Mr. Sadeg Z. Shah, Assistant Private Secretary to His Highness, for the facilities afforded me.

S. SRIKANTAYA.

ENTOURAGE

Six officers, five officials and thirty servants accompanied His Highness the Maharaja on this pilgrimage.

1. Mr. Sadeg Z. Shah, Assistant Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja.
2. Col. A. V. Subramanyaraj Urs, Hon. A.D.C.
3. Major S. Gopal Rao.
4. Capt. Nabi Khan.
5. Dr. N. Rangachar.
6. Lieut. Nanjaraj Bahadur of the Mysore Local Lancers.
7. Mr. A. Venkatasubbaiya, Manager, Private Secretary's Office.
8. Mr. C. V. Subrahmanyaraj Urs, Mokhthesar, Khas Samukha.
9. Mr. K. Venkatarangayya, Clerk, Private Secretary's Office.
10. Mr. C. Krishnappa, Sub-Assistant Surgeon.
11. Mr. Pratap Singh, Thasildar of Almora, who joined the party on the 24th June at Almora.

I. INTRODUCTION

As an administrator, a constitutional monarch and a devoted and pious Hindu, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV, Maharaja of Mysore, is the foremost prince of his day in India. To a simple and austere life, he adds a wide and sympathetic outlook and with a heart full of solicitude for the happiness of his subjects, he has been endeavouring to promote their welfare and prosperity. Not without justification has Mysore been acclaimed as Rāmarājya and its ruler hailed as a Rājārṣi. His Highness has travelled throughout India not only for affairs of State, but also to study nature in her varying moods; to see the centres of trade and industry, of art and architecture; and to visit the holy places. Among these, mention may be made of the famous vale of Kashmir with its beautiful gardens and brilliant scenery; of Badri situate on the shoulder of a peak of the central Himalayan axis in the Gharwal district of the United Provinces, where Nara and Nārāyaṇa did penance to obtain a vision of their Prakṛti in the Svētadvīpa; and of Kēdarnāth, also in Gharwal, where the holy rivers, Ganga and Yamuna, are worshipped: not to speak of Benares and Prayāg in the north and Rāmēśvaram in the south. No wonder that the snow-clad Kailāsa, lofty and bright as a royal crown, has had always a charm and a fascination for this royal pilgrim. No one, not even the scientific explorer, has escaped the spiritual hypnotism of this abode of Śiva. When the ṛṣis of the Vēdas, Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana Vyāsa (the compiler of the Purāṇas) and poets like Kālidāsa and Māgha have poured pæans of praise on the bewitching beauty and majestic grandeur of Kailāsa, a natural and overpowering feeling comes to every Hindu to visit, during his lifetime, this home of the gods and the holy Mānasarōvara below where pious men are said to commune with the dēvas.

Kailāsa: Environs

In the following pages will be found a description of the places of interest on the way to Kailāsa; the manners and customs of the people inhabiting these regions; an account of

a few of the many Buddhistic monasteries that abound on the hills ; a vivid picture of the Mānasarōvara from different positions ; and a glowing portrait of Kailāsa from several angles. A rigorous, dry and cold climate, the desert nature of the country where fairs are held but for two summer months in the year, lack of provisions and even fuel and absence of trade marts generally make it difficult for travellers and pilgrims to resort to this wonderful country which is amongst the highest inhabited parts of the world. Cold is intense and cracks the skin ; the rarefaction of the atmosphere in these high altitudes makes one gasp for breath ; and the six passes between India and Tibet are very trying to manage.

Temperature

A pilgrim to Mount Kailāsa traverses several hundreds of miles through varying degrees of climate, temperature, altitude and scenery. Similar changes are also observable in the flora and fauna of these regions. At an elevation of 12,000 ft. the mean temperature at the hottest part of the year is 60°F. against 10°F. in the coldest part. At 15,000 ft., frost is only permanent from the end of October to the end of April. The distribution of vegetation and topographical conformation largely influence local temperature. The quantity of rain diminishes as we pass onward across the Himalayan chain. The snow-line ranges from 15,000 to 16,000 ft. on the southern exposure of the Himalayas that carry perpetual snow all along that part of the system that lies between Sikkim and the Indus. It is not till December that snow begins to descend for the winter, although after September light falls occur which cover the mountain sides down to 12,000 ft., but these soon disappear. On the snowy range, the snow is not lower than 18,500 ft. and, on the summit of the table-land, it reaches to 20,000 ft. Explorers and pilgrims to these regions choose the months of June to August for their journeys.

Flora

The European flora diffused from the Mediterranean along the highlands of Asia extends to the Himalayas and

many European species reach the central part of the chain, while genera common to Europe and the Himalayas are abundant throughout and at all elevations. At 4,000 ft., the oak is frequent. *Aucuba*, *magnolia*, cherries, *pyrus*, maple, alder and birch as well as the *araliaceæ*, *hollbollea*, *skimmia*, *daphne*, *myrsine*, *symplocos*, *rubus* are met with. At Nainital, *cyprus*, shrubby vegetation, *rosa*, *rubus*, *indigopera*, *desmodium*, *berberi* *bœhmeria*, *viburnum* grow well. Higher up is found *corylus* or walnut. Between 6,000 to 8,000 ft. *rhododendrons* abound. Cultivation is rare beyond 7,000 ft. Epiphytal orchids are numerous. Of the *coniferæ* are found the varieties of *podocarpus* and *pinus longifolia* and, at 8,000 ft., *abies brunoniana* and *a. smithiana*. Between 5,000 to 9,000 ft. is thus an evergreen oak forest belt. Thence up to 12,000 ft. is the belt of coniferous forests. At 10,000 ft. the yew and *picea webbiana* are common features. There are few fields between 11,000 to 12,000 ft. and here buck wheat and Tibetan barley are cultivated, while at lesser altitudes are also grown rice, maize and millet. Between 12,000 to 16,000 ft. there is alpine or mountain vegetation. *Lancea tibetica* is abundant below the Lipulekh pass, at Taklakote, and round the Kailāsa mountain up to 16,500 ft. Sharp grass or scrubland is found where the rainfall is poor. And above 16,000 ft. is all snow. The nearest approach to the lotus is a small yellow butter cup (*Ranunculus*) found in the water of Mānas lake. Myriophylhums and pond-weeds in conspicuous minute flowers grow. A few more small plants—a borage, a crucifer, a *hyoscyamus* and grass are found. The water near the shore contains dead bits of the weeds growing in the deeper parts. A prominent feature of the Tibetan vegetation is the cushion habit of many of the species. While some species of plants bearing flowers dwarf as we ascend, there are others which grow bigger and bear larger flowers up to a certain limit and Prof. Kashyap regards this condition as being due to moisture and shelter available but not merely to altitude. Further, another peculiarity observable in the colouring of the flowers

in these parts is the occurrence, according to the same authority, of very dark almost or quite black colour—a very unusual feature.

Fauna

These ranges form a very rich zoological region particularly in respect of birds, to which the forest-clad mountains offer almost every range of temperature. The fauna of the Tibetan Himalayas is essentially European being perhaps the northern half of the old continent termed by zoologists as the palæarctic. It is the home of the yak, wild sheep, antelope, musk-deer (नाभिगन्धर्वमृगाणां of Kālidāsa), hares, burrowing animals including pikas (lagomys), two or three species of marmot, fox, wolf, lynx, ounce, marten, ermine and wild asses. Amongst the birds may be mentioned bustard, sandgrouse, partridge. Waterfowls, ravens, hawks, eagles, owls, magpies, cloughs are common. Reptiles and a few lizards swarm the localities. Bears and wild dogs called cyon are also met with. Bats are numerous. Langur, a species of *semnopithecus*, is found up to an altitude of 12,000 ft. The yak gives rich milk and it has long hair which makes it look like a sheep. Rope is made of its hair which is also used in making tents; its finer hair is used in the preparation of cloth; its skin is used for making boats and huts; and its bushy tail is used as the chamara or fly-whisk in temples and by royalty. Yak is justly considered the people's friend.

Tibetan Manners and Customs

The Tibetans met with in these journeyings are nomadic in their habits and modes of life. Some of them look more like apes than men in their picturesquely savage appearance. They are extremely ugly, varying in complexion from jet black to brown. All men wear large earrings in their left ear, as do some Arabs. Amongst other ornaments, Bhutia women also wear necklaces made of the tusk of the musk-deer. They are foul in their habits and do not wash. An ordinary Tibetan makes one feel physical revolt. Their cups or drinking vessels are not cleaned after or before use: their dishes

are made of dirt and flour. They eat with their teeth black with sordes. Their dress is hard as hide with dried dirt. Apart from the conditions of life, even superstition puts a premium on dirt and grease. Their priesthood is, however, cleaner. Tibetans eat meat and other flesh, generally raw and dried up. The Tibetans hate frying; they rarely cook and when they do so, they merely boil. For fuel, dama root and stalk and dung of yak, cow, sheep and horse are used. Bellows are sometimes used to make fire. When the Tibetan has killed a wild ass, he cuts it up and preserves the bits in his tent, away from the fire and the taste, it appears, improves with time. Butter is an important ingredient in the dietary of the Tibetans: it is also used as oil for lighting lamps in houses and monasteries and for ornamenting walls by making flowers and animals. The Tibetan coolies make tea with butter and salt, since they dislike milk which is considered a kind of urine. Sattu (fried wheat powder) and rarely some kind of bread are also used. A yak's rib serves as a spoon. They take intoxicants. They live in locally made tents and lead wandering lives, shifting from place to place, as it suits their fancy, or wherever they can find pasture for their sheep. They carry provisions for their journeys in their coat pockets which hold their pipe, tobacco, knives, and bone-spoons, as well. As a protection against cracks, jaggery paste is used as a cosmetic to the face, especially by women, though it makes them look all the more ugly. They know their camping ground thoroughly. It is a wonder how thousands of sheep thrive in this bare and rocky country with only small bits of grass under clefts in stones. They use neither the Indian nor the Chinese calendar but that of Turkestan. There is one leap year in every four but the Tibetan is always one year behind the Chinese. Their ways of counting days is strange. Insertion of two seventh days, an eleventh day without a tenth preceding it, duplication of lucky days and omission of unlucky days are common features of the Tibetan calendar. They are well built. Men and women dress very much alike and, as the men have no beard

growing, it is very difficult to tell the difference at first sight. They do not cut their hair but keep it in the centre in front and plait it like women, following the Chinese custom prevalent before the Revolution of 1911. Polyandry is practised. Generally, the eldest brother marries and, after two or three months, the woman becomes the wife of the younger brothers as well. If a widower has a grown-up married son, then the son's wife is also the wife of the father. If a man marries a widow with grown-up daughters, all are considered as his wives. Talking of polyandry, one is reminded of an incident in Svāmi Vivēkānanda's life which is related by Romain Rolland. "In the Himālayas, Vivēkānanda lived among Tibetan races, who practised polyandry. He was the guest of a family of six brothers, who shared the same wife; and in his neophytic zeal he tried to show them their immorality. But it was they who were scandalised by his lessons. 'What selfishness! to wish to keep one woman all to oneself.'" So one realizes the relativity of virtue, as what is right at the bottom of the mountain is wrong at the top.

Buildings

Buildings in these regions consist of wood and rough stones with mud paste. In the plains, bamboos, mud and brick are used. Nice architectural designs are commonly employed. The dwelling of a Tibetan shepherd is a single room forming a pit about ten feet square and three to four feet deep in the ground. Mud paste is spread over the surface and the roof is covered with waterproof yak hair. Mud ovens or stoves are used for cooking. A small image of Buddha, with accessories for worship, is in evidence.

Tibetan Dances

Every religious and social function in Tibet is followed by dances, either of the Lama or of the devil dance type, though in recent times the latter has become absorbed in the Lama dance. In dancing, the men wear masks and baggy trousers which bulge out as they dance round, while women wear several tassels round the waist that spread out along with

their skirts, umbrella-like. The accompaniments to dancing are a Tibetan drum and a pair of brass cymbals. The whole scene is weird. Bhutias, as ugly and dirty as the Tibetans, have curious funeral ceremonies with which are also associated dancing. On the third day, they set fire to wood which has been collected and all (men, women and children) assemble and dance round it to the accompaniment of music with drum and cymbals, carrying a shield in the left hand and a sword in the right. From a little cup, into which is poured out liquor made of fermented rice and jaggery from a wooden bottle, is served the drink to the dancers now and again.

Tibetan Worship

The common shrines of the Tibetans are made of one or more stones on which are carved images of the Buddha or the peculiar Buddhist mantram. The entrance to a Bhutia village is marked by three big stones calculated to guard against the intrusion of evil spirits. Incantations are also used for this purpose. Diseases are considered to arise under the influence of evil spirits and illness is warded off mainly by the chant of prayer and rarely by a resort to the very few drugs available locally.

On the mountain crests, the muleteers generally tie, as an offering to their deity, a bit of string or rag to a pole fixed for the purpose of offering thanksgiving for the safety of their animals over dangerous roads. These rags or flags are printed with the mystic Buddhist mantram and as they fly in the air the devotee who offered them is said to get the benefit which he would have secured had he repeated it.

Here and there, piles of stones smeared with red earth are seen with sticks to which tied are rags of various colours. On some of the stones are carved Buddhist prayers. As flowers are rare, small stones are offered in their stead, every pilgrim adding one or two stones as he passes by. When you see religious inscriptions, particularly "Om mani padme ham"—on rocks, houses, temples; prayer-wheels with handles to turn them, wind- and water-turned prayer-wheels,

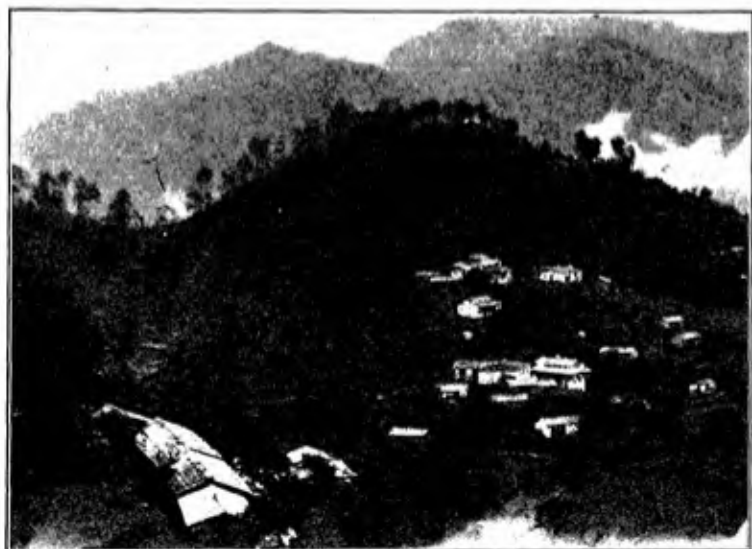
and the recital of prayer to the deity amidst the flutter of praying flags, you feel as if a kind of worship by machinery is provided. 'Prayer made easy' is what one would feel here as the Tibetans are revolving their prayer-wheels or going round prayer-walls. When the day ends and the dark rocks stand out grim against the sky, all work stops and the people gather in the squares and open spaces and chant their evening prayers prostrating on the earth. And at the religious festival of spring, the Lamas or monks wear strange and hideous masks, in striking contrast to their gorgeous silk robes. "Om mani padme ham" means "O jewel in the lotus flower, amen!" "Om" is said to close rebirth amongst the gods and is coloured white; "Ma" fights its freedom with the titans and is blue; "Ni" has its duel with man and has the yellow hue; "Pad" secures its liberty from the animal and is green; "Me" has to get salvation against tantalus and is coloured red; and "Ham" closes rebirth with the inhabitants of hell and is consequently black. Such is the symbolism of the mystic prayer-wheel.

II. THE HIKING

Leaving Mysore on 18th June 1931, His Highness and party arrived at Almora on the 24th where they spent three days in equipping the party for the pilgrimage. After three hours' journey, they reached their camp at Barechina on the 27th and stayed in the forest lodge opposite the Binsar Estate once the residence of General Ramsay, the Commissioner of Kumoan Division. They continued the journey in the mornings, to avoid heat, ascending or descending thousands of feet. The Sarju (Sarayu) river, spanned by a suspension bridge, was crossed on the 29th and Ganai reached. The first glimpse of the snow peaks at a distance was got at Thal on July 1st. The real Himalayan view at Sandeo was magnificent—the Pancha Shool, Nanda Devi and Pindari being the chief ones visible. Askote, a picturesque spot, reached on July 3rd, has a Rajbar claiming descent from Katryeer or Katripur kings who once ruled from Kabul to Nepal and who are referred to by Hieun Tsiang in his travels.



TAKLAKOTE—HIS HIGHNESS AND PARTY AND JANGPON WITH HIS DAUGHTER



ASKOTE



THE KALI : ROPE BRIDGE AT DHARCHULA



TAKLAKOTE MONASTERY & JANGPON'S RESIDENCE

Askote—Dharchula

Proceeding from Askote on the 4th July, the party crossed the iron bridge over Gouri-Ganga, which joins the Kali-Ganga or Śārada at a spot lower down called Joljibi, a great trade centre. The march to Balavakote, all along by the Kali river which divides Nepal from British India, was mostly uphill, and, travelling on, Dharchula was reached on the 5th. Near the royal camp, the local people crossed the Kali on coir ropes with the help of a V-shaped timber piece resembling the one used for catapults.

Dharchula—Taklakote

Askote to Dharchula is twenty-three miles and Askote to Almora is sixty-four miles. This long distance was made with laden mules and on horseback. But as the route to Khela was not thus negotiable, a day's halt was made at Dharchula to change the transport. Pack mules were given up and coolies engaged to carry luggage. The route followed up the course of the Kali river and from Khela onwards began the real ascent, 'Khadi Chadai,' done by the sure-footed Bhutia ponies. Further stages were done on foot as the path was very steep and narrow and was covered with loose boulders and stones. On the 8th July at Thithila was entered the holy land and thenceforth the pilgrims were in the country of the Bhutias amongst the Mongolians. The track from Thithila was downhill for the first four miles and then uphill for the next four. The top of a ridge of 10,000 ft. above sea-level was climbed before the descent commenced and the camp of Galagar was reached on the 9th. The 10th was a trying time for tramping between Galagar and Malpa. The party crossed the Kali by a temporary bridge on to the Nepal side, doing the ups and downs through what may be called goat-tracks up to Malpa. The camp here furnished views of mountain torrents from both the Nepal and the Indian sides rushing headlong in fine cascades to the Kali. The march on the 11th to pretty Budi, nestling on the hill slopes, was equally difficult as riding was unsafe. Next day was accomplished an ascent of 1,000

ft. in five miles and Garbayang, an important stage in the journey to Kailāsa, was reached. Situate at an altitude of 10,500 ft., it is fifty-one miles from Dharchula, seventy-four miles from Askote and 138 miles from Almora. The party halted here for three days.

The Tibetan Governor called Jangpon residing at Garbayang had heard rumours that the Mysore party consisted of armed men and intended to invade the country. Having no troops or police of any sort to ward off an armed assault, he was naturally uneasy and, under pretext of welcoming the Maharaja, he despatched to the camp his principal military officer and a village chief to do the spying. Saluting His Highness by putting out their tongues, which among them is a mark of respect, they noted down the strength of the 'invading army' and returned. Their misgivings about the hot-water boilers being machine guns were dispelled by their actual work being shown.

The Rani of Sanghai (U.P.), a venerable old lady who was also on a pilgrimage to Kailāsa and who was accompanied by Kumar Khadga Singh Pal, joined the party here.

Garbayang—Taklakote

A descent of about half-a-mile to the bed of the Kali in front had to be made to go to Kalapani from Garbayang, before crossing the river to the Nepal side. After five miles in Nepalese territory, Kali was recrossed and it was crossed again at Kalapani, considered sacred as the source of the Kali. The journey to Siangchun, within a stone's throw of the snow patches, was an ascent along a mountain stream and full of gorgeous scenery with the river Kali flowing below. Early next morning (17th), the party proceeded on horseback to Lipulekh pass (16,500 ft.) through winding snowy paths, along a stream lying in a shallow valley below the Lipulekh ridge, the furthest point in India. Taklakote, situate on the right bank of the Karnali river, is the headquarters of a Tibetan Jangpon and contains a big monastery. His Highness paid a visit to both the Jangpon and the monastery.



TIBETAN DANCERS



A TIBETAN FAMILY



TOWARDS LIPU PASS



MANASAROVAR CAMP

Taklakote—Mānasarōvara

The march to Rungung from Taklakote on the 21st July was an easy one, with smiling villages and fields on either side. Next day, Rungung to Gori-odial was done through a wide maidan, surrounded by low, bare hills. On the 23rd, Gori-odial was left behind for a journey towards Mānas over barren stretches for some three miles whence began an ascent to the Gurla pass (16,200 ft.), in the neighbourhood of the snow-clad Gurla Mandatta range, so called from the tradition of Rāja Māndhātha having performed penance there. To the immediate right are its two massive peaks, 25,348 ft. and 22,648 ft. high, unsuccessfully attempted by Longstaff in 1905. The first glimpse of the snowy Kailāsa is got from the top of the Gurla pass, with its snow-covered cone in its solitary majestic grandeur. Below it is Rakastal but Mānasarōvara is not yet visible. Though the whole range is spread out before you east to west, yet Kailāsa appears the most dominant feature. After a short descent and a couple of miles journey on level ground, the party reached their camp on the shores of the lake.

III. MĀNASARŌVARA

Size and Shape

In spite of popular opinion, scholars greatly differ regarding the identity of the Anavatapta lake (the lake without heat or trouble) of the Buddhist texts with Mānasarōvara. Ekai Kawaguchi gives the circumference of the lake as 200 miles and describes its shape as more or less octagonal and Dr. Rangachar in his printed Diary is inclined to accept this view. Other members of the party, however, consider it to be about forty-five miles in circumference, forming on the right almost a circle. Dr. Sven Hedin considers it as saucer-shaped, with a depth varying from 68·4 ft. to over 268 ft. and, with a diameter of fifteen and a half miles at its widest and narrower in the south than in the north and having eight monasteries on its shores. Situated in an extensive basin

amidst hills, it is most beautiful. Its water looks blue from a distance, is clear as crystal and sweet. The lake is fed by the melting snows of the hills all round. His Highness and the Hindu members of the party bathed in the holy lake, offered tarpan libations to the manes of their ancestors and performed Gangāpūja.

Description

Mānasarōvara is full of fish but fishing is not allowed. Should any fish be cast up by the waves, the Tibetans dry it in the sun and use it as medicine for driving away evil spirits. It is said that flamingoes (राजहंसाः) go to the Mānas at the commencement of the rainy season, to find a safe asylum in the rocks bordering on the lake, when the swell of the rivers in the rains and the inundation of the plains conceal their usual food.

To the immediate north of the Mānasarōvara lie the vast and extensive ranges of the Kailāsa mountain, on the western sides of which rises and flows the Indus river, the Brahmaputra originating on the far eastern slopes. To the south is the Ladak range comprising the spurs of the Gurla Mandatta whence issues the river Karnali. On the left side of Mānas lake itself is to be found the source of the river Sutlej, while below and to the north-west of the main Himalayan ranges lie, near the Lipulekh pass, the Zaskar range of mountains. Emperor Akbar appears to have sent a survey party to these regions. Col. Moorcroft went on his expedition in 1812-14 to trace the source of the river Ganges. Others have followed.

Dr. Sven Hedin, who has explored every inch of the expansive lake by night and by day for weeks on end, finds nothing to compare with it in his long wanderings in Asia. The overpowering beauty of a nocturnal sail on the lake is incomparable. At night, 'I seem to hear the gentle but powerful beat of the great heart of Nature, its pulsation growing weaker in the arms of night, and gaining fresh vigour in the glow of the morning red. The scene, gradually changing as the hours



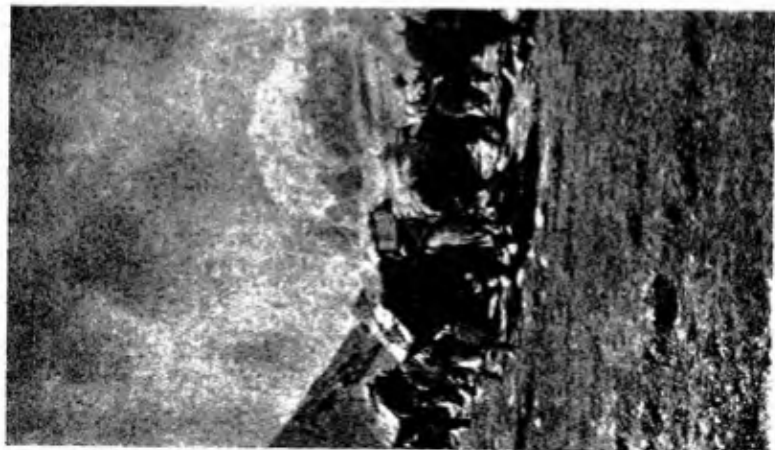
LAKE MANAS & GURLA MANDATTA RANGE



MANAS LAKE



MOUNT KAILAS



YAK TRANSPORT AT KAILAS

go by, seems to belong not to earth but to the outermost boundary of unattainable space, as though it lay much nearer heaven, the misty fairyland of dreams and imagination, of hope and yearning, than to the earth, with its mortals, its cares, its sins, and its vanity. Phenomena like these are fleeting gusts in the earth and occur once in a lifetime as a greeting from a better world. Thousands and thousands of pilgrims have wandered round the lake in the course of centuries and have seen the dawn and sunset, but have never witnessed the display which we gazed upon from the middle of the holy lake on this memorable night.' In bright sunshine, 'the clouds display wonderful tone-effects; white and grey, sharply defined, they lie in different stages before the mountains and behind them dark blue and purple curtains seem to hang down. We might be gliding over the bright floor of a temple hall, its walls richly decorated with flags and standards, which hang down from golden hooks on the ceiling of the sky, and touch the dust of the earth with their fringes. The genii of Śiva's paradise seem to hover round us.....All tones are so bright, airy and grey that the landscape which surrounds us, on a depth of 180 ft. in the lake, like a ring where the water ends seem hardly real.....I could live and die on this heavenly lake without ever growing weary of the wonderful spectacle always presenting fresh surprises.' Verily is the lake Mānas worshipped as the mystic reservoir of the lord of life, belonging to heaven and not to the earth.

The middle of the lake is smooth as if oil is poured upon it. The crystal purity of the water and its dark greenish-blue colour are as beautiful as the flavour and monks use this water in preference to any other. Even the first view from the hills on the shore of lake Mānas causes the pilgrim or the traveller to burst into tears of joy at the wonderful, magnificent landscape and its surpassing beauty.

Myth and Legend

Lake Mānasarōvara (or the Tib. Tsho-Ma-Phan) is said to be the same as Bindusarōvara of Hindu mythology, produced from the heart of Brahma. It is called 'anau anandat'

and is considered a crater and rivers are supposed to spring from it. A comfortable and pleasant bath in the lake is even attributed to the existence of hot springs underneath. It is said to be near Sumēru, the abode of the gods, the Vindhyaśaras of the Purāṇās, the central point of the universe. The Mānasakāṇḍa of the Skāṇḍapurāṇa says that as the sons of Brahma who were doing tapas at Kailāsa had no water for their ablutions, Brahma created this lake for them out of his manas or mind, the lake being therefore called Mānasa. The Vāyupurāṇa states that when the ocean fell from heaven upon mount Mēru, it ran four times round the mountain, divided itself into four rivers which ran down the mountain and formed four great lakes, the Aruṇōḍa on the east, Śītōḍa on the west, Mahābhadrā on the north and Mānasa on the south.

According to the Buddhist legends pertaining to this lake, it was the abode of the Royal Swan Dhṛtarāṣṭra, a previous incarnation of Bōdhisattva. Avatānsaka-nāma Mahā Vaipulya-Sūtra gives the name of South Zenbu to a certain continent in the world and considers Zenbu as a deflection of jamb, *i.e.*, sound caused by the fall of a weighty substance into placid water. In the centre of it is a tree which bears fruits said to be omnipotent in healing all mortal ills, thus much sought after by both gods and men : a fruit falling from this tree produces a sound. Four outlets from this lake are Mabcha Khanbab, Langchen, Tamchock and Senge Khanbabs, flowing respectively out of the mouth of a peacock, bull, horse and lion, forming the sources of the four sacred rivers of India. From these notions its sacredness is confirmed ; the name Zenbu derived ; and religious relationships between Tibet and India established. The sands of silver are in the south river, of gold in the western, of diamond in the northern and of emerald in the eastern rivers. Each river is said to circle seven times round the lake and then proceed in several directions. Giant lotus flowers bloom in the lake and a hundred herbs in the surrounding mountains : birds of paradise sing their celestial melodies : an unutterably holy elevation is felt in

its surroundings : and all pangs of pain and sorrow are washed away in its presence.

“ Wonderful, attractive, enchanting lake ! Theme of story and legend, playground of storms and changes of colour, apple of the eye of gods and men, goal of weary, yearning pilgrims, holiest of the holiest of all the lakes, art thou, Tso-mavang, lake of all lakes. Navel of old Asia, where four of the most famous rivers of the world, the Brahmaputra, the Indus, the Sutlej and the Ganges, rise among the gigantic peaks, surrounded by a world of mountains, among which is Kailās, the most famous in the world ; for it is sacred in the eyes of hundreds of millions of Hindus, and is the centre of a wreath of mountains where every morning blasts of conches sound out from the roofs over the lake. Axle and hub of the wheel, which is an image of life, and round which the pilgrims wander along the way of salvation towards the land of perfection. That is Mānasarōvar, the pearl of all the lakes of the world. Hoary with age when the books of the Vēda were written, its blue billows have in the course of centuries seen innumerable troupes of faithful Hindus and Tibetans arrive at its banks, there to drink, bathe and find rest for their souls.”

Such is Mānasarōvara ! There may perhaps be more beautiful lakes in the world. Its western neighbour, Rakastal or Rāvaṇa-hrada known as Langak-tso in Tib., is more picturesque. But there is none which unites with natural beauty such an influence on the faith and souls of men.

The Mānas is thus described in the epics of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata :—

कैलासश्चापि दुष्कम्पो दानवेन्द्रेण कम्पितः ।

यक्षराक्षसगन्धर्वैर्निलं सेवितकन्दरः ॥

श्रीमान्मनोहरश्चैव निलं पुष्पितपादपः ।

हेमपुष्करसंलक्षं तेन वैखानसं सरः ॥

कम्पितं मानसश्चैव राजहंसनिषेवितम् ॥

[महाभारते, हरिवंशे, नारसिंहे, २२८३.]

कैलासपर्वते राम मनसा निर्मितं परम् ।

ब्रह्मणा नरशार्दूल तेनेदं मानसं सरः ॥

तस्मात् सुखाय सरसः सायोध्यामुपगूहते ।

सरः प्रवृत्ता सरयूः पुण्या ब्रह्मसरश्च्युता ॥

[रामायण, आदि., २४ सर्गः]

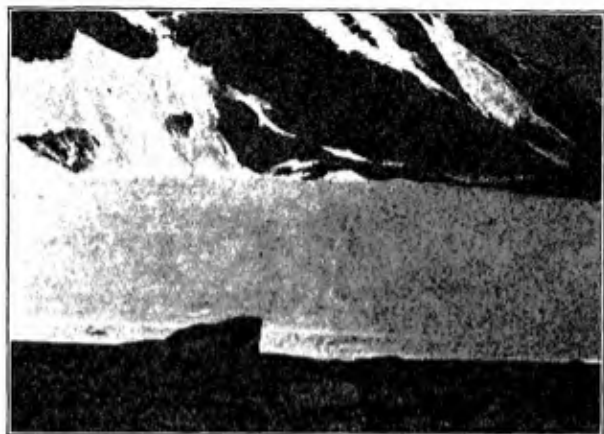
IV. MOUNT KAILĀSA

After Mānas, the objective of the pilgrims was Mount Kailāsa. Towards this, on the 23rd morning, the party left Mānas camp and proceeded in a northerly direction for Jiew Gumba eleven miles distant.

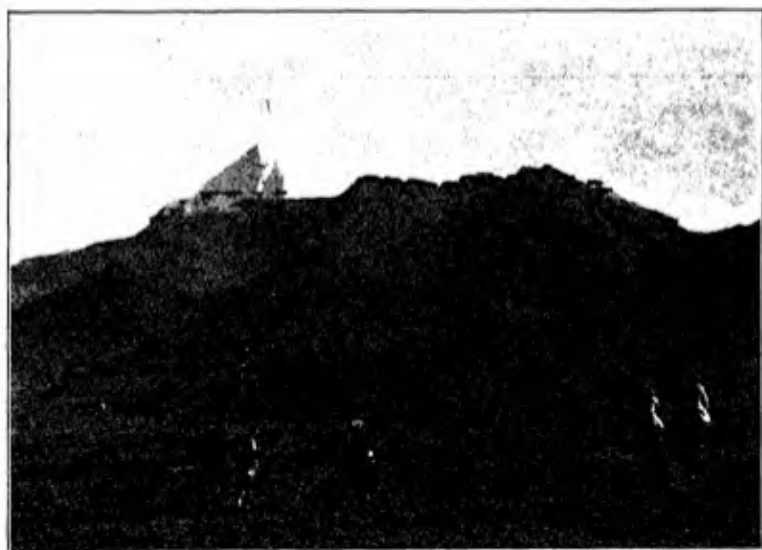
The march from Jiew Gumba onwards was undertaken on the 24th July. Passing through vast sandy and desert country, the party reached the Barkha maidan, after eight miles. All this land might have at some remote time formed part of the Rakastal as the ground is very little higher than the bed of the lake. The Maharaja visited the residence of the assistant to the Jangpon stationed here and called Tarjun. A shepherd's hut was also inspected.

Tradition

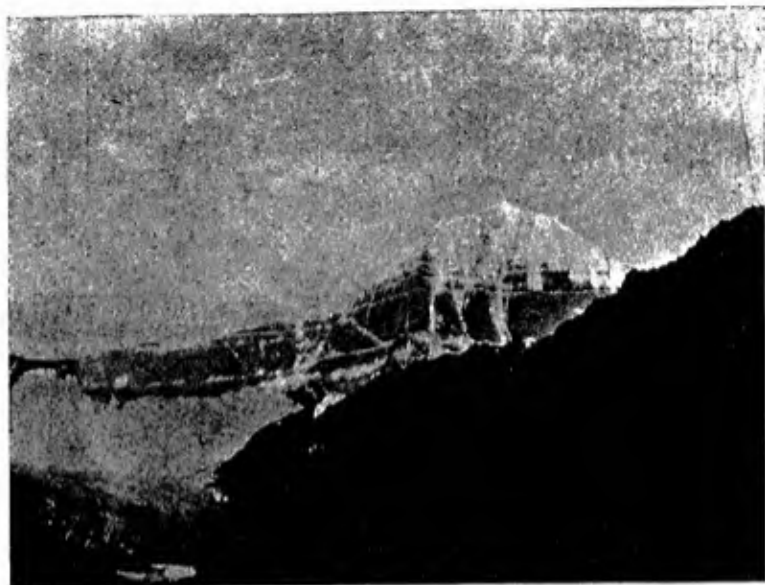
Viṣṇupurāṇa describes these parts as the centre of the lotus of the world, whence run six groups of mountain rangēs or whorls of petals, east and west, their watersheds being named as separate countries ; two other ranges in the north and south enclose these on the east and west. Between the innermost of all these, Brahma the creator has his throne like the seed-vessel of a lotus, on his mystic mountain Mēru, the terrestrial north-pole of the Vanaparva. From the holy city of Brahma the seven rivers of Bhārata-Varṣa (India) flow towards the south, the number corresponding with the Seven Powers or mothers of creation (Śaktis). Another mighty river on the eastern side of the city flows over the tops of the inferior mountains and runs into the sea through the country of Bhadrāśva (horse's mouth). On the opposite sides another river traverses all the western mountains and passing through the country of Kētumāla falls into the sea ; while



FROZEN GOWRIKUND



KAILAS—FROM BARKHA MAIDAN



KAILAS—ANOTHER VIEW



KAILAS—FROM DOLMA PASS

another, after watering the country of the Uttara Kuru (Kuru=fish), empties itself in northern ocean. India or Bhārata (tortoise) Varṣa is the southern petal of the great lotus, while Uttara Kuru (Yarkand darya) is the northern. India and three other countries extend from the mountain boundaries of Mēru like the petals of the lotus of the world. (Wilson's Translation, pp. 166-173.) The seven rivers of the Vēdas are the following:—1. Ganga, 2. Sarasvatī, 3. Śatadru, 4. Parushni, 5. Aśakni, 6. Marudvrdha, 7. Vipāçā.

Description

The first European to see and describe Kailāsa was Fr. Desideri in 1715 A.D. The finest view of Kailāsa is to be had from Rakastal. In form, it resembles a tetrahedron set on a prism. From the middle of its white top a belt of ice falls precipitously down, and below it stands a stalagmite of ice on to which a thick stream of water pours from above. The stream splits up into glittering drops of spray and thin sheets of water—a grand spectacle, which one could watch with pleasure for hours!

This Indian Olympus lifts its summit in the north under a cupola of eternal snow, where Śiva dwells in paradise with a host of other gods and goddesses. Himalayan scenery gave birth to grand myths and colossal imagery. The whole conception of Śiva is a striking reminiscence of the Himalayas. He is entirely a personification of the Himalayas, as when the Milky Way is made to fall upon his head, wander round and round amongst his tangled locks, and issue from them at last as the Ganges. Indeed, the imagination of the people may be said to make of their northern ranges one vast shrine to Him; for it is far away, they say, across the frost-bound heights, where the Himalayas are at their mightiest and India passes into Tibet, that lake Mānasarōvar lies at the foot of the great ice-peak of Kailāsa. Here is the line of silence and eternal snow, and here, guarding the north, is the holy home that Śiva loves. If the identity of Mānas be granted, says Ekai Kawaguchi, in his *Three Years in Tibet*, it could be argued that Mount Kailāsa, by the side of the lake, was

nature's maṇḍala, sacred to the memory of the Buddha, which formed an important station for Buddhist pilgrims (p. 38). The Chinese Texts speak of Kailāsa (Kang Rinpoche) as rising high on the shore of Mānasarōvar (Mapha myumtsho).

Parikrama

The circumambulation of Kailāsa takes generally two and a half days. Prostrating all the way, earnest devotees may go round it in a month. There are some who have done the parikrama ten times in their lives.

The track for circling Kailāsa is steep and dangerous and ordinary persons hardly, if ever, try to do it. Snowslips may kill, while huge boulders obstruct the passage. The outermost route has a Buddhist temple at each of its four quarters known as the temples of Kang Rinpoche. Several fantastic rocks of great size towering into the sky appear before you, giving you a peep into the snowy Tise beyond as also very large cascades, over a thousand feet high, many in number each having a distinct individuality. Some shoot down with great force and look not unlike the fabulous dragon descending the rock; others milder, a white sheet suspended over it.

Kailāsa is not actually on the line of what is generally known as the Kailāsa range of mountains but a little to the south of it. The pilgrim and the traveller have to cross a dizzy ridge or pass 18,600 ft. to go to the foot of the sacred peak. Sherring estimates the parikrama as twenty-five miles against thirty of Dr. Hedin and Prof. S. R. Kashyap estimates it at twenty-nine miles. The path of the circuit is bad and walking is absolutely obligatory. The track near Gourikund rises to a very great height and the Dolma-la looks almost a death-trap, being by far the most striking experience on the way round to Kailās.

Yak'shorn Temple, facing Mount Kailāsa itself, emerges in the northern section of the Tise group; then the Hill of Salvation and then the Hill of Dolma-la, the pass of the mother of the saviour. On ascending the hill, one sees to the right a snowy range of the northern parts of Mount Kailāsa,

named in Tibetan Norjingi Phoprang or the residence of king Kubēra, perhaps Alāka splendidly described in the Uttara Mēgha of Kālidāsa. The crest of the Dolma-la is said to be the image of the mother of the saviour. At the foot of the hill where ends the ridge of the Dolma pass whence it looks oblong, is a frozen oval lake, Gourikund about four-fifths of a mile in circumference according to Prof. Kashyap, to which attaches an interesting legend. In ancient times, Kubēra and his family used the water to wash their hands here. A woman pilgrim bent for the purpose when her baby on the back slipped and fell. The guardian deities then met in consultation and allowed the lake to freeze to prevent such accidents. Round about the mount stand, it is said, seven ladders by which you ascend a spacious plain in the middle whereof is a bell of silver and a square table, surrounded with nine precious stones of diverse colours. Upon this table lies a silver rose, called Tamarrapua which contains two women as bright and fair as pearl—Brigasiri or lady of the mouth and Tarasiri or lady of the tongue. In the centre of the rose is the image of Śivalinga, the permanent residence of god.

“Above the stretch of mortal ken,

On blessed Kailāsa's top, where every stem

Glowed with a vegetable gem,

Mahēśa sat, the dread and joy of men.”

From Darchin the party went to Didiphu on the 28th, where they ascended in the evening a hillock 18,000 ft. above the sea-level.

The next camp Zindiphu, twelve miles distant, lay through the Dolma pass (18,599 ft.) and was negotiated on 27th July. It was the worst stage of the journey experienced, as three or four miles of very steep and stony ascent reaching the highest altitude at the Dolma pass or Gourikund were tiresome to the pilgrims and their animals though the Tibetans did not seem to feel it.

Monasteries

There are many monasteries but very few of them are kept clean. Dwelling and meditation in complete darkness is

a most austere form of *tsams*, not peculiar to Lamaism but in vogue in the Orient. Heads of religious institutions in Tibet are called Lamas and those that are chosen to that position are considered incarnations of previous Lamas who are themselves supposed to be living Buddhas. Most of these viharas are perched on outstanding boulders, visible from far. The Taklakote monastery looks like a castle and is well situated, being about the biggest on this side of Tibet, consisting of 250 *bikṣus*. The accessories for worship here include, among others, a bowl partly made of a human skull which is rather suggestive of the *Kāpālikas*. Perhaps the monasteries belong to the *Vajrayāna* sect of the *Mahāyāna* School. Serolung or the golden valley is on the south-south-west of *Mānasarōvar*. *Gyang-tak-Jompa* or white *Vajra* lies between the north-western corner of *Mānas* and the north-eastern corner of *Rakas* lakes. *Yanggo-gompa* is the third of the eight monasteries (Tr. Him. II, p. 132). In *Tugu-gompa*, one of the eight monasteries round *Mānas* is the painting of a fish god, *Madō Gemo*, who rises from the waves of the central lake. This god has seven water-snakes in his hair and the lower part of his body is like a green dolphin. The lake is as deep as it is broad, and concentric rings encircle the rising god. The fish god comes up to greet the god of *Tso-mavang*, *Hlabzen Dorche Barva*, who gallops in a cloud of grey fiery tongues and smoke on a pink horse, and is armed with spear, bow and quiver. In the background stands *Kang-rinpoche*, the holy mountain. Colouring and drawing idealises the whole (*Ib.*, pp. 130-31). The inscription at *Tugu-gompa*, given for the enlightenment of the Buddhist pilgrims, says that in the centre of *Mānasarōvara*, the holiest in the world, dwells a god in human form, inhabiting a tent made of turquoise and all kinds of precious stones. In the midst of it grows a tree, with a thousand branches where as many Lamas live. It has a double crown, one rising like a sunshade and shading *Kailāsa*, the other overshadowing the whole world. Each of these branches has an image of god and all these images turn their faces towards *Gossul-gompa*. In former times, all the gods

gathered together here, and once golden water was fetched from the lake to gild the face of Hlobun Rinpoche in Chiu-gompa, the fifth monastery on a rock in the north-western corner of the lake, what remained being used to paint the temple roofs of Tashi-lunpo (*Ib.*, pp. 154-55)

Of the monasteries lying on the path round Kailāsa, the Kiangda (Gyangta) gompa is seldom visited by the pilgrim. The Nyandiphu monastery is four miles from Darchin towards which two miles of the path lie north-west whence a turn to the north has to be taken. It is situated on a vertical side of a rock in a perilous position. A road leads on both sides of a stream, through a fairly open valley with steep and perpendicular rocks in fantastic shapes and small waterfalls here and there, straight north to Didiphu monastery five miles away, situated north of Kailāsa, whose north face will here be noticed to be extremely steep. The rectangular space of the gompa is striking. Thence, Zuntu-gompa, thirteen miles from Dolma-la is reached, on the ridge that joins the Kailāsa peak to the Kailāsa range, at an elevation of 18,599 ft.

Ritual purification, still retained in sacraments and rubrics in Christian lands, is common to all Asiatic culture. Lamps are kept perpetually burning with butter for fuel in Tibetan monasteries and the offering of a lamp by a devotee is considered very meritorious indeed. It secures him one of the heavens after death and also otherwise assists his pitrs a further advancement in the high heavens. Prints from wooden blocks containing Buddhist canons are taken from the Lamas in the monasteries by the devotees and are preserved at home as a protection against diseases and evil spirits as well as an assurance of prosperity.

V. RETURN JOURNEY

Rakastal

The return journey began on the 28th July from Zindiphu and when the Barka Maidan was reached three miles from thence, the parikrama was completed. On the 29th, the party encamped again on the borders of Mānasarōvara. To avoid

the Gurla pass, a slight deviation was now made and the party encamped at Lakando on the Rakastal. A hillock, some two and a half miles round at the base, divides Rakastal and Mānas lakes and, where it slopes into a ravine, it looks as though there was a channel of communication for the water from one lake to the other. When once in a decade or two heavy rains fall in this region, the waters of the Rakastal are said to flow into the Mānas. Hence, guide-books on Kang Tise and Mount Kailāsa describe the relation between the lakes as that of a husband and wife. Rākastal is called in Tibetan Lakgat Tso or Langak Tso. It is also referred to as Lagang just as lake Mānas is called Mabang or Mavang. In Sanskrit, it is known as Ravaṇa-hrada so called from fierce-voiced Rāvaṇa's traditional lifting of the Mount Kailāsa. It looks like a long calabash. It has many islands, one of which is a huge white mass, said to be formed of the broken shells of thousands of eggs of the traditional swan. It is roughly of the same size as lake Mānas but more varied in outline, sending out irregular arms in various directions and more picturesque than its more sacred neighbour. To the north and west, its shores pass into a swampy level ground which makes it lack the perfect beauty of Mānas. Both the lakes are said to freeze completely in winter when people walk over the ice to go to the islands in the Rakastal to collect swan's eggs, walking over the Mānas being sacrilegious.

On the north side of a slightly indented bay of the western shore of lake Mānas is a cinnabar-red hill and on the inner side of the shallow bay has been traced by Dr. Sven Hedin, a hollow with its bottom lower than the surface of the Saras and filled with salt water; on the west of this swamp lies the lowest dip in the isthmus which separates the twin lakes, over which runs the pilgrim's road.

Twin Lakes

Regarding the controversy as to the existence of a channel of communication between the lakes, it is now generally accepted that such a channel does exist, though it is stil

contended whether water is contained in it at frequent intervals or not. In October 1846, travelling in these regions, Strachey came upon a 'large stream 100 ft. wide and three ft. deep, running rapidly from east to west, through a well-defined channel,' which was an outlet of Mānasarōvar. Rider visiting it in the same period of 1905 says: "Skirting the lakes we rode across the low hills, which close in on the western side, to look for the outlet, which Moorecroft had not been able to find, which Strachey had found, and Mr. Savage Landor had claimed to have discovered did not exist. We struck the channel a mile below the outlet, a small stream only partly frozen over, this we followed up and found that it did not flow from the lake but from a hot-spring, at which we found and shot some Mallaras. We then followed a dry nullah to the lakes and proved that Strachey was, as was to be expected, quite correct. No water was flowing at this time of the year, but the local Tibetans all agree that for some months in each year there was a flow during the rainy season and the melting of the snows, *i.e.*, about from June to September. As a rise of about two feet in the level of the lake would cause water to flow down the channel this appears quite worthy of belief. The length of the channel between the two lakes is about three miles." According to Dr. S. Hedin, in olden times the water of the Mānas flowed over a pass named Pakchu-la to the Garya-chimbo. Prof. S. R. Kashyap says the ridge between the two lakes is not high and where the gap begins near the Jiew monastery perched on a cliff on the northern side of the gap, the ground consists of gravel and water could certainly flow through this gap from the Mānas to Rakastal. He supports this view of his from personal observations made on 28th July 1922 and 17th July 1926. It is strengthened from the experiences of others in 1924, 1925, 1926 and 1928, including that of Mr. D. P. Rai who in August 1928 crossed the channel between the two lakes in which a stream about three feet deep was flowing. It is also probable that there is an underground flow of water from Mānas to the Rakastal, thence into the same stream of

the Sulej. Stagnant water in the Rakastal confirms it. (*J.A.S.B.*, N. S., XXV, pp. 225-227.)

On July 31st Rungting was reached through a shallow valley, much lower in altitude than Gori-odjal. The following day, the party arrived at Taklakote whence they visited Kochernath ten miles away. The monastery there contains several statues of clay and brass. The Hindu Trimūrtis are said to be worshipped in this place. Dr. Rangachar describes these handsome metallic figures on copper pedestals and with a prabhāvali, at a farther end of the hall in the temple to be Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sita. He adds that on the sides of a small room 'stand two painted giants made of clay about eight feet high, one of which perhaps represents Rāvaṇa.' He considers the images of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sita to have been cast in South India though it is not possible to say when and how they were removed to Tibet. Apart from the monastery being located on a river bank like a South Indian shrine, he is inclined to suggest that probably the temple was originally Hindu and was subsequently used as a Buddhist monastery. He further mentions 'seven painted clay images of ṛṣis or saints, all seated cross-legged, and in an attitude of prayer, but with their hands in various attitudes denoting what they call mudras' and says they are known as saptaṛṣis; there are again 'two hideous figures of Kāla and Kālī' in another room of the monastery and the party next go to the first floor of the building where they see 'a clay image of Kālī and Lakṣmī installed in a large library'.

As regards these interesting observations of Dr. Rangachar, it may be pointed out that they have no more support than the claim of the Buddhists that the images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadra in the temple of Jagannāth are the Tri-ratnas symbolizing Buddha, Sangha and Dhamma, the last being considered feminine. While it may be conceded that the Tibetan Buddhist worships certain gods, it has yet to be proved whether the images referred to by Dr. Rangachar as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sita do not represent the Tri-ratnas. Again, the image identified with Rāvaṇa might be the figure

of a Buddhist yakṣa. The saptaṛṣis of Dr. Rangachar may likewise be the Amitābhas or Dhyāni Buddhas in different Yogic postures and gestures. Kāla and Kālī worship forms part of Buddhist Tantrism and that cannot therefore be taken to support Dr. Rangachar's suggestion.

Bagesvar and After

On 4th August, the party camped at Pala towards Lipulekh and five miles from Taklakote. On the 5th, they crossed the Lipu and proceeded straight to Kalapani without halting at Siangchun. On the 6th August, they were at Garbayang and on the 8th they proceeded straight to Malpa avoiding a halt at Budi. The route was very difficult, dangerous and tiresome, with a bright and powerful sun. The march from Malpa to Galagar on the 9th was the nastiest and most dangerous and between Thithila and Khela on the 11th were witnessed heavy rain, swollen hill-streams and a tiresome climb down through Khadi Chadai. On the 14th was reached Askote where the party halted for another day. The Rajbar Saheb invited some of the visitors to tea on the 15th evening. The journey to Sandeo on the 16th was very pleasant and refreshing, being a cool and pleasant morning. But the next day's journey to Thal was one of heat and perspiration. They reached Berinag on the 18th on a cloudy day, the way being an ascent. Next day, His Highness and party went to Saniodhar, twelve miles from the camp, where they had a very enjoyable time. The journey on the following day was equally pleasant. Picturesque Bagesvar, situate right on both banks of the Sarju rapids, was the royal residence on the 20th. Bagesvar to Binsar, a distance of seventeen miles, involved steep ascents and a tiresome journey but the beautiful and cool Binsar amply compensated for it and the party remained there for two days and proceeded to Almora where on the 25th and 26th His Highness resided. Motoring on the 27th to Kathgodam, reaching Hardwar on the 28th, they left *via* Delhi for Bombay whence they arrived at Poona on the 4th September. From there travelling by special train

through Arsikere, the Maharaja and party arrived safely at the Capital on Monday, the 7th September 1931.

Reception to Maharaja

The fame of the Mysore sovereign as a just, wise and kindly ruler is widespread: the rustic peasant of the Himalayan ranges has heard of the Rajaṛṣi of the south. At Almora, people came to see him and presented big-sized cardamoms; at Ganai, on the evening of the 29th, the ryots turned up to have a darśan of the Maharaja; at Dharchula, His Highness granted an interview to Svāmi Anubhavānanda of Rāmakrishnāśrama, a couple of miles from there towards Khela; at Garbayang, he visited a school which consisted of thirty ill-nourished children, who greeted the Maharaja with welcome songs; at Taklakote, he visited the Jangpon's residence and the adjoining monastery; and at Darchin, he visited the quarters of an Assistant to the Jangpon called Tarjun. The Assistant, like the Governor at Taklakote, played on Tibetan instruments and sang to show his gratification at the visit of the august prince. At the latter place was also visited a shepherd's hut. Of many another monastery visited during this period may be mentioned Gangta-gompa, the biggest of the monasteries on the path of the parikrama of Kailāsa, and Kochernath for which a special journey was undertaken on the return pilgrimage and the residence of the Lamas at Kochernath. At Saniodhar, the villagers assembled and showered flowers upon the royal pilgrim as he passed by. Likewise at Bagesvar, he had a most spontaneous and enthusiastic reception on his arrival. Leading citizens presented an address to him to which the Maharaja made a suitable reply. At Almora, he granted several interviews; and bestowed rich and liberal presents upon all those whose services had been secured for this journey.

At the several monasteries which he visited, he was eagerly and enthusiastically received with blessings from the priests and he made rich and suitable presents to every one of them.

Mr. Sadeg Z. Shah, who accompanied His Highness on this pilgrimage to Kailāsa, beautifully sums up his impressions in the following fine doggerel :—

“ Our beloved Maharaja did lead all the way,
His kindness and charity words fail to say,
Oh Lord of the Kailās, to you we all pray,
To guard and protect him each hour of the day.”

VI. CONCLUSION

For ages, Mānasarōvara and Kailāsa as also the surrounding parts have provided an attraction and an enchantment peculiarly their own. We have heard that Yudhisṭhira, in days of old in the Dvāpara Yuga, according to the Mahābhārata, went with his brothers and Draupadi on a pilgrimage until they came to Himavat which they crossed: that beyond it they beheld a vast sandy desert and that they walked on until they saw Mount Mēru, the foremost of peaks, which supports the paradise of gods, the Svarga. Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims in countless numbers have been pouring in since the creation. Akbar the Great is said to have sent a survey party to trace the source of the Ganges in the sixteenth century. Explorers like Moorecroft, Sven Hedin and others have visited these regions and recorded their experiences. In modern times, there does not appear to have been any instance of a monarch's pilgrimage such as we have recounted in these pages.

Kailāsa stands for Śiva or Śambhu the beneficent and for Pārvati the beautiful and the joyous, termed Soundarya Lahari and Ānanda Lahari. Where even beautiful buildings and gardens inspire how much more will Kailāsa, the very home of Śiva and Pārvati, kindle the divine spark in us! Our Maharaja has visited many places of pilgrimage and has, as a result of these yātras, translated the inspirations obtained into exquisite works of art in the State. Rightly does Lord Śri Kṛṣṇa say that all forms of beauty and magnificence are His Vibhūtis or special manifestations.

What wonder then that Śrī Śankarāchārya prayed in the following very touching verse in Śivānanda Lahari for the pleasure of worshipping Śiva in His Abode at Kailāsa :—

कदा वा कैलासे कनकमणिसौधे सहगणैः ।

वसन् शंभोरग्रे स्फुटघटितमूर्धाञ्जलिपुटः ॥

विभो साम्ब स्वामिन् परमशिव पाहीति निगदन् ।

विधातुणां कल्पान् क्षणमिव विनेष्यामि सुखतः ॥

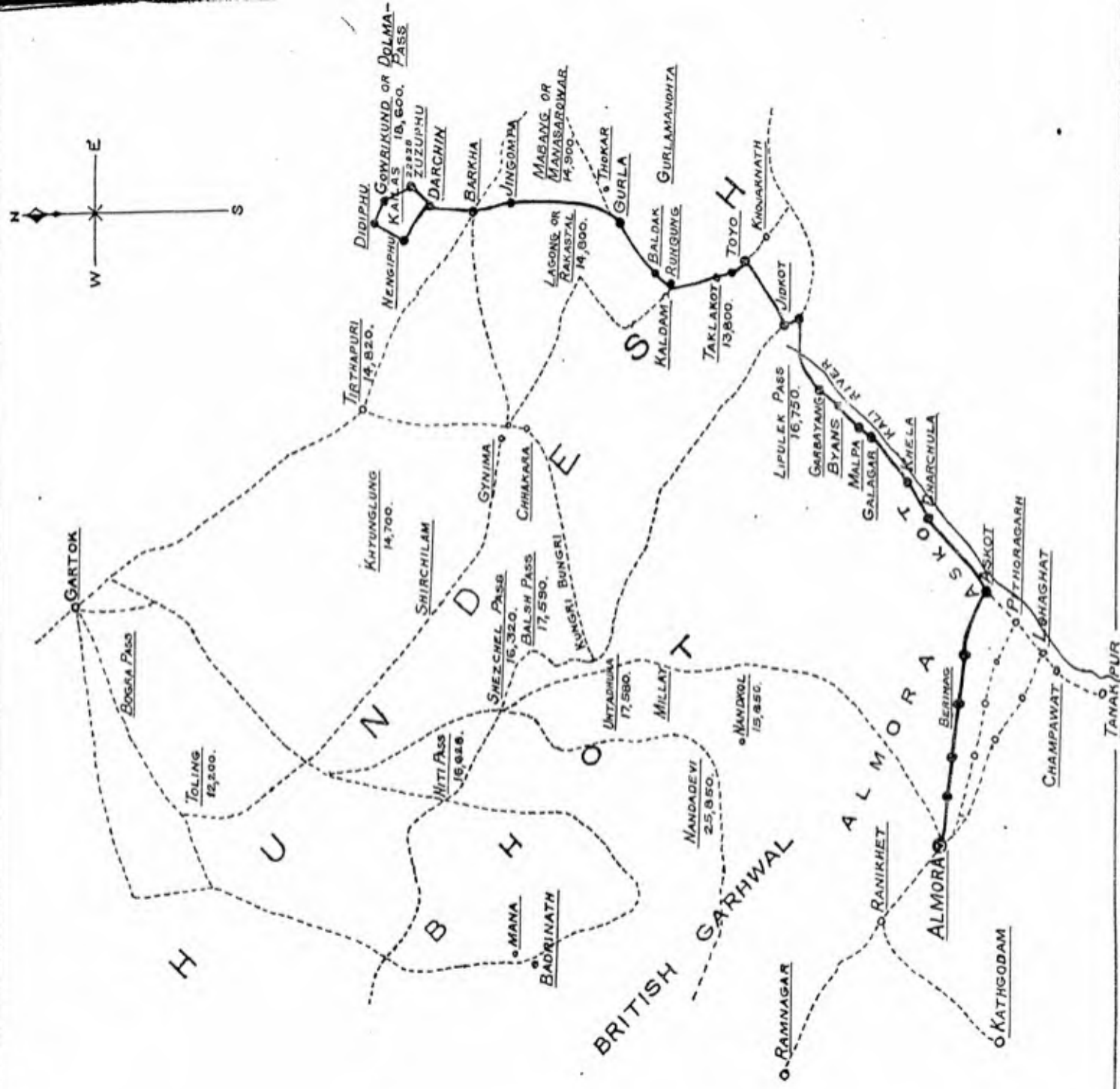
“If I could only live in Kailāsa abounding in gold and gems and be in Sāmba's presence with his gaṇas, I will put up my joined hands over my head and shouting ‘O Vibho (Source), Sāmba (Beneficence), Svāmin (Lord), Parama Śiva (the Supreme God) protect, I will spend away pleasantly Brahma Kalpas (thousands upon thousands of years) as if they were seconds.”

We wish our beloved Maharaja a happy and long life and many more opportunities of infusing into his subjects ideas and ideals of spiritual culture and enlightenment.

ITINERARY

Date	Time	
18-6-31	5-30 p.m.	Party leave Mysore by special train.
19-6-31	6-55 a.m.	Reach Guntakal.
		Board the mail train from Madras.
20-6-31	6-15 a.m.	Arrive at Bombay.
"	night	Entrain frontier mail, B.B. & C.I.
21-6-31	5-43 p.m.	Reach Muttra.
"	night	Leave Muttra.
22-6-31	10-25 a.m.	Arrive at Kathgodam.
"	1 p.m.	Depart for Ranikhet.
"	5 p.m.	Arrive at Ranikhet.
23-6-31		Halt.
24-6-31		Arrive at Almora.
25 and		
26-6-31		Halt.
27-6-31	5-30 to 8 a.m.	Almora to Barechina. 8 miles.
28-6-31	4 to 8 a.m.	Barechina to Kanerichina. 11 miles.
29-6-31	4 to 8 a.m.	Kanerichina to Ganai. 12 miles.
30-6-31	3-40 to 8 a.m.	Ganai to Berinag. 12 miles.
1-7-31	3-45 to 7 a.m.	Berinag to Thal. 10 miles.
2-7-31	3-45 to 7 a.m.	Thal to Sandeo. 10 miles. 6,400 ft. sea-level.
3-7-31	5 to 8 a.m.	Sandeo to Askote. 9 miles. 5,000 ft.
4-7-31	3-30 to 8-30 a.m.	Askote to Balavkote. 12 miles.
5-7-31	3-45 to 7-30 a.m.	Balavkote to Dharchula. 11 miles. 3,000 ft.
6-7-31	5 to 9-30 a.m.	Dharchula to Khela. 10 miles. 5,500 ft.
7-7-31		Halt at Khela.
8-7-31	5 to 9-30 a.m.	Khela to Thithila. 8 miles.
9-7-31	4-40 to 9-30 a.m.	Thithila to Galagar. 11 miles. 8,000 ft.
10-7-31	5 to 9-30 a.m.	Galagar to Malpa. 10 miles. 7,200 ft.
11-7-31	5 to 9 a.m.	Malpa to Budi. 7 miles. 9,600 ft.
12-7-31	5 to 7-30 a.m.	Budi to Garbayang. 5 miles. 10,500 ft.
13 and		
14-7-31		Halt.
15-7-31	6 to 10-15 a.m.	Garbayang to Kalapani. 10 or 11 miles.
16-7-31	5 to 7-45 a.m.	Kalapani to Siangchun. 6 miles. 15,000 ft.
17-7-31	5-20 to 10-30 a.m.	Siangchun to Taklakote. 12 miles. 13,100 ft.
		Lipulekh Pass. 16,750 ft.
18 and		
19-7-31		Halt.
20-7-31	5 a.m.	Taklakote to Rungung. 8 miles. 14,400 ft.
21-7-31	5 to 8-30 a.m.	Rungung to Gori-odial. 11 miles.
22-7-31	5-30 to 9 a.m.	Gori-odial to Mānas. 11 miles. 15,098 ft.
23-7-31	5-30 to 9-30 a.m.	Mānas to Jiew Gumba. 11 miles.
24-7-31	5-30 to 8-30 a.m.	Jiew Gumba to Barkha. 8 miles. 15,050 ft.
25-7-31	5 a.m.	Barkha to Darchin or Tarchin. 7 miles.
26-7-31	5-30 to 11 a.m.	Darchin to Didiphu. 11 miles. 16,200 ft.

Date	Time	
27-7-31	5-30 to 10-30 a.m.	Didiphu to Zindiphu. 12 miles.
28-7-31	5-39 to 8-45 a.m.	Zindiphu to Barkha. 10 miles.
29-7-31	5-15 to 8-45 a.m.	Barkha to Jiew Gumba. 10 miles.
30-7-31	5-15 to 10 a.m.	Jiew Gumba to Lakando, Rakastal. 12 miles.
31-7-31	5-15 to 9-30 a.m.	Rakastal to Rungung. 19 miles.
1-8-31	5-20 to 9-20 a.m.	Rungung to Taklakote. 10 miles.
2-8-31	5-30 to 9-30 a.m.	Taklakote to Kochernath. 19 miles.
3-8-31	5-30 to 9-30 a.m.	Kochernath to Taklakote.
4-8-31		Taklakote to Pala.
5-8-31	5-30 to 10-45 a.m.	Pala to Kalapani. 15 miles.
6-8-31	5-30 to 8-45 a.m.	Kalapani to Garbayang.
7-8-31		Halt.
8-8-31	6 to 11 a.m.	Garbayang to Malpa.
9-8-31	6 to 10-30 a.m.	Malpa to Galagar.
10-8-31		Galagar to Thithila.
11-8-31		Thithila to Khela.
12-8-31		Halt.
13-8-31	6 to 10-15 a.m.	Khela to Dharchula.
14-8-31	6 to 9-30 a.m.	Dharchula to Askote. 23 miles.
15-8-31		Halt.
16-8-31	5-45 a.m.	Askote to Sandeo.
17-8-31	5-30 to 8-45 a.m.	Sandeo to Thal.
18-8-31	4-45	Thal to Berinag.
19-8-31	5-30 to 9-30 a.m.	Berinag to Saniodhiar. 12 miles.
20-8-31	5-30 to 10 a.m.	Saniodhiar to Bagesvar. 12 miles. 3,200 ft.
21-8-31	5-30 to 12 noon	Bagesvar to Binsar. 17 miles. 7,000 ft.
22 and		
23-8-31		Halt.
24-8-31	6-30 to 10-30 a.m.	Binsar to Almora. 13 miles.
25 and		
26-8-31		Halt.
27-8-31	10 to 3-30 p.m.	Almora to Kathgodam. Motor journey.
28-8-31		Arrive at Hardwar.
30-8-31		Arrive at Bombay <i>via</i> Delhi.
4-9-31		Depart from Bombay.
5-9-31		Depart from Poona.
7-9-31		Arrive at Mysore.



ROUTE FROM ALMORA TO MANASAROVARA AND KAILASA

REVIEWS.

Harischandra Kavya Sangraha.

(*Mysore University Kannada Publication Series: Vol. I.*
Government Branch Press, Mysore. Re. 1)

WITH Prof. B. M. Srikantia as chief and Messrs. T. S. Venkanna-
aiya and A. R. Krishna Sastri as editors, this series has been
started by the authorities of the Mysore University and the first
to be undertaken in the series happens to be one relating to the
story of Harischandra, ever the truthful. It is not a new work
but a well-known old one revised, abridged and edited to attract
the general public and to suit the purposes of higher studies.

Raghavanka is perhaps the first amongst those who wrote in
modern Kannada and the excellence of his style and metre can
be seen from the choice selections contained in the book.

It is a pleasure to observe that in editing this work care has
been taken to preserve the continuity of plot and development of
characters as well as the best verses from the point of view of
style and diction. 116 pages of textual matter with different
readings are given together with a glossary of words running into
98 pages. Further, an introduction of 69 pages is evidently
modelled on the well-known annotated editions to the plays of
Shakespeare and it may be said without hesitation that this
Kannada classic deserves it.

Whether the author belongs to the early half of the twelfth or
the later portion of the thirteenth century, there seems to be no
doubt that he lived at a time when the field for the growth of
vernacular literature was ready. His date and times are clearly
discussed in the work with reference to contemporary events and
literature. Born at Pampa on the banks of the Tungabhadra,
with Mahadeva Bhatta for his father and Rudrani for his mother,
he seems to have been a contemporary of Devaraja of Pampa,
Narasimha Ballala of Dorasamudra and Pratapa Rudra of Warangal,
confirming the view of Dr. Kittel and others. This is accepted by
the editor (Mr. A. R. K.) in preference to that of Rao Bahadur
Narasimhachar. He was perhaps a Saivite and the author also of
Siddharamapurana and *Somanathacharithre* amongst others. After

giving an outline of the story in its fine setting according to the author, Mr. A. R. Krishna Sastri discusses the various legends of Harischandra. *Aitareya Brahmanā* (VII, ch. 3), *Saṅkhyayana Srauta Sutra* (XV, 17—52) and *Vedartha Dipika* relating to *Rig-Veda* (1-24) contain the earliest references to Harischandra. *Vayu*, *Brahmanda* and *Brahma Puranas* have lengthy and *Linga*, and *Siva Puranas* slightly different accounts of the story. They have all been correlated in the version of the Harischandra legend given in the introduction to this work. Advantage has also been taken to sift, if possible, history out of legend in these stories. The moral of the story, its style and diction have been duly considered. The only other important work on this subject previous to it was the *Chanda Kausika Nataka* in Sanskrit which closely followed the *Markandeya Purana*. We congratulate Mr. A. R. Krishna Sastri on the most scholarly and instructive introduction he has given to a study of the story of Harischandra.

S. S.

Drg-Drśya Viveka.

AN instructive enquiry into the nature of the 'Seer' (Dṛk) and 'Seen' (Drśya) handled in a masterly way is contained in this brochure by Svami Nikhilanandaji of Sri Ramakrishna Asrama, Mysore, with an illuminating foreword contributed by Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer. The senses perceive objects of sense; they (senses) in their turn are cognized by the mind and that (mind) again is seen by the Ātman (Self). The real and only 'Seer', therefore, is the Ātman. Everything else comes under the category of 'Seen'. Hence, of the seen (whose characteristics are Existence-Consciousness-Bliss as also forms and names), only Existence-Consciousness-Bliss is real and the rest (forms and names) are unreal. In other words, Brahman (Existence-Consciousness-Bliss) is the substratum for Māya (illusion of forms and names). The confusion of the real with the unreal is Avidyā (ignorance) and it is the cause of one's sufferings in the world. Therefore, knowledge (Vidyā) which shows that the difference between gods, men, animals and even the five elements, *viz.*, ether, air, fire, water and earth, is only of names and forms and that their common substratum is Existence-Consciousness-Bliss leads to a true

discrimination between the real and the unreal. After this discrimination, one becomes indifferent to everything of the empirical world. This extreme non-attachment is what is called Samādhi, be it Savikalpa or Nirvikalpa. The realization of the Brahman (Existence-Consciousness-Bliss) in the Anda (Universe) and Pinda (Human Body) leads to the identity of Ātman and Brahma as in the Mahāvākyas of तत्त्वमसि (That thou art), अहं ब्रह्मास्मि (I am Brahman), अयं आत्मा ब्रह्म (This Ātman is Brahman) and प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म (Consciousness is Brahman). In this connection, it may be useful to quote the following famous couplets of Śrī Sankarācharya :—

दृक् दृश्यौ द्वौ पदार्थौ स्तः परस्पर विलक्षणौ ।

दृक् ब्रह्मा दृश्यमायेति सर्ववेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥

अहं साक्षीति यो विद्यात् विधैवं पुनःपुनः ।

स एव मुक्तः स विद्वान् इति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥

ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ।

अनेन वेद्यं सच्छास्त्रं इति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥

N. I.

Kharoshti Inscriptions.

(*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I.*)

DR. STEN KONOW'S excellent volume on "Kharoshti Inscriptions" is the result of stupendous industry extending over a generation and it contains all the information available on the subject. He examined and obtained the estampages and photographs of the originals of most of the Kharoshti inscriptions preserved in India or contained in the principal Indian museums; and secured from the authorities of the British Museum and the Royal Asiatic Society the photographs of inscriptions in their possession; the India Office prepared for his use an excellent Plaster of Paris cast of the Mathura Lion Capital and the French Authorities placed at his disposal reproductions of the Kharoshti records preserved in the French Capital. The innumerable remarks on the Kharoshti inscriptions scattered through various books and periodicals have also been collected in this work; and for all these, every student of research feels grateful to the author.

A bold departure made by Dr. Konow is the attempt at reconstruction of the inscriptions instead of their reproduction

as they are found. Though this has given rise to some controversy and much criticism, I am inclined to think that this goes a great way to help the student in grasping the real meaning of the inscription instead of his being confused by the possibility of conflicting meanings owing to the inscription being reconstructed according to the fancy of the student. In any event Dr. Konow has shown how best the inscriptions could be constructed and construed. In place of the chaos and fancy which hitherto obtained, an order and system has been introduced into the textual readings. His attempt to draw historical and chronological conclusions as embodied in his learned chapters on "Historical Introduction" and "Eras used in Kharoshṭi Inscriptions" have been much criticised by scholars. Although there are some points where one finds it hard to agree with the author, there are, however, many that carry conviction. Again, whether one agrees with or differs from him, one cannot help admitting that Dr. Konow's learned conclusions are bound to exert much influence on all future attempts at the construction of a historical and chronological structure based on these inscriptions. Speaking of the inscriptions themselves, it may be observed that only two Kharoshṭi records have been found which have been executed by or by the order of Greek Chiefs. It is not possible to say to what extent the Greek Rulers made use of Kharoshṭi for their purposes. The bulk of Kharoshṭi inscriptions belongs to the period of Indo-Scythian conquest and they were the first to mark their founding of an Indian Empire by introducing eras of their own. The Kaniska Era is used in inscriptions found over a wide area, from Sarnāth in the east, to Khawāt in the west, and from Jalalabad and Mānikiala in the north on to Bohawalpur in the south. Some inscriptions have also been found in localities where there is no reason to suppose that Kharoshṭi was ever in common use such as Kumrahār Terra Cotta Plaque Inscription and Pāthyār, Kanhiāra and Karnāl Inscriptions. Regarding the object or purpose of these inscriptions, it may be remarked that almost all of them record some donation or pious act and the aim of the donor is sometimes mentioned. Mostly, these have to deal with Buddhist donors and in several cases the gift is made to the Buddhist order of the four quarters. The names of the Buddhist schools mentioned in the inscriptions show that it is the Hinayāna which is represented.

It is a great pity that even well-known authorities differ widely in the decipherment of a number of these inscriptions. Any possible reconciliation seems to lie in a thorough and more scientific knowledge of Kharoshṭi and its several variants. As these inscriptions are the foundations upon which we have to build the history of India during the earlier periods of its chequered career, this important work must be pursued with vigour. With regard to the origin, period and area of Kharoshṭi, Bühler has shown that the Kharoshṭi characters are derived from Aramaic in common use for official purposes all over the Achaemenian Empire during the period when it comprised North-Western India. Some features of it, such as the vowel system and the compound consonants, point to the conclusion that the alphabet was elaborated with the help of Brahmi which must have been in existence for some time previously. The alphabet was in use in the third century B.C. and continued to be so for more than half a millennium, the last-known inscription dating from fifth century A.D. The Kharoshṭi area proper may be defined as extending from about 69° to 73°-30' E. and from the Hindu Kush to about 33° N. There can be little doubt that its place of origin was Gandhāra, perhaps more especially Taxila. From a historical point of view the reign of Huvīśka (the last of the great Kuśāras) closes the period covered by Indian Kharoshṭi inscriptions.

Dr. Konow accepts the view of Bühler regarding the Kharoshṭi script that the name was in India considered to mean "the script invented by Kharoshṭa", but he, however, thinks it quite possible that it was due to a popular etymology of an Aramaic word meaning 'writing' which sounded like *Kharoṭṭa* and was Sanskritized as *Kharoshṭa*. There is reference to a tradition which ascribes the invention of the script to a ṛṣi (sage) called Kharoshṭa, 'lip of donkey' and it receives much force if the Yakṣa Kharpoṣṭa mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī* is recognized as a tutelary deity of the towns of North-West India, and if the Chinese rendering of his name as "hide of donkey" be accepted. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that this script is called Kharoshṭi as the documents which have come to us from Central Asia are often written on the hide of the camel or the donkey *Karpoṣṭa*. (*Kara*=donkey+*poṣṭa*=hide.)

The printing and get-up of this splendid volume, which contains several plates and a map, leave nothing to be desired,

Dr. Sten Konow deserves the thanks of all students and lovers of India for having completed this laborious and useful work.

S. S.

Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1926-27.

THE Report contains a mine of information regarding the excellent work done during the year under the several sections of conservation, exploration and research, epigraphy and museums.

Exploration received much financial assistance and as a consequence, excavations were made at many places. Of the noteworthy discoveries made the most outstanding were as follows:—

(1) The discoveries at Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, Nal and other sites in Northern Baluchistan belong to Chalcolithic Age and throw much light on the Indus culture and on the affinities between it and the cultures of the same age in Sistan, Transcaspia, Persia and Mesopotamia.

(2) The excavations at Taxila have brought out a unique hoard of silver plate and gold and silver jewellery of the Scytho-Parthian Age.

(3) In Bihar, the mediæval Buddhist monasteries of Nalanda have yielded a beautiful collection of bronze and copper images. A number of interesting facts has been revealed concerning the construction of the wooden fortifications of Pataliputra, capital of the Mauryan Empire.

(4) In Bengal, at Paharpur, the colossal temple of early mediæval period, which proves to be the oldest and largest of the monuments in that part of India, is found decorated with a lavish array of sculpture, partly Buddhist and partly Brahmanical in character. These and the finds at Nalanda bear witness to the influence which Brahmanical Religion exerted on Buddhism during Mediæval Ages.

(5) In Madras two groups of Buddhist buildings were unearthed at Gummadiduru and Nagarjunikonda. They were found to comprise a fine series of reliefs belonging to the famous Amaravati School of Indian Sculpture.

(6) At Old Prome, in Burma, the untouched relic chamber of a Buddhist Stūpa of the sixth or seventh century A.D. proved a wonder-house of votive offerings.

Sir John Marshall has given an illuminating note on the Indus culture based on the discoveries made at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa, and it will amply repay study; yet attention may be drawn, in particular, to the following :—

"Whatever the extent, however, of the Indus civilization within India itself, there is no question that it formed part and parcel of the widespread Chalcolithic culture of Asia and Europe, which extended from the Adriatic to Japan but was focussed primarily in the great river valleys of the south : of the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Karun, the Helmund and the Indus."

Of the epigraphic work done, collection of Kannada inscriptions in the Bombay Presidency being of peculiar interest to Karnataka a reference thereto may not be out of place. 240 inscriptions were copied in all, two being of the early Western Chālukyas, 20 of the Rāshtrakūṭas, 101 of the later Western Chālukyas, 18 of the Kālachūryas, 11 of the Hoysaḷas, 15 of the Yādavas, 4 of the Sindas of Yelburga and 5 of the kings of Vijayanagara, the rest being unassignable to any dynasty. Both the inscriptions of the Western Chālukyas refer to the reign of Vijayāditya, though neither of them bears any date. The Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty is well represented in this collection. The inscriptions of Kālachūryas do not add anything material to our knowledge of them. Of the Hoysaḷas, Vīra-Ballāḷa II is the only king whose inscriptions have been secured. Only three kings of the Yādava dynasty are represented in this collection,—Siṅghana, Kṛishṇa (Kannara) and Rāmachandra. The latest inscriptions of the past year's collection are those of two Vijayanagara kings—Achyutarāya and Sadāsivarāya. The strong plea put forth by Sir John Marshall in his "Introduction" in support of private excavations to supplement departmental work deserves an adequate response from the philanthropic public. For nowhere in the world has such an undertaking been possible without private enterprise and munificence going to the aid of governmental support. The two amendments which Sir John proposes to the Ancient Monuments Act provide for the exercise of adequate supervision over operations of private excavators, and they are undoubtedly essential.

The letterpress of the report and its general get-up are excellent. The large number of beautiful plates considerably enhances the usefulness and excellence of the work. S. S.

The Antiquities of Sind.

THE Antiquarian remains in Sind may be divided into three classes. The first consists of pre-historic remains and rude stone monuments of uncertain age. 'Flakes' and 'cores' constituting the flint elements of the Neolithic Stone Age are not uncommon. And the valleys among the hills in the west contain dolmens, cairns, circles and other specimens of such primitive erections. In the second are the remains of the pre-Muhammadan, Hindu and Buddhist periods, represented now by the ruins of stupas, old cities and forts, which are scattered over the country, more especially along the old and now dried-up courses of the main streams. The third consists of the Muhammadan remains, mostly the elaborate tombs of rulers and saints, those of the latter being always considered of far more importance than those of the former. Of mediæval remains, there is practically nothing in Sind or, at least, little has as yet come to light, save in the far away south-eastern corner in and about the towns of Virawah and Nagar-Pärkar.

The numismatic antiquities of Sind are very meagre. A few Indo-Sassanian, one or two Indo-Parthian, Kushana and Kshatraps, some badly preserved specimens of Arabic coins, imported and local, and a very few small pieces in thin copper impressed with Sanskrit letters, are about all we have as yet for study. The later Muhammadan rulers used Kabul or Delhi coins, being at different times, to some extent, tributary to those powers.

Of the interesting finds made in the course of the excavations may be mentioned the following: (1) The colossal standing stucco figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva covered with gold leaf and (2) a fine standing image in bronze of Brahma, three feet two inches high, both found near Mirpūr-Khās. The image of Brahma has four clean-shaven faces and the hair is elaborately worked. It has but two arms, the left hand having the Jnāna Mudra form and the right indicating the Abhaya posture. It has a cloth from the waist to the ankles and an *uttariya* or upper cloth hanging over the left shoulder. The sacred thread hangs over his left shoulder. And the eyes are half closed as if in meditation.

Of the mausolia, remains of which are found everywhere, it may be said that they are, as a rule, great cubical blocks of

masonry surmounted with heavy-looking hemispherical domes. Save for the decorated facade, the other three walls are often bald, plastered areas relieved only by rows of shallow panels. There is but one door to most of them. There is seldom a porch or any advanced shelter to give a sense of dignity to the entrance. Notwithstanding these defects, the sacred order makes them to some extent imposing. Though elaborately emblazoned with enamelled tiles, these cannot be said to be architectural successes. They are rather heavy and clumsy in outline and, to some extent, are only saved by their elegant finials and in a few cases, by the very effective finish to the dome, the ornamental lantern, a very rare feature in India. Of a more pleasing type are the few stone-pillared buildings, decorated with surface carving, after the manner of Faṭhpūr-Sikrī, the best example of which is the mausoleum of "Isa Khān at Ṭhaṭhat". Marble is sparingly used in Sind and that only upon grave slabs and railings within the buildings. The identification of old sites, however fascinating it may be to the student of antiquity, has been made extremely difficult in Sind by the constant shifting of the waters of Sind and the many names the streams have been known by.

This brilliant volume ably compiled by Mr. Henry Cousens, M.R.A.S., is a veritable store-house of information regarding not only the antiquities of Sind but also of its past history. The many splendid plates appended to the book and the illustrations given in the body of the work are of high value and greatly help the student of antiquity. And we echo the view of Mr. Cousens that a further volume might well follow enlarging our knowledge of Sind long before the Arab invasion.

N. I.

**Annual Report of the Archæological Department,
Mysore, 1929.**

DR. M. H. KRISHNA, Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, and now Professor and Head of the Department of History in our University, is to be heartily congratulated on the excellent Annual Report for 1929, the first to be published by him, and the interesting supplement relating to the excavation at Chandravalli. We are glad to note that our suggestion to improve the quality of the paper and binding of the Report has

been adopted. And the size has also been made uniform with the *Epigraphia Carnatica* Series.

It is to be regretted that the allotment for repairs of temples has been made on too parsimonious a scale. They deserve a more generous recognition at the enlightened hands of the Government.

The Hoysala temple (thirteenth century) at Belaguli, Hassan District, has been freshly surveyed. A C.P. grant from Kolhapur, deciphered with great trouble, gives valuable information about the early Rashtrakuta Empire in the sixth century A.D. The rock inscriptions of the Kadamba Mayurasarman is a most interesting find, being in Brahmi script and in Prakrit: it throws new light on the history of the Dekhan during the third century A.D. The Pandurangapalli plates also disprove the popular notion that Panduranga Vitthala was a late creation.

Dr. Krishna's great interest in Numismatics prevailed upon the Government to sanction a special office for the purpose from 1st July 1928 but it has since been closed. Of the MSS. found, attention may be invited to Dhanavastu, describing the hidden treasures in South India and the means to get at them. Another furnishes further information regarding Haider's career. The story of the life of the Bedar King Kampila's son Ramanatha, a valiant Karnataka ruler who is said to have opposed the advance of Mohamed Tughlak into the Dekhan, is contained in another MS. We may observe in passing that a translation of this MS. has already been given in these pages (*Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XX, Suppt. No. 2).

The temple of Vasantika at Angadi or Sosevur, the birth-place of the great Hoysalas, has been visited and a photo of it taken (Plate III. 2). Dr. Krishna has found time to visit, among other places, Devanur, the home (?) of the famous Kannada poet Laksmiśa. The Lakshmikanta temple has been described and an account of Laksmiśa belonging to the Bharadvaja gotra and the Sri Vaishnava sect (?) has been given. Whether he was born here or at Surapura and whether he was a Sri Vaishnava or a Smartha Brahmin belonging to the bhagavat sampradaya are matters of dispute on which the last word has yet to be said.

Of the grants may be mentioned a C. P. grant No. 90, (p. 159, *et. seq.*) recording a gift of a village Heddase by Prince Marappa of the Vijayanagar dynasty in 1347. Its language and paleography are far from suspicion and it follows the genealogy

of *E.C.*, VIII, Sb. 375. Madhava is mentioned as a navigator of the deep sea of government, surpassing even Brihaspati in wisdom, and as a disciple of Kriyasakti whose relation to Madhava was like that of Sankara to Bhargava. Bollarasa referred to is perhaps the son of Madhava, known as Boltarasa in *E.C.*, VI, Kp. 6 of 1369 (the *l* being an error for *l*). His work referred to is identified with *Tatparyadiṭika*. Three other records call for notice in this connection, No. 113 (p. 190) and Nos. 115 and 116, No. 113 (1368 A.D.) refers to Madhavanka ruling Banavase 12000. Nos. 115 and 116, of which No. 115 has already been discussed in *I.A.*, IV, p. 206, record grants, for the management of five mutts, to a Saiva priest Chickkadevaraya Odeyar, son of Lakulishvaradeva Odeyar, a preceptor of the king of kings, spiritual guide of the universe, and delighter of the inhabitants of Kailasa. These increase the difficulties in solving the problem of the identity of Kriyasakti, Vidyaranya and Madhava Bharadvaja.

Extraordinary interest naturally attaches to the excavations at Chandravalli which are of far-reaching importance. Ancient monuments on the Chitradurga Hills already referred to in *E. C.* XI take a large space in the Report, with a separate supplement recording the progress of work done. After a comparative study of eight others to be found in *I.A.*, XIV, p. 33, *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 263, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 153, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 84, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2, *E.C.*, VII, Sk. 264, *I.A.*, IX, p. 100, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 143, and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 24, Dr. Krishna has fixed the paleographical and historical position of the Chandravalli Rock Inscription (Plate XI) set up under the direct orders of Mayurāsarma to record the construction of a reservoir of water by him. In its neighbourhood have been discovered the lead coins bearing the names Gotamiputra, Pulamavi and other later Satavahana rulers. The Rock Inscription is historically valuable as it records the victories of the Kadamba over the Traikuta, Abhira, Pallava, Pariyatrika, Sakasthava, Sendraka, Punjata and Maukhari Kingdoms. The date assigned to it is circa 258. The notes on the inscription are informing. In No. 12, p. 73 (1062 A.D.) we are told that Nripakama Hoysala was also called Rakkasapoysala.

The Record of the excavation at Chandragiri issued as a supplement forms only a portion of two more instalments being promised in due course. Its importance requires wide publicity at the earliest possible opportunity. There is a feeling abroad

that work such as this having no monetary value may be closed down. But such undertakings cannot always be evaluated in terms of money as a study of the past is an important lesson for the present and a true guide for the future. That works of this kind have an immense cultural value has been amply recognized in Europe and America where private organizations have been set up to carry on excavations and investigations all over the world. The excellent results achieved at Ur, Egypt and elsewhere are notable examples. It is very much to be wished that an Indian Trust will come forward and take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by the recent Amendments to the existing legislation in British India in this behalf.

S. S.

The Thakur's Jealousy.

BY FRANK R. SELL,

*Principal and Professor of English, Central College,
Mysore University, Bangalore.*

(Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 1-4-0.)

THIS publication, in simple and elegant prose, is the second Indian historical romance, written by Mr. Sell, the first being *Bhim Singh*. Into a narrative historical in the main has been woven epic, legend and tradition in varying proportions to build up an interesting and enthralling romance. The story portrays many of the incidents which resulted from the incessant intrigues of the Thakur of Urai in order to restore his clan of the Parihāras to power and re-establish a Parihāra dynasty. The book is profusely illustrated and contains many drawings made with great care to acquaint the reader with the dress, appearance, manners and customs of the far off days of Prithvirāja. *The Thakur's Jealousy* deserves to be in the hands of all, old and young; and as a text-book in the High School, and in the University it would supply a long-felt want.

S. S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Cranganore,
Cochin State,
25th October 1931.

The Kadambas of Vanavasi.

DEAR MR. EDITOR,

Much interest has, of late, been aroused and evinced in the history of the Kadamba dynasties of the west as well as of the east, or more precisely of the north-west and north-east of the Deccan, and research scholars have made use of all the recent archæological discoveries and ancient epigraphical records to produce a correct version of it. Yet, it seems, they are not agreed on several important points, but hold divergent and conflicting views regarding the mutual relationship of the Kadambas, their religion and worship, their diplomatic and marital alliances, etc. The field of research being vast and unsettled, and therefore open to all, anybody is at liberty to enter it and to try his luck there however ill-equipped he may be for the real and useful work, and with this apology I beg to add here something new, though insignificant, about the Kadambas of Vanavasi: *

- * The traditional founder of the dynasty was one Mukkanna of divine parentage "having been born to Siva and Parvati under a Kadamba tree and blessed with three eyes and four arms"—a characteristic feature of Siva. The name Mukkanna is the exact Dravidian equivalent of his Sanskrit name Trilochana both meaning 'one having three eyes', i.e., Siva himself. The Kadamba tree was the emblem of this royal house of which the original and sacred home must have been the Kadamba forest or grove, and it may hence be said to be 'Kadamba-Vana-Vasi' 'the dweller in, or the resident of, the Kadamba forest or grove'. Now I shall draw the reader's attention to a *Stotra* (prayer) consisting of eight stanzas or verses and addressed to Tripurasundarī (*Brihat-Stotra-ratnākara*, No. 77, pp. 175-176—Bombay Edition)

* (1) "The Kadambas of Banavasi" by V. Raghavendra Rao, *Q.J.M.S.*, XXI, No. 4 and XXII, No. 1.

(2) "The Kadambakula" by G. M. Moraes, reviewed in XXII, No. 2, pp. 218-219 of the *Q.J.M.S.*

in which the goddess is described as '*Kadamba-Vana-Chārinī*', '*Kadamba-Vana-Vasini*', '*Kadamba-Vana-Śālā*' and '*Kadamba-Vana-Madhyagā*' all of which mean 'Residing or dwelling in the Kadamba forest or grove; and the epithet '*Trilochana-Kutumbini*' meaning Trilochana's or Siva's consort, occurs several times. The repetition of these descriptive epithets several times in the *Stotra*, would naturally suggest its special reference to Siva and Parvati or the divine couple in any other form, enshrined in the Kadamba forest or grove which has been supposed to be the sacred home of the Kadamba-dynasty of Vanavasi (Vaijayanti). The sacred shrines of the goddesses are supposed to be generally situated in, and known as '*Kavus*' (=sacred-groves or forests) in Malabar. During Lord Krishna's childhood spent in the '*Vrindāvana*' forest among the shepherds, their party is said to have once gone to "*Ambikāvana*" the Goddess Ambikā's grove or forest shrine, situated close by the Sarasvati river and to have worshipped there both Siva (Pasupati) and his consort (*Bhagavata-Purana*, X-34). The Goddess '*Sankata*' is said to dwell in '*Ananda-Kānana*' (the forest of bliss) north of *Veeravara* and east of *Chandresvara* both of whom seem to be Siva :—

“आनन्दकानने देवी संकटानामविश्रुता ।

वीरेश्वरान्तरे भागे पूर्व चन्द्रेश्वरस्य च”॥

(*Padmapurana* : *Sankatanamashataka*.)

It therefore appears more probable that the Kadambas of Vanavasi were the followers of the Saiva cult as Mr. G. M. Moraes state in his recent work (*Kadambakula*) and not Vaishnavites as they seem to be regarded by Mr V. Raghavendra Rao who says that “the tutelary deity of their family was Jayanti (Banavase) Madhukesvara, a form of Vishnu.”* On this point also opinion varies, as others seem to regard this Madhukesvara as a Saivite deity. For instance, Mr. R. Subba Rao in his lecture on “The Eastern Kadambas” summarized and published in *The Hindu* of Saturday, October 31, 1931, is reported to have said that “the eastern Kadambas were in no way connected with those of the west and were the followers of the cult of Siva and assisted the Ganga Kings in building the Saivite†

* ‘The Kadambas of Banavase’ by V. Raghavendra Rao, M.A., Q. J. M. S., July 1931, p. 56.

† But cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 252, l. 25.—Ed.

temples of Madhukesvara, Dharmalingesvara" etc. Here again opinions seem to differ much as some scholars hold that the Kadambas of the West Coast had migrated to the East Coast,† Burma and even to Farther India beyond the seas in the east and settled there with their culture and civilization‡ which were planted, grew and flourished there.

If the *Stotra* above referred to really refers to the divine couple—Siva and Parvati—who are supposed to have been the parents of the ancient Kadamba dynasty of Vanavasi which ruled, at least, over a part of the Kuntala country, the next question that excites curiosity is who was its author? The verses are generally held to be Sri Sankaracharya's composition. But the age of their ascetic world-teacher of the Vedantic or Advaita philosophy was later, by a century and a half, than the celebrated regime of the Kadambas of Vanavasi which is assigned to the period c. 250—600 A.D. But if, on the other hand, the poet Kalidasa had visited the Kadamba court at Vanavasi or Vijayanti which was the capital of the Kuntala country, as an ambassador of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya, seeking the hand of a Kadamba princess, for his Emperor's son, as Mr. Moraes holds, the *Stotra* in question might probably be his composition during his sojourn at the Kadamba court.

These random suggestions or guesses may be the result of mere fancy or curiosity but yet it may receive at the hands of learned scholars the consideration that it deserves.

K. RAMAVARMA RAJA.

: "Yoga, Personal Hygiene."

TO

THE EDITOR,

THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF THE

MYTHIC SOCIETY,

BANGALORE.

SIR,

The review of "*Yoga, Personal Hygiene*" by Shri Yogendra (Post Box 481, Bombay; priced Rs. 10) led me to read the original work itself. I find that it repays deep study. The illustrations

† "Sea Power in the Early South Indian History" by Prof. S. V. Venkataswara, M.A., I.T., *Q. J. M. S.*, April 1926, p. 264.

‡ "The Kadambas of Banavase," *Q. J. M. S.*, July 1931, p. 63.

of the various *asanas* and other Yogic processes of Shri Yogendra reveal an unusually practical and rational scheme of living. Even though done in a popular form so as to benefit the lay reader, the work does not lack in either scientific or academic details. I was much pleased to observe that the actual field of personal hygiene covered by practical Yoga effectively dealt with matters of daily life from the point of view of physical health of the ordinary individual. It is indeed wonderful that the modern notions of personal hygiene should have been contained in the ancient Yogic works. With his vast knowledge of Yogic practices and his experience of modern ideas of clean-living and high-thinking, Shri Yogendra has, in his scientific exposition of the subject, so simplified the old traditional practices, in some instances to such an extent, that to the unwary it looks as if the book is a modern work on personal hygiene pure and simple ; but the critical reader and a devoted student of practical Yoga will see that there certainly is no departure from the standard Sanskrit works on Yoga on which it is really based.

I quote below, by way of illustration, some verses from the *Gheranda Samhita* regarding *danta dhonti* which show how accurate Shri Yogendra's version of that practice is :—

- [v. 26] दन्तमूलं जिह्वामूलं रन्ध्रञ्च कणयुग्मयोः ।
कपाल रन्ध्रं पश्येते दन्तधौतिर्विधीयते ॥
- [v. 29] स्वादिरेण रसेनाथ मृत्तिकया च शुद्धया ।
मार्जयेत् दन्तमूलञ्च यावत्किल्बिषमाहरेत् ॥
- [v. 30] तर्जनी मध्यमानामा अङ्गुलित्रययोगतः ।
वशयेद्गलमध्येतु मार्जयेल्लम्बिकामृतं ।
शनैः शनैः मार्जयित्वा कफदोषं निवारयेत् ॥
- [v. 31] मार्जयेन्नवनीतेन दोहयेच्च पुनःपुनः ।
तदग्रं लौहयंत्रेण कर्षयित्वा शनैः शनैः ।
नित्यं कुर्यात्प्रयत्नेन रवेरुदयकेऽस्तके ॥

Shri Yogendra deserves great credit for presenting us with a highly rational and scientific treatise on this particular aspect of practical Yoga, and I do look forward to the other volumes in this important series with eager interest.

S. K.

EDITORIAL.

THE recent demise of Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasadi Sastri, a profound Oriental Scholar and Indologist, fills us with sorrow. He was a recognized authority in Ancient Indian History, an active member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal of which he was President for several years, and an author well known still more in connection with his work on the genesis of the Saivagamas and the exotic influences on Indian Astronomy and Astrology. Nearly fifty years ago, it may be recalled, he discovered the Newari MSS. on Astrology which bore traces of the existence of works in Sanskrit on Greek Astrology written by Greek Chiefs in India at the dawn of Christianity.

* * *

Mr. Vedam Venkatachala Iyer whose death we have to record in this issue was a distinguished Lawyer at Nellore and a good student of Sanskrit. He belonged to a family well known for classical studies, his brother being the late Prof. V. Venkataraya Sastriar of the Madras Christian College. Of the several contributions of his to the periodicals of the day may be mentioned his articles on the Seven Dvipas in the *Q.J.M.S.*

* * *

In *Man in India* for April to June 1931, discussing the priority or posteriority of the Tantric literature affiliated to the Hindu and Buddhist religious systems, Dr. Bhattacharya says that the cult of Bhutadamara furnishes a concrete example for comparative study. In this paper which was originally read at the Sixth Session of the Oriental Conference held at Patna, he seems to consider that the Hindus were probably the first to develop their pantheon from which Buddhism and Jainism picked out their gods for building up their own, though of course in the Tantric age in the seventh century the Buddhists were the first to claim a full, scientifically classified and thoroughly efficient pantheon; and that doubtless several important Hindu deities, for example, Kali, Tara, Bhadrakali, Sarasvati, Manjughosha, Chinnamasta, etc. were originally Buddhist in conception and character, later on bodily incorporated in the Hindu pantheon.

"Buddhist Tantrism" is the subject of another short article by Dr. Bhattacharya in the *Prabuddha Bharata* for October 1931. Unduly severe criticisms have been made regarding the influence of the Tantras and Tantric culture on the general public but no one need be so simple-minded as to believe that Tantric teaching contains nothing but what is immoral or vicious. On the contrary they have made a great and remarkable contribution to the world of thought and culture. It may be said that the 'Tantras begin where Raja-Yoga and Hatha-Yoga end.' While these 'give control over the mind and body, Tantric practices give different powers as different mantras are practised or different deities are worshipped.' For Yoga means commingling; the individual soul is called the Jivatman while the highest spirit is called the Paramatman; and the Yoga comprises the commingling of the two taking place. The chief complaint against the Tantra is that it permits women to enter its fold, encouraging immorality. But it has to be pointed out that the Dakshinachara or the right-hand path is to be followed first after which Vamachara or the left-hand path is permitted. In the human body both the male and the female parts exist and it is the commingling of the two that rouses the Kundalini. Where a neophyte is unable to bring about this condition, association of women is provided for that purpose.

Dr. Bhattacharya very concisely discusses the vexed question of 'idolatry' in Tantric worship and explains the creation of diverse types of gods and goddesses for *pūja*. The true foundation of the conception of the pantheon is first attributed to certain abstract ideas represented by means of symbols or gods or goddesses whose coming into existence could be explained only by those thousands of Yogins who have visualized them in the past or can be told only by those who even to-day visualize them while in intense meditation which produces Sushupti when in the Chittakasa appears in distinct forms later on developing into the form of a full-fledged deity.

* * *

In the September issue of *The Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Mr. G. W. Briggs discusses 'The Indian Rhinoceros as a Sacred Animal'. In folklore and religion it plays the same part as the unicorn from ancient times. The unicorn was the supporter of the British Royal Shield at least as

early as the sixteenth century ; it belonged to the symbolism of the mediæval church as the type of Christ and the emblem of purity ; and its prototype is to be found in the Cossack Standards of the sixteenth century. Curiously enough, a Greek manuscript of the fifteenth century of the Proverbs of Solomon has a painting showing the unicorn and depicting a Buddhist story which was brought from India in the seventh century. To the pre-Christian millenniums also belong numerous representatives of the unicorn, going back to at least c. 3000 B.C.

The remains of man are associated with extinct species of rhinoceros in pre-historic sites in Europe. The horn of the animal was regarded as an antidote to disease and used as a vessel to counteract poison in liquids. It was known in China when it was imported for sacrifice by Han Wu Ti. In India, its existence is spoken to by Ctesias, Aelian and Strabo and its horn was used for a like purpose. The so-called unicorn ram of the Himalayas is only a Barwal sheep with its horns artificially fused while they are budding. The rhinoceros now exists from Assam to Borneo and in the Nepalese Tarai in three different varieties. Mythologically the Chinaman regards it as the king of animals and full of gentleness. Its remains are found in Harapa and Mohenjo-daro. Asoka declares it as a sacred animal. Manu says its flesh gives pleasure for twelve years to the manes and is productive of satisfaction for endless time (III, 271 and 272). As it bows its head slowly like an elephant, it is considered sacred to Siva called ganḍalin in the *Mahabharata*, and Sri Rama is credited with the possession of a hide of the animal. The Pandavas once killed a rhinoceros and used its hide as a vessel to offer water to the Sun, perhaps under the advice of Brahma !

*
* * *

Prabuddha Bharata for September 1981 has an article ' In the Dock of the Accused ' by the Editor in which the life of Sri Krishna is subjected to much appreciative criticism. We doubt very much whether all the legends relating to Krishna are referable to one and the same individual. Vasudeva Krishna of the Vṛṣṇi race is a historical figure who played a considerable part in the Kurukshetra War and in killing Sisupala and Jarasandha, and others. Gopala Krishna appears to have been a character borrowed from the fables of the Ahirs or Abhiras, a nomadic race of non-Aryan cowherds amongst

whom strange stories of the adventures of a gopala (cowherd) boy were common. This aspect does not appear to have been noticed by the editor of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. His reconciliation of the two Krishnas may, however, be referred to. The love of the Gopis towards him has been explained by him to be 'That intensity of love which the worldly people have for the sense-objects may be mine in my love for Thee' in the words of Prahlada. The personality of Sri Krishna is not made up only of his life at Brindavan where he was leading a pastoral life; Sri Krishna in worldly life and as a teacher should also be considered. While in Brindavan he was the centre of supernatural attraction, every one, friends, mothers, Gopis, etc., being magnetically drawn towards him, recognizing him as an incarnation, enigma and mystery, it should be remembered he was all the while unattached. In the city of Mathura, he dons a new rôle, becoming a fighter, a statesman and a kingmaker, and enters into a world of facts and reality proving himself equal to the occasion. His life of activity was the living illustration of Karma Yoga such as he taught afterwards. Sri Krishna unfolds himself as a deliberate religious teacher first in the battle-field of Kurukshetra and reveals his spiritual personality to his favourite Arjuna. The earlier Krishna will be understood and appreciated better through Krishna of the Gita who says: "Occupy thy mind with Me, be devoted to Me, sacrifice to Me, bow down to Me. Thou shalt reach Myself; truly do I promise. Relinquishing all Dharmas take refuge in Me alone; I will liberate thee from all sins; grieve not." The fullest manifestation of the divinity on earth is here.

* * *

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for June 1931, Mr. Nihar-
 ranjan Ray refers to a Surya Icon from a Dasavatara Temple,
 Pagan. The description of the icon given by the Superintendent
 does not appear to justify its identification with the Sun as he,
 himself says some of the elements usually associated with such
 an image are lacking and it is unfortunate that the writer should
 still seek to equate this icon with the Sun. Besides, it is now
 conceded that the Surya icon was introduced into India from
 Persia by the Mehiras and there is a tradition to show that a son
 of Krishna by Jambavati sought their help to instal and conduct
 the worship of the Sun in a temple constructed by him in Mulasthan

(Multan). Mr. Ray has further followed the inaccurate accounts of Mr. Gopinatharau on his 'Surya' images in South Indian temples.

* *

In the same (June) issue, Mr. S. V. Visvanatha disagrees with Childers regarding the meaning of Pāli as a series or row or line and goes on to say that the word means in Tamil the dwelling place of munis. In this he is undoubtedly incorrect. Pāli is perhaps derived originally from Sanskrit pāta according to Buddhist scholars; others derive it from Pātali of Pātaliputra, *ta* being dropped in the Pāli language in its change from Sanskrit. The writer's view is further inconsistent as, if accepted, it would mean that Pāli was posterior to Buddhism whereas it was the language of the Magadha Kingdom and the Buddhists only used the language. It may also be noted in passing that the language of the Jains is Ardha-Magadhi or Arṣa.

* *

'Tat-tvam-asi' or 'That thou art' have received various interpretations and given rise to several schools of thought; and yet continue to exercise the minds of men to this day. Dr. Mahendranath Sircar has written on this subject in the September and October issues of the *Prabuddha Bharata*. He considers there is no distinction between the Cosmic Being without and the vivifying Self within and regards the conclusions of the Upaniṣadic Mysticism as just and correct. The human spirit is one with the Divine; the urge in human life is always an urge to embrace more life, more light. The finite is anxious to overcome its finitude and get over the shortness of its being. The revelation that the spirit which shines in man is the spirit which illumines the cosmos, gives freedom, *i.e.*, the possession of the Absolute: and unless man is installed thereto, his freedom is a shadow. This consciousness lifts the soul above creative urges and installs it in its nativistic identity. The finite thus feels its identity with the infinite.

Spirit denies contradiction, the badge of finitude and illusoriness and not of reality which does not contradict itself. Now, growth implies constant denial of previous stages while reality does not. Hence the solitariness of the Absolute is the end of the quest, for the Absolute is the vast and the immortal,

standing on its own glory and shows that to be the great where nothing is seen, known or heard.

Spirit has its analytic expression in the finite and its synthetic expression in the infinite : and beyond the expression it enjoys an identity. But contradiction is the shadow of being and is true of expression. The Upaniṣads do not confine the spiritual life to expression, they lay more emphasis upon transcendence. And since contradiction is true of expression, it can be the best law of expression, but it cannot be reconciled to identity.

Contradiction has a great force in the spiritual life as it sets aside the fixed ideas and formed habits of realistic consciousness, and creates in man the aspiration for the infinite life. Spiritual life always means transcendence, and in fact is not possible unless the limiting references and restraining influences can be set aside. The finer meaning is conceived, the finer life is realized through the reception of the wider spirit and life by contradiction; and finally, the reception of the infinite life is possible through the denial of the finite self, and in this self-denial the Truth of Tattvamasi emerges as the great truth in spiritual life. Dr. Sircar's analysis of the experience of the soul in its pilgrimage to the infinite deserves careful study.

That the game of chess was invented in India for the solace of a weeping widow, who mourned the loss of one of her sons in a battle with his brother is the Iranian view of the game according to Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 19. For the origin of the game, reference may be made to *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, pp. 159-165.

Mr. Satindranarayan Roy, in the *Journal of the Bombay Anthropological Society*, Vol. XIV, No. 6, writing on "Some Strange Worships" refers to Gomukhi Saligrama as bringing good luck to the worshipper. An indigestible ball of compressed hair and vegetable fibres thrown out of a cow's mouth is said to resemble a pagoda and considered as very auspicious. In some islands of Melanesia, a big stone with a number of small stones underneath it, like a sow with a litter, is regarded as a good omen multiplying pigs in the pen and so is the cow throwing out a ball like this. Evidently, his idea is that this superstition is responsible for the preference shown to this particular variety of Saligrama.

In the October issue of the *Prabuddha Bharata*, Prof. Venkatesvara (till recently of the Mysore University) attributes the absence of a tragic sense in later Sanskrit poetry to the influence of the Brahmans but does not give sufficient proof for this conclusion. There is a school of thought which holds that the introduction of the Sutradhara was due to Brahmin influence but that does not appear correct as most of the Sutradharas were not Brahmans. The reference, besides, to 'the boyish freaks' of Asvatthaman is inconsistent with the characteristics of this hero in the *Mahabharata* story and in the well-known Kannada tragedy of that name adapted from the Ajax of Sophocles, a review of which appeared in the *Q.J.M.S.*

* * *

In the *Triveni* for July-August 1931, Emily Gilchrist Hatch contributes an informing article on "Theories of the Drama—Aristotle *vs.* the Indian Theorists" and concludes from her study of the Indian peoples, their manners and customs, as a background of the drama that it is a distinctly Indian product suited to their genius and temperament, the happy ending being traditional to them as against suffering which was an essential element of the Greek tragedy.

* * *

The *Eastern Buddhist* for July 1931 has a nice article on "The Shingon School of Mahayana Buddhism" by Beatrice Lane Suzuki. Shingon means 'true word' and its teaching is esoteric; this school is popularly known in India as the Vajrayana or Mantrayana. It was started by Nagarjun, a South Indian Brahmin convert; here the ordinary Trikāya or three bodies in one Buddha is taught and to it the Buddha of Four Kāya or Bodies is added by the Shingon. Hosshin or Dharmakāya is the reality of Shinnyo (tathatā) the absolute substance pervading all objects in the universe; Hōshin or Sambhogakāya is the body of bliss and blessing obtained in consequence of the meritorious deeds performed in numberless existences; and Ōjin or Nirmāyakāya is the one in which the Buddha appears as teacher in some place, in some time, in the world, as for example, the Buddha Śākyamuni who appeared in human form in a human world. To these is added the Fourth Body by the Shingon which says that the Kengyo or revealed doctrines were taught by Śākyamuni in his transformed

body, but the Mikkyo (secret teaching) was imparted by Mahāvairochana (the Buddha in his Dharmakāya form) himself, which Śākyamuni while in Samādhi (deep meditation) understood, taught and practised. The secret doctrine is thus traced to a secret transmission from the Buddha Mahāvairochana himself and he makes known his true words to those hearers who are prepared to receive them. This teaching can only be understood through personal experience. It may be observed that the secret doctrines of Madame Blavatsky are largely drawn from this school.

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In the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 19, the late Mr. Shapurji Kavasji Hodivala has given the Behistan Inscription in three different languages, that of the cuneiform inscriptions (transliterated in Roman characters), the Avesta and the Sanskrit, with a rendering in English in order to show that they are all closely similar. The Behistan Inscription was got carved by Darius on a lofty cliff at Behistan 300 feet high according to Dr. Breasted or 500 feet high according to Dr. Rapson on the road between Babylon and Persepolis. It is a trilingual inscription which furnished the clue to the decipherment of the Susian and Babylonian languages. It is the Rosetta Stone of Asia. It recounts the conquests and the administrative system of Darius. Since there is no reference in it to India, it must be anterior to his conquest of India referred to in the Nakshi-rustum inscription. The inscription contains the genealogy of Darius the Achæmenide to eight generations with several details regarding them. Of the twenty-three countries over which he ruled were included the Maka (h) or Makran. Kambhujiya going to Egypt is also mentioned. Bariya, the Kuru's son, is described as Kambhujiya's brother.

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Mr. Ashutosh Sastri has a very short note on the Epistemology of Śankara in the July issue of the *Philosophical Quarterly* and we wish it were developed a little more fully. Śankara's system of perception contains elements of realism and idealism. He draws a clear distinction between Reason and Intuition. Where reason ends, intuition begins. Their scope and functions are different, for reason deals with the relative and conditioned; hence it is not competent to pronounce

judgment upon the affirmations of intuition; while intuition is concerned with the absolute and unconditioned. Yet, the two are not inherently antithetical. For, reason by its own inherent dialectic comes to realize its inadequacy to apprehend reality and recognizes that there is a superlogical way of apprehending truth by intuition. Therefore, Śankara's intuition is not something mysterious but self-luminous as with its emergence all duality and darkness vanish.

* * *

The Nagarajunikonda Inscriptions recently unearthed have helped to give a connected and fuller account of the hitherto unknown dynasty of the Ikhākus. It is also important for the light it throws on the history of Buddhism in South India and of some of its doctrines. In the article under review, Dr. Nalināksha Dutt discusses some of the points, not satisfactorily explained so far, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 7, No. 2.

He cautions students against confusing the titles and works of the two Nāgārjunas—the Mādhyamika Nāgārjuna, and Tāntrika Nāgārjuna who lived near Dhanakataka in Sripurvata. He thinks that *mātuka* means both Vinaya and Abhidhamma. The names of the eight schools mentioned therein are considered as branches of the Mahāsaṅghikas which have been identified with the Andhakas of the inscriptions. He interprets *pasādakānam* as "causing happiness" and considers its rendering into "converting" as adopted by Dr. Vogel has led to the wrong statement that the "fraternities of Buddhism had converted Kashmir".

**Books received during the Quarter ending
31st December 1931.**

Presented by :—

Annamalai University—

Calendar for 1931-32.

Director, Zoological Survey of India—

A Report of the Human Relics recovered by the Naga Hills (Burma) Expedition for the Abolition of Human Sacrifice during 1926-27 (Bulletin No. 1)—by B. S. Guha and P. C. Basu.

Dacca University—

1. Convocation, 1931 : Speeches.
2. Speeches at the Opening of the Muslim Hall (1931).
3. Pamphlet of General Information, 1931-32.
4. Annual Report for 1930-31.
5. Word Frequency in Bengali and its relation to the teaching of Reading (D.U.B. No. XIV)—by P. C. D. Choudhury.
6. Arab Invasion of India (D.U.B. No. XV)—by R. C. Majumdar.

Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay—

Pallava Genealogy—by Rev. H. Heras.

Government of Mysore—

Administration Reports :

1. Government Press, 1930-31.
2. Season and Crop, 1929-30.
3. Hospitals and Dispensaries, 1929-30.
4. Stud Farm, Kunigal, 1929-30.
5. Meteorological Department, 1930-31.
6. Health Department, Qly. Apr.-June, 1931.
7. Military Forces, 1930-31.
8. Department of Health, 1930.
9. Sericulture, 1930-31.
10. Mysore Representative Assembly Proceedings : Birthday Session, June 1931.
11. Mysore Archæological Report for 1929.
12. Excavations at Chandravalli ; Supplement to above.

13. Mysore Legislative Council Proceedings: Budget Session, June 1931.
14. Economic and Social Conditions of Labour in the Kolar Gold Fields—by M. A. Srinivasan.
15. Mysore Administration Report for 1930-31.

Shrine of Wisdom, London—

Plato, Two Dialogues of : A New Translation—by the Editors.

Sri Ramakrishna Ashrama, Mysore—

Dr̥g-Dr̥śya Vivēka: An Enquiry into the Nature of the 'Seer' and the 'Seen'—by Swami Nikhilananda.

The Authors—

1. Historical Gleaning—by Bimala Churn Law.
2. Some Kshatriya Tribes of Ancient India—by B. C. Law.
3. Ancient Mid-Indian Kshatriya Tribes—by B. C. Law.
4. Life and Work of Buddhaghosa—by B. C. Law.
5. Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective—by B. C. Law.
6. Sri Chitra Bhupala Satakam (Sanskrit)—by C. P. Subrahmanian Aiyar.

Government of India—

1. Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1927-28.
2. Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1929.
3. Census of India, 1911 : Vol. I, Pt. I.
4. Do. do. Pt. II.
5. Do. 1921 : Vol. IV, Pts. I & II.
6. Do. do. XXIV, Pt. II.
7. Do. do. XIII, Pt. I.
8. Do. do. XIII, Pt. II.

Bihar and Orissa Government Printing—

Journal of Francis Buchanan : kept during the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur, in 1810-11—by C. E. A. W. Oldham.

Madras University—

1. Calendar for 1931-32, Vol. I, Pt. I.
2. Do. do. Pt. II.

Government of Burma—

Burma Gazetteer : Maubin District, Vol. A.—by Tin Gyi, A.T.M.

The Palace, Mysore—

Diary of a Pilgrimage to Lake Manasarowar and Mount Kailas with His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore in 1931
—by N. Rangachar.

Mysore University—

Philosophy and Life Values (Sri Krishnaraja Silver Jubilee Lecture, 1930)—by Sir S. Radhakrishnan.

Messrs. V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras—

Mahābhārata : (Southern Recension) : Vol. I—Ādi-Parvam,
Pt. I—Edited by P. P. S. Sastri.

Purchased:

Varahamihira's Brihat Jataka—by V. Subrahmanya Sastri.

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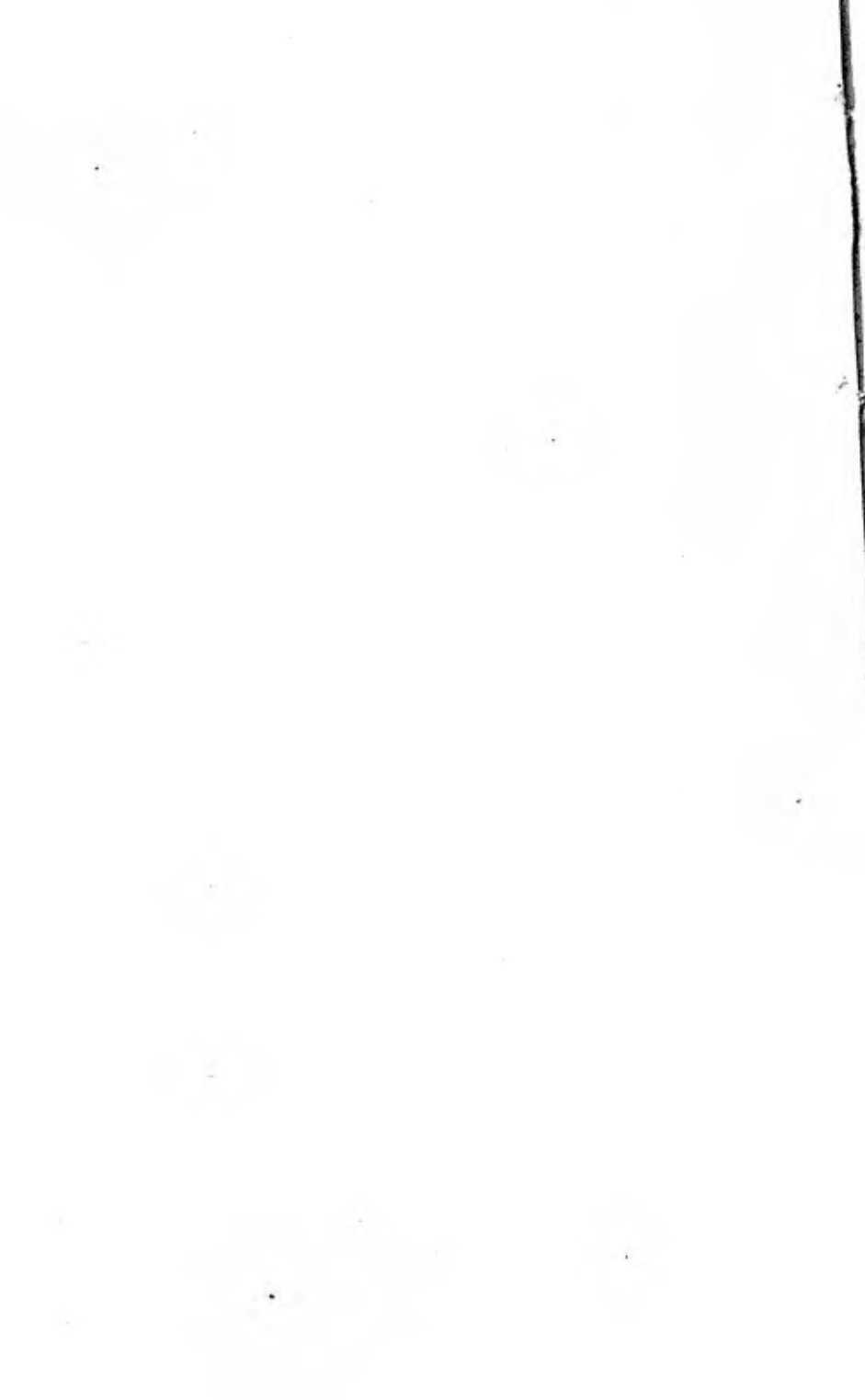
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 South Indian Epigraphy for 1929—An Archæological
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 Kundalini—Buddhistic Studies.

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No. 4

PĀLI TRACTS IN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.T.

India.

Aśōka's Bhābru Edict.—Much light is thrown on the development of Pāli canonical literature by the lithic records of Aśōka.

The first inscription that deserves notice in this connection is the Bhābru Edict. It opens with a declaration of Aśōka's deep and extensive faith in the Buddhist Triad and of his firm conviction that the utterances of the Buddha are but gospel truth. It then enumerates certain Dhammapariyāyas or canonical texts selected out of the Buddhist scriptures then known to him for the constant study and meditation not by the clericals only, but also by the laity and that with a view to making the good faith long endure. The texts referred to by Aśōka are as follows:—(1) (a) Vinaya Samukase or the exaltation of discipline, Pātimokkha—Rhys Davids, *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, (b) Tuvaṭṭhaka Sutta (Sutta Nipāta)—Prof. Bhandarkar, (c) Sappurisa Sutta (Majjhima) and, later, a Vinaya tract in the Aṅguttara, Vol. I—Prof. Mitra, (d) The Pātimokkha—Prof. Oldenberg, (e) Siṅgālovāda Sutta (Dīgha)

called Gihivinaya, and (f) Anumāṇa Sutta (Majjhima) called Bhikkhuvīnaya. (2) (a) Aliya-Vasāni—Prof. Barua, (b) Ariyavaṁsā (Aṅguttara), Vol. II, p. 27—Prof. Kosāmbi, (c) Ten Ariyavasāni enumerated in the Saṁgīti Suttanta (Dīgha); J.R.A.S., 1898. (3) (a) Anāgāta-bhayāni—Prof. Rhys Davids, and (b) Anāgata-bhayāni (Aṅguttara), Vol. III, p. 103. (4) (a) Munigāthā—Prof. Rhys Davids, and (b) Muni Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), I, 12, p. 36. (5) (a) Moneya Sūte—Prof. Rhys Davids, (b) Nālaka Sutta (Sutta Nipāta), III, 11, pp. 131-34—Prof. Kosāmbi, (c) Nālaka Sutta minus the Prologue—Prof. Barua, and (d) Moneyasutta, J.R.A.S., 1898. (6) (a) Upatissa Pasine—Prof. Rhys Davids, (b) Sāriputta Sutta (Suttanipāta), IV, 16, pp. 176-79—Profs. Kosāmbi and Barua, and (c) The questions of Upatissa in the Rathavinīta Sutta (Majjhima). (7) (a) Lāghulovāde—Prof. Neuman, (b) Rāhulovāda Sutta (Majjhima), ii, 2, 1, Vol. I, p. 414—Prof. Rhys Davids, and (c) The Ambalaṭṭhika Rāhulovāda Sutta (Majjhima)—Prof. M. Senart.

These are the Dhammapariyāyas or canonical texts which have been identified differently with Suttas of the Pāli canonical literature. At the time of Aśōka there had already grown up a Buddhist literature from which the Emperor selected seven Dhammapariyāyas which, in his opinion, would serve his purpose, that is, making the good faith long endure. It is generally accepted by scholars that Buddhism is the basis and source of inspiration in regard to Aśōka's Dhamma. The Singālovāda Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Mahāmaṅgala Sutta of the Sutta Nipāta enumerate just those courses of conduct which Aśōka was never tired of inculcating on the minds of his people and it is easy to understand how greatly the texts of the Rock Edicts 9 and 11 were inspired by the Maṅgala Sutta. Now there are the two scriptural texts which have been particularly reserved by Buddhism for the lay people to read, contemplate and practise. The style of composition and the subject of discussion in the last portion of the Kālsī, Shāhbāzgarhi and Mansherah versions of R. E. IX are almost similar to those in the Kathāvatthu (composed

by Moggaliputta Tissa in the third council held under the patronage of Aśōka) and the Sāmaññaphala Sutta respectively (Bhandarkar and Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Aśōka*, pp. 34-36). M. Senart points out that the use of the phrase "Dhammadāna" must have been suggested to Aśōka by a verse from the Dhammapada—"Sabbadānaṃ dhammadānaṃ jināti".

On the monuments of the second century B.C. the names of donors of different parts of the building are inscribed and in many cases with their titles. Some of these titles are very important because they have been derived from the well-known divisions of the Buddhist canonical literature. Among these epithets have been found the following:—Dhammakathika, Peṭakin, Suttantika, Suttantakinī and Pañcanekāyika which refer to the Buddhist books. They conclusively prove the existence of a Buddhist literature before the date of the inscriptions. This Buddhist literature had divisions known by the technical names of Piṭaka, Nikāya, Suttanta and Jātaka. Again the Nikāya is said to have five divisions. There were not only the Piṭaka, the five Nikāyas and the Jātakas but also distinct groups of reciters known as the Bhāṇakas.

* *Barhut Inscriptions.*—The inscriptions on the inner railing and gateways of the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut in Central India throw interesting light on the development of Pāli literature. Barua and Sinha in their "Barhut Inscriptions" have broadly distinguished the inscriptions as Votive Labels and Jātaka Labels, grouping the former as they occur on the gateway-pillars, the rail-pillars, the rail-bars, the coping-stones, and the isolated fragments, and grouping the latter as they are attached to different scenes in accordance with the accepted Jātaka-outlines of the Buddha's life.

That the bas-reliefs on the Barhut Tope illustrate several scenes from the Jātaka stories can be shown by the fact that the titles of the Jātakas inscribed on the bas-reliefs correspond to those in Pāli literature. The titles inscribed on the bas-reliefs, e.g., Vitura Punakiya, Miga, Nāga, Yavamajhakiya, Mugapakaya, Latuvā, Chadantiya, Isisingiya, Yaṃ bamaṇo

avayesi, Hansa, Kinara, Isimigo, Janako rājā, Sivalā devī, Uda, Secha, Sujato gahuto, Biḍala Jātaka, Kukuta Jātaka, Maghādeviya and Bhisa Haranīya correspond to those found in the Pāli Jātaka books, *e.g.*, Vidhūra Paṇḍita, Nigrodha, Kakkāṭa, Episode in Mahā Ummagga, Mūgapakkha, Latukikā, Chaddanta, Alambusa, Andhabhūta, Nacca, Caṇḍakinnara, Migapotaka, Mahājanaka, Dabbhapuppha, Dubhiyamakkāṭa, Sujāta, Kukkuṭa, Makhādeva and Bhisa. Again, in the Barhut Stūpa we find some scenes which have got no title inscribed on the bas-relief. But a close examination of the pictures engraved on the railings enables us to identify some of the scenes with those in the Pāli Jātaka stories. The names of such Pāli Jātaka stories are, *e.g.*, Kuruṅgamiga, Sandhibheda, Asadisa, Dasaratha, Mahākapi, Cammasataka, Ārāmadūsaka and Kapota.

An Inscription found at Sārṇāth.—The Museum at Sārṇāth shelters a huge, more than life-size, image of a standing Bodhisattva. At the front and back of the pedestal of the image, as well as on the umbrella over his head, there are three Pāli inscriptions inscribed in the third year of the reign of Kaniṣka, the great Kuṣāṇa king. The text of the inscription relates itself to the subject of the first sermon delivered by the Buddha to the five brāhmaṇas immediately after the sambodhi at Sārṇāth. It is not exactly a quotation but is rather of the character of an abstract of the original subject from the Mahāvagga (1, 7, 6).

(a) "Chattār-imāni bhikkhave ar (i) ya-saccāni (b) Katamāni (ca) ttāri dukkha (m) di (bhi) kkhave arā (i) ya-saccam (c) dukkha-samuday (ō) ariyasaccāni dukkhanirodho ariyasaccam (d) dukkhanirodho-gāminī (cha) paṭipadā."

Translation :—Four are the Noble Axioms, ye monks! And what are these four? The Noble Axiom about suffering, ye monks, the Noble Axiom about the origin of suffering, the Noble Axiom about the cessation of suffering, and the Noble Axiom about the way leading to the cessation of suffering. (*Catalogue of the Museum of Archæology at Sārṇāth*, No. D, (c) 11.)

Burma.

A Gold-Leaf Manuscript.—A manuscript in every way similar to the palm-leaf manuscript so common in India and Burma but with leaves of gold, twenty in number with writing incised on one side, has been discovered within a relic chamber unearthed at Hmawza.

The writing is in characters of an early South Indian script of the Kanara-Telegu type, and may be assigned to the fifth—sixth century A.D.

The manuscript contains extracts from the Abhidhamma and Vinaya Piṭakas, together with those mentioned above, the earliest proofs of Pāli Buddhism in Burma. The MS. begins on the first page with an extract giving the chain of causation (Paṭicca-samuppāda) and ends on the last page with 'Itipi so bhagavā araham sammāsambuddho, etc.' enumerating the qualities of the Buddha. This manuscript may be assigned to the sixth—seventh century A.D. (*Rep. Arch. Sur. India*, 1926-1927, p. 200.)

Maunggan Gold Plates.—Two gold plates bearing an inscription in Pāli, very closely allied to the Kadamba script of the fifth century A.D., of Southern India, were discovered at Maunggan, a village near old Prome, Burma. These two plates begin each with the well-known Buddhist formula: "Ye dhammā hetuppabhavā tesam hetu, etc." which is followed in the first, by 19 categories from the Abhidhamma in numerical order and, in the second, by the no less well-known praise of the Triratna. (*Rep. Arch. Sur. Burma*, 1924, p. 21.)

Bawbawgyi Pagoda Stone Fragments.—In 1910-11, while clearing a small portion of the debris round the Bawbawgyi pagoda of Hmawza (old Prome) three fragments of a stone inscription were discovered. Their characters are the same as those of the Maunggan plates; and the script may be referred to the sixth century A.D. It contains an extract from the Vibhanga, a book of the Abhidhamma, and corresponds to page 144 of Mrs. Rhys Davids' edition. (*Rep. Arch. Sur.*

Burma, 1924, p. 22.) The two gold plates and the stone fragments have been elaborately treated by Mon. Finot in his article "Un nouveau document sur le buddhisme birman"—a new document of Burmese Buddhism—published in the *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. XX, *Juillet Aout*, 1912, pages 121 ff.

Text of the Inscriptions referred to above.—(First gold plate, Maunggan.) (1) Ye dhammā hetuppabbhavā tesaṃ hetu tathāgato āha tesaṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādi mahāsamano ti (2) Catvāro sammappadhānā catvāro satipaṭṭhānā catvāri ariyasaccāni cutuvesarajjāni pañcindriyāni pañca cakkhuni cha (3) Asaddhāraṇāni satta bojjhanga ariyo aṭṭhīngiko maggo navalokuttarā dhammā dasa balāni cuddasa buddhaññāni aṭṭhārāsa buddha dhammā ti.

(Second gold plate, Maunggan.) (1) Ye dhammā hetupabbhavā (te) sa (ṃ) hetu tathāgato āha tesaṃ ca yo nirodho evaṃvādi mahāsamano ti iti pi so bhagavā araham (2) Sammāsambuddho vijjācarana-sampanno sugato lokavidu anuttaro purisadhamma sārathī satthā devamanussānam buddho bhagavā ti (3) Sākhyāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanāyiko pacctam veditavvo viññūhīti.

The first plaque begins with the well-known formula. After that it enumerates 19 categories in a progressively numerical order: 4 iddhipādas, bases of magical power, 4 sammappadhānas, good deeds, 4 satipaṭṭhāna, subjects of meditation, 4 ariyasaccāni, holy truths, 4 vesārajjāni, confidences, 5 indriyāni, senses, 5 cakkhuni, eyes, 6 asādhāraṇāni, special knowledges of Buddhism, 7 bojjhaṅgā, elements of the Bodhi, the noble way of the 8 elements, 9 lokuttarā dhammā, supernatural states, 10 Balāni, powers, 14 Buddhaññāni, knowledges of the Buddha, and 18 Buddha dhammas. The second plaque begins in the same manner. It is followed by the well-known hymn (praise) of Triratna. See, for example, the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, II, 56. The script may at first sight be said to belong to Southern India, and have striking affinity with the 'Kanara-Telegu' script of Bühler.

Text of the Fragmentary Stone Inscriptions referred to above.—(1).....nā samphus (i) tattam vedanākkhando

saññākkhando saṅkhārakhando..... (2) diṭṭhivipphan-
ditam diṭṭhi ayam vuccati chaḷāyatanapaccayo phasso tattha
katam (a) (pha) ssa paccayā vedanā | yam ceta (s) i.....
(3) Saññojanam gā (ho) paṭilāho abhiniveso parāmāso
kummaggo.

Translation :—(1)..... (the contact), the fact of coming
into contact, the vedanākkhanda, the saññākkhanda, the
saṅkhārakhanda, constituent elements of sensation, percep-
tion and confections..... (2) quarrels of opinion, this is
what people call opinion (diṭṭhi). Touch comes from the six
organs of sense. What is the sensation which is derived
from touching. That which in thought..... (3) chain,
inclination, contagion, bad path.....

The text is probably an extract from a canon which
is difficult to be traced. It presents considerable similarities
with certain passages of the Dhammasaṅgaṇi. It could,
therefore, be found in a treatise of Abhidhamma and perhaps
one of those which are still unpublished.

The Kalyāṇi Inscriptions of Pegu.—The Kalyāṇi in-
scriptions of Pegu (Burma)* were erected in c. 1476 A.D. by
Dhammaceti, King of Rāmaññadesa or ancient Pegu, and
record the history of the establishment of Buddhism in
Burma, and its gradual evolution through many vicissitudes
of fortune. The main object in founding the Kalyāṇi-sīmā
appears to have been to afford to the priesthood of Rāmañña-
desa a duly consecrated place for the purpose of performing
the uposatha, upasampadā, and other ecclesiastical ceremonies,
and indirectly to secure continuity in their apostolic succession
from Mahinda, the Buddhist apostle of Ceylon. The object
of the Kalyāṇi inscriptions is to give an authoritative ruling
on the varied opinions of scholars with regard to ordination
and to prescribe a ceremonial for the consecration of a sīmā.
The Kalyāṇi inscriptions are situated at the western suburbs
of the town of Pegu. They comprise ten stone slabs, more or
less broken to pieces and scattered about. The language

* Taw Seinko—*A Preliminary Study of the Kalyāṇi Inscriptions, Pegu.*
J.A., Vol. XXIII, 1893.

of the first three stones is Pāli and that of the rest is Talaing, being a translation of the Pāli text.

Pāli Tracts and Interpretations of Pāli Texts.—Owing to want of a large number of priests well versed in Tripitaka, learned, wise and able, and who could, after meeting and consulting together, investigate as to what was proper or not, disputations arose amongst the Buddhist Order of Pegu with regard to the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies, such as the consecration of a sīmā and the upasampadā ordination. Each therā gave his own interpretation, and the king himself joined in the disputations. In course of these disputations citations were made from various Buddhist authorities, most important of which was the Aṭṭhakathā. The following tracts collected here were incidentally made use of by the theras and the king in their discussion as to the performance of ecclesiastical ceremonies of consecrating a sīmā and upasampadā ordination.

(1) ' *Anvaḍḍhamāsam anudasāham anupañcāhanti* ' *Aṭṭhakathāyām*.

Some theras could not rightly interpret these words mentioned in the Aṭṭhakathā, and would like in the excessively rainy region of Rāmaññadesa to perform the upasampadā ordination in an udakukkhepasīmā consecrated on a river or lake, which was devoid of its respective characteristics.

(2) Dhammaceti, the king, in repeatedly investigating and considering the rule of the Vinaya as regards the consecration of a sīmā, as interpreted by the authors of the Aṭṭhakathās, ṭikās, and pakaraṇas, consulted both the spirit and the letter of the following works, controlling the Aṭṭhakathā by means of the Pāli, the ṭikā by means of the Aṭṭhakathā, and the pakaraṇa by one another, and at the same time, by collecting what was gone before, and what came after:—the Vinayapāli, the Vinayaṭṭhakathā, the Vinayaṭikā called the Saratthadīpanī, the Vinayaṭikā called the Vimativinodanī, the Vinayaṭikā written by Vajirabuddhithera, the Mātikaṭṭhakathā called the Kaṅkhāvitaranī together with its ṭikā, the Vinayaviniccayapakaraṇa together with its ṭikā, the

Vinayaśaṅgahapakaṛaṇa, the Sīmālaṅkārapakaṛaṇa and the Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha. To the king who repeatedly investigated and considered the question and interpreted the ruling of the Vinaya according to his light and knowledge.

(3) '*Yasmā hi vassānassa catūsu māsasu*' iti *Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ*.

This short citation purports to say that the rainy season comprises four months, during which lakes and rivers become filled with water and during which season the under-robe of a bhikkhunī crossing a stream of such description at any place, is wetted. On such a mahānadī such a udakukkhepa-sīmā may be consecrated, and the upasampadā ordination performed in it will be valid and inviolable.

(4) There existed an old sīmā whereon the Kalyāṇi-sīmā came to be built and consecrated later on. It was, therefore, necessary to desecrate the old sīmā, for otherwise the new sīmā would be null and void, because of the doubtful defeat of the junction and overlapping of sīmās. The king accordingly had preparations made for performing the ceremony of desecrating the existing sīmā in accordance with the procedure expressly laid down in the Aṭṭhakathā. He then proceeds to interpret the passage of the Aṭṭhakathā in question.

(5) With regard to this subject of desecration of an existing sīmā, and consequent consecration of a new one, a question is made from the Vimativinodanī:—

"Keci pana idisesu pi vihāresu chapañcamatte bhikkhu gahetvā, vihārakoṭito paṭṭhāya vihāraparikhepassa anto ca bahi ca samantā leḍḍupāte tattha sabbattha mañcapamāṇe okāse nirantaram tathavā, paṭhamam avippavāsasīmāṃ tatosamānasamvāsakasīmaṃ ca samuhananavasena sīmāsamugghāte kate, tasmim majjhagatā te bhikkhu tā samuhaneyyurū. Tato gāma-sīmā eva avasisseyya. Na hettha sīmāya vā paricchedassa vā jānanam aṅgam hoti. Sīmāya pana anto tṭhānaṃ samuhanessāmāti, 'kammavācākaraṇaṇc' ettha aṅgam. Aṭṭhakathāyaṃ kheṇḍasīmāṃ pana jānantā avippavāsaṃ ajānantā pi samūhatāya vuttattā gāmasīmāy' eva ca

avasitthāya tattha yathārucikam duvidhaṃ pi sīmāṃ
bandhituṃ c'eva upasampadādi-kammaṃ kātuṃ ca
vaṭṭatīti vadanti. Taṃ yuttaṃ viya dissati; vimaṃsitvā
gaḥetabban ti."

Translation :—There are some theras who, in the case of such vihārasīmās, would convene a chapter of five or six priests, would station them in a continuous row of places, which are each about the size of a bedstead, and whose distances are determined by the fall, all round, of stones thrown, first from the extremity of a vihārasīmā, and then towards the inside and outside of its limits, and would successively desecrate an avippavāsasīmā, and a samāna-saṃvāsakasīmā. If either a khaṇḍasīmā or a mahāsīmā exists on that vihāra, the priests standing, as they do, in the midst of these sīmās, would, from a mañcatthana, certainly desecrate the sīmā, and the gāmasīmā would remain. In this manner, it is not essential to know the sīmā or its extent. But it is necessary for the reciters of the kammavācā to say 'We shall desecrate the inside of a sīmā (and act accordingly)'. It is stated in the Aṭṭhakathā that those who are aware of the existence of a khaṇḍasīmā, but not that of an avippavāsa-sīmā, are qualified to effect both desecration and consecration and then thus, although the extent of a mahāsīmā is unknown, desecration may be effected. On the authority of this statement, they say that at any selected spot on the remaining gāmasīmā, it is appropriate to consecrate the two kinds of sīmās, and to perform the upasampadā-ordination and such other ceremonies. This dictum appears to be correct; but it should be accepted after due enquiry.

(6) When the existence of an old sīmā is not known it is said in the Aṭṭhakathā :—

"Aṭṭhakathāyaṇca purāṇa-sīmāya vijjamānattam vā paricchedam vā ajānantānaṃ sīmāsanugghātassa dukkarattā mahantam vāyāmam akatvā yena vā tena vā vāyāmena samūhananavasena sīmāsamugghātāṃ sandhāya ye pana ubho pi na jānanti; te n'eva samuhanituṃ ca laḥantīti vuttaṃ."

Purport :—If both classes of *sīmā* are not known, the *sīmā* should not be desecrated or consecrated. This dictum of the *Aṭṭhakathā* does not, however, mean to indicate that, although the existence of the *sīmā* to be desecrated may not be known, if great exertion is put forth that *sīmā* will not be desecrated.

Reference to Pāli Texts :—Besides these quotations from and interpretations of Pāli texts, there are a good number of references to Pāli texts in the *Kalyāṇi* inscriptions in the way of adducing arguments or citing authorities. The three *Piṭakas* are more than once mentioned, the *Vinaya* having the honour of being mentioned most. But most often referred to is the *Aṭṭhakathā* of the *Vinaya*piṭaka. Other texts are the *Pātimokkha*, the *Khuddakasikkhā*, the *Vimativinodanī*, the *Vinayapāli*, the *Vinayaṭīkā* called the *Sāratthadīpanī*, the *Vinayaṭīkā* written by *Vajirabuddhithera*, the *Mātikaṭṭhakathā* called the *Kaṅkhāvitaraṇī* together with its *ṭīkā*, the *Vinayavinicchaya*pakaraṇa together with its *ṭīkā*, the *Vinaya*saṅgahapakaraṇa, the *Sīmālaṅkārapakaraṇa*, the *Sīmālaṅkārasaṅgaha*, and other texts relating to the *Vinaya*piṭaka.

An Inscription of A.D. 1442.—The inscription of B.E. 804 (1442 A.D.) is among those collected by *Forchhammer* at *Pagan*. The Governor of *Taungdwin* and his wife made various gifts to the Buddhist Order and this inscription commemorates this memorable event. The pious donors not only made gifts of monastery, garden, paddy-lands and slaves, but also offered to the *bhikkhus* a collection of texts. The importance of the list of texts lies in the fact that it not only helps us in fixing the chronology of many Pāli works, but also enables us to form some notion of the point reached by the Sanskrit scholars in *Burma* in the fifteenth century for the list contains a number of titles of Sanskrit works.

The list of texts contained in the inscription may be given here :—

- (1) *Pārājikakaṇḍa* ; (2) *Pācittiya* ; (3) *Bikkhunīvibhaṅga* ;
- (4) *Vinayamahāvagga* ; (5) *Vinayacūlavagga* ; (6) *Vinaya*-

parivāra; (7) Pārājikakaṇḍa-aṭṭhakathā; (8) Pācittiyaḍi-
 aṭṭhakathā; (9) Pārājikakaṇḍa-ṭīkā; (10) Terasakaṇḍa-ṭīkā;
 (11) Vinayaśaṅgraha-aṭṭhakathā (the greater); (12) Vinaya-
 śaṅgraha-aṭṭhakathā (the less); (13) Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī-aṭṭhakathā;
 (14) Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā (ancient); (15) Khuddasikkhā-ṭīkā
 (new); (16) Kaṅkhā-ṭīkā (new); (17) Vinayagaṇṭhipada; (18)
 Vinaya-uttarasīṇcaya-aṭṭhakathā; (19) Vinayaśīṇcaya-ṭīkā
 (later); (20) Vinayakandhaniddesa; (21) Dhammasaṅgaṇi;
 (22) Vibhaṅga; (23) Dhātukathā; (24) Puggalapaṇṇatti;
 (25) Kathāvatthu; (26) Mūlayamaka; (27) Indriyayamaka;
 (28) Tikapaṭṭhāna; (29) Dukatikapaṭṭhāna; (30) Dukapaṭṭhā-
 na; (31) Atthasālinī-aṭṭhakathā; (32) Sammohavinodanī-
 aṭṭhakathā; (33) Pañcapakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā; (34) Abhidham-
 ma-anuṭṭīkā; (35) Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-aṭṭhakathā; (36)
 Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha-ṭīkā; (37) Abhidhammatthavibhāva-
 nī-ṭīkā; (38) Silakkhandha; (39) Mahāvagga; (40) Pāṭheyya;
 (41) Silakkhandha-aṭṭhakathā; (42) Mahāvagga-aṭṭhakathā;
 (43) Pāṭheyya-aṭṭhakathā; (44) Silakkhandha-ṭīkā; (45)
 Mahāvagga-ṭīkā; (46) Pāṭheyya-ṭīkā; (47) Mūlapaṇṇāsa;
 (48) Mūlapaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā; (49) Mūlapaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā; (50)
 Majjhimaṇṇāsa; (51) Majjhimaṇṇāsa-aṭṭhakathā; (52)
 Majjhimaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā; (53) Uparipaṇṇāsa; (54) Uparipaṇṇāsa-
 aṭṭhakathā; (55) Uparipaṇṇāsa-ṭīkā; (56) Sāgāthāvaggasaṃ-
 yutta; (57) Sāgāthāvaggasaṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā; (58) Sāgāthā-
 vaggasaṃyutta-ṭīkā; (59) Nidānavaggasaṃyutta; (60) Nidāna-
 vaggasaṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā; (61) Khandhavaggasaṃyutta; (62)
 Khāṇḍhavaggasaṃyutta-ṭīkā; (63) Saḷāyatanavaggasaṃyutta;
 (64) Saḷāyatanavaggasaṃyutta-aṭṭhakathā; (65) Mahāvagga-
 saṃyutta; (66) Ekadukatika-aṅguttara; (67) Catukanipāta-
 aṅguttara; (68) Pañcanipāta-aṅguttara; (69) Cha-sattanipāta-
 aṅguttara; (70) Aṭṭha-navanipāta-aṅguttara; (71) Dasa-
 ekādasanipāta-aṅguttara; (72) Ekanipāta-aṅguttara-aṭṭha-
 kathā; (73) Dukatikacatukanipāta-aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā; (74)
 Pañcādi-aṅguttara-aṭṭhakathā; (75) and (76) Aṅguttara-ṭīkā;
 (77) Khuddakapāṭha text and aṭṭhakathā; (78) Dhammapada
 text and aṭṭhakathā; (79) Udāna text and aṭṭhakathā; (80)
 Itivuttaka text and aṭṭhakathā; (81) Suttanipāta text and

aṭṭhakathā; (82) Vimānavatthu text and aṭṭhakathā; (83) Petavatthu text and aṭṭhakathā; (84) Thera (gāthā) text and aṭṭhakathā; (85) Therī (gāthā) text and aṭṭhakathā; (86) Pāṭhacariya; (87) Ekanipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (88) Dukanipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (89) Tikanipātajātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (90) Catuka-paṇca-chanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (91) Satta-aṭṭha-navanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (92) Dasa-ekādasanipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (93) Dvādasaterasa-pakiṇṇaka-nipāta-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (94) Vīsati-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (95) Jātattakī-sotattakī-nidāna-aṭṭhakathā; (96) Cūlaniddesa; (97) Cūlaniddesa-aṭṭhakathā; (98) and (99) Mahāniddesa; (100) Jātaka-ṭīkā; (101) Duma-jātaka-aṭṭhakathā; (102) Apadāna; (103) Apadāna-aṭṭhakathā; (104) Paṭisambhidāmagga; (105) Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā; (106) Paṭisambhidāmagga-gaṇṭhipada; (107) Visuddhimagga-aṭṭhakathā; (108) Visuddhimagga-ṭīkā; (109) Buddhavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā; (110) Cariyāpiṭaka-aṭṭhakathā; (111) Namarūpa-ṭīkā (new); (112) Paramatthavinicchaya (new); (113) Mohavicchedanī; (114) Lokapaññatti; (115) Mohanayana; (116) Lokuppatti; (117) Aruṇavati; (118) Chagatidīpanī; (119) Sahassaramsimālinī; (120) Dasavatthu; (121) Sahassavatthu; (122) Sīhalavatthu; (123) Peṭakopadesa; (124) Tathāgatuppatti; (125) Dhammacakka (Pavattanasutta?); (126) Dhammacakka-ṭīkā; (127) Dāṭhādihātuvaṃsa; (128) Dāṭhādihātuvaṃsa-ṭīkā; (129) Cūlavāṃsa; (130) Dīpavāṃsa; (131) Thūpavāṃsa; (132) Anāgatavāṃsa; (133) Bodhivāṃsa; (134) Mahāvāṃsa; (135) Mahāvāṃsa-ṭīkā; (136) Dhammadāna (in text Dhammandan?); (137) Mahākaccāyana; (138) Nyāsa; (139) Than-byun-ṭīkā; (140) Mahāthera-ṭīkā; (141) Rūpasiddhi-aṭṭhakathā; (142) Rūpasiddhi-ṭīkā; (143) Bālāvatāra; (144) Vuttimoggallāna; (145) Pañcika-Moggallāna; (146) Pañcika-Moggallāna-ṭīkā; (147) Kārikā; (148) Kārikā-ṭīkā; (149) Liṅgatthavivarāṇa; (150) Liṅgatthavivarāṇa-ṭīkā; (151) Mukhamattasāra; (152) Mukhamattasāra-ṭīkā; (153) Mahāgaṇa; (154) Cūlagaṇa; (155) Abhidhāna; (156) Abhidhāna-ṭīkā; (157) Saddanīti; (158) Cūlanirutti; (159) Cūlasandhi-visodhana; (160) Saddatthabhedacintā; (161) Saddattha-

bhedacintā-ṭikā; (162) Padasodhana; (163) Sambandha-cintā-ṭika; (164) Rūpāvatāra; (165) Saddāvatāra; (166) Sadhammadīpaka; (167) Sotamālinī; (168) Sambandhamālinī; (169) Padāvahāmahācakka (Padāvatāra?); (170) Nvādi (Moggallāna); (171) Katakā (Kṛt-cakra?); (172) Mahākā (Kappa or Kaccāyana?); (173) Bālattajana (Bālāvatāra?); (174) Suttāvali; (175) Akkharasammohacchedanī; (176) Cetiddhīnemiparigātha (*sic*) (?); (177) Samāsataddhitadīpanī; (178) Bījakkhyam; (179) Kaccāyanasāra; (180) Bālappabodhana; (181) Atthasālinī; (182) Atthasālinī-nissaya; (183) Kaccāyana-nissaya; (184) Rūpasiddhi-nissaya; (185) Jātaka-nissaya; (186) Jātakagaṇṭhi; (187) Dhammapadagaṇṭhi-nissaya; (188) Kammavācā; (189) Dhammasatta; (190) Kalāpapañcika (pañjikā); (191) Kalāpapañcika-ṭikā; (192) Kalāpasuttapratīññāsaku (patīññāpaka?) ṭikā; (193) Piṇḍo-ṭikā; (194) Rattamālā; (195) Rattamālā-ṭikā; (196) Roganidāna; (197) Dabraguṇa; (198) Dabraguṇa-ṭikā; (199) Chandoviciti; (200) Chandaprutti (Cāndra-vṛtti); (201) Candrapañcikara (pañjikā); (202) Kāmandakī; (203) Dhammapaññāpakaraṇa; (204) Mahosaṭṭhi (Mahosadha?); (205) Subodhālaṃkāra; (206) Subodhālaṃkāra-ṭikā; (207) Tanogabuddhi (?); (208) Taṇḍi (Daṇḍin?); (209) Taṇḍi-ṭikā; (210) Caṅkadāsa; (211) Ariyasaccāvatāra; (212) Vicitragandha; (213) Saddhammupāya; (214) Sārasaṅgaha; (215) Sārapīṇḍa; (216) Paṭipattisaṅgaha; (217) Sūlachāraka; (218) Pālatakka (bālatarka?, logic for beginners?); (219) Trakkabhāsā (Tarkabhāsā); (220) Saddakārikā; (221) Kāsikāpruttipalini; (222) Saddhammadīpaka; (223) Satyatatvavabodha (?); (224) Bālappabodhanapruttikaraṇa; (225) Atthabyākhyam; (226) Cūlaniruttimañjūsā; (227) Mañjūsāṭikābyākhyam; (228) Anu-ṭikābyākhyam; (229) Pakiṇṇakanikāya; (230) Catthapayoga (?); (231) Matthapayoga (?); (232) Rogayātrā (on medicine?); (233) Rogayātrā-ṭikā; (234) Satthekavipasvaprakāsa (?); (235) Rājamattanta; (236) Parāsava; (237) Koladdhaja; (238) Brihajjātaka; (239) Brihajjātaka-ṭikā; (240) Dāṭṭhādhatuvamsa and ṭikā; (241) Patigaviveka-ṭikā; (242) Alaṃkāra-ṭikā (on Subodhālaṃkāra?); (243) Calindapañcikā (commentary on

Co ?); (244) Vedavidhinimittanirutti-vaṇṇanā; (245) Nirutti-byākhyam; (246) Vuttodaya; (247) Vuttodaya-ṭīkā; (248) Milindapañha (in text Malinapañña); (249) Sāratthasaṅgha; (250) Amarakosanissaya; (251) Piṇḍonissaya; (252) Kalāpanissaya; (253) Roganidānabyākhyam; (254) Dabbragaṇa-ṭīkā; (255) Amarakosa; (256), (257) and (258) Daṇḍi-ṭīkā; (259) Koladhvaṇṇa-ṭīkā; (260) Alaṃkāra; (261) Alaṃkāra-ṭīkā; (262) Bhesajjamañjusā; (263) Yuddhajeyya (Yuddhādhyāya ?); (264) Yatanaprabhā-ṭīkā (Ratana ?); (265) Viragdhā; (266) Viragdhā-ṭīkā; (267) Cūlamanisāra; (268) Rājamattanta-ṭīkā; (269) Mṛtyuvañcana; (270) Mahākālacakka; (271) Mahākālacakka-ṭīkā; (269-271) Ācārya works ?); (272) Paraviveka (commentary on Parahita ?); (273) Kaccāyana-rūpavatāra; (274) Pumbharasāri (or karasāri in text ?); (275) Taktāvatāra (Tattvāvatāra ?); (276) Taktāvatāra-ṭīkā; (277) Nyāyabindu; (278) Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā; (279) Hetubindu; (280) Hetubindu-ṭīkā; (281) Rikkaṇiyayātrā (?); (282) Rikkaṇiyayātrā-ṭīkā; (283) Barittaratākara (Vṛttaratnākara ?); (284) Shyārāmitikabya (?); (285) Yuttisaṅgha; (286) Yuttisaṅgha-ṭīkā; (287) Sarasaṅgha-nissaya; (288) Rogayātrā-nissaya; (289) Roganidāna-nissaya; (290) Saddatthabhedācintā-nissaya; (291) Pārānissaya; (292) Shyārāmitikabya-nissaya (?); (293) Brihajjātaka-nissaya; (294) Rattamālā; (295) Narayuttisaṅgha.*

Ceylon.

Pāli Texts referred to in the Inscription of Parākramabāhu at Galwihāra, Ceylon.—(1) The Vinaya books; (2) The Khuddasikkhā; (3) The Pātimokkhā; (4) The Dasadhamma-sutta; (5) The three Anumāna suttas; (6) The Mūlasikkhā; (7) The Heraṇasikkhā; and (8) The Sekhiya.

* For details, readers are referred to M. H. Bode's *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, pp. 101-109.

ĪŚĀVASYĪPANISAD.

BY D. VENKATRAMIAH, ESQ., B.A., L.T.

(Continued from Vol. XXII, No. 3.)

यस्तु सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मन्येवानुपश्यति ।

सर्वभूतेषु चाऽऽत्मानं ततो न विजुगुप्सते ॥ ६ ॥

6. He who within his very self
Perceives the beings all ; alike
Doth find his self in beings all
From nothing then in repulsion turns.

When the sense of duality disappears after the realization of the unity of being, there is no room for one's dissatisfaction with anything in the world. All is within the self and the self is within all ; hence love and hate, likes and dislikes have no objects to encounter. The seeker after truth finds that God who is his inner self pervades the whole creation, from the imponderable ether to gross objects like rocks and plants. To him therefore there can be no doubts, fear or pain. Again all moral precepts, whether injunctive or prohibitory, apply only to the *samsārin*. The *jīvanmukta* or the liberated person is above such injunctions and he is not governed by the ordinarily accepted ethical code.

आत्मन्येव—in himself ; ' आत्मन्नेव ' is another reading.

अनुपश्यति—sees, understands.

ततः—तस्मादेवदर्शनात्—by that very knowledge, because of his recognition that nothing exists besides the *Ātman*.

विजुगुप्सते—' विचिकित्सति ' is another reading ; he is not worried or agitated.

For more or less an identical exposition of the nature of *Ātman*, cf. *Svet.* Up., VI, 11, and *Sankara Bhāṣya* on IX, 10 of the *Bhagavadgīta*.

यस्मिन्सर्वाणि भूतान्यात्मैवाभूद्विजानतः ।

तत्र को मोहः कः शोकः एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥ ७ ॥

7. What time the wise one sees all beings
Transmuted into his very self—
To him who unity perceives,
Where then is doubt ? Where then is grief ?

All our delusions and griefs are to be traced to *avidyā* and they disappear the moment the light of knowledge illuminates our hearts. When one's individual self expands into the universal self there is no room for fear, no

room for sorrow; in other words, with the disappearance of ignorance the ultimate cessation of samsāra ensues inevitably.

सपर्यगाच्छुक्कमकायमव्रणमस्त्राविरं शुद्धमपाविविद्धम् ।

कविर्मनीषी परिभूः स्वयंभूयाथातथ्यतोऽर्थान्व्यदधाच्छाश्वतीभ्यः समाभ्यः ॥८॥

8. He has encircled all, the bright
The bodiless, woundless, nerveless
The pure, untouched by sin, the seer,
Sage, omnipresent and self-born;
And He in fulfilment of right
Assigned all acts to eternal lords.

This mantra describes Ātman in his pristine condition.

यः-आत्मा—Ātman.

पर्यगात्-परिसमन्तात् गतवान्—encompassed the whole universe. He has like ether pervaded all.

शुक्लं शुद्धं (शुक्लं)—bright, shining.

अकायं-अशरीरः-लिङ्गशरीरवर्जितः—being without the subtle body.

अव्रणं-अक्षतं—unscathed, unhurt.

अस्त्राविरं—without having nerves.

These two epithets, अव्रणं and अस्त्राविरं indicate that He is devoid of the gross body (स्थूलशरीर).

शुद्धं-अविद्यामलरहितं—uncontaminated by nescience. This indicates that Ātman is devoid of the causal frame or avidyā, the kāraṇaśarīra.

अपाविविद्धं-धर्मधर्मादि पापवर्जितं—transcending both merit and demerit. धर्म is described in Śrutis and Smṛtis as पाप since it also leads to future births.

कविः-क्रान्तदर्शी—one who sees the past and by implication the present and the future. He is the all-seer.

मनीषी-मनस ईषिता—ruler of mind, all-wise (सर्वज्ञः).

परिभूः—transcendent; one who is stationed above all.

स्वयंभूः—self-existent.

याथातथ्यतः—as per eternal law; यथाभूतकर्मफलसाधनतः—to fit in with the right means for the fructification of karma.

अर्थान् व्यदधात्—enjoined duties (in order that the creatures of the earth may reap the fruit according to their karma).

शाश्वतीभ्यः समाभ्यः—lit. for eternal years. The phrase is explained as

संवत्सराख्येभ्यः प्रजापतिभ्यः—(He assigned duties) to Prajāpatis known as Samvatsaras; cf. संवत्सरो वै प्रजापतिः—*Prasna Up.* 1-9.

The task of creation is entrusted to Prajāpatis or Lords of cyclic creation who carry on their duties as ordained by Him.

शुक्रं, अकायं, अव्रणं, अन्नविरं, शुद्धं, अपापविद्धं—These words have to be regarded as masculine in gender to fit in with कविः etc., the epithet of सः.

अन्धं तमः प्रविशन्ति येऽविद्यामुपासते ।

ततो भूय इव ते तमो य उ विद्यायाः रताः ॥ ९ ॥

9. Into the boundless tracts of gloom
They enter who in works alone
Their solace find, and more profound
The chaos they enter who are lost
For aye in meditation deep.

Perhaps it will conduce to clearness if we follow Śankara's analysis of the mantras so far. The first verse enjoins absolute renunciation for the attainment of divine knowledge; the second prescribes duties—ritualistic and secular—to those who cannot on account of their worldly-mindedness attain to the height of spiritual knowledge. This two-fold classification is further based on the ground of distinction between the results accruing from karma and jñāna. Works even of an obligatory nature cannot procure freedom from saṃsāra while jñāna leads directly to liberation. Mantras 3-8 describe the true nature of Ātman condemning in no uncertain terms the lives of those whose thoughts never rise above the present. The central teaching of the Upaniṣad is addressed to such men as have crossed the three orders of life, viz., brahmacharya, gṛhastha and vānaprasta and entered upon the final state of sanyāsa or renunciation; cf. "Śvetāśvatara imparted to the ascetics this most sacred knowledge cherished by the holy ṣis"—अत्याश्रमिभ्यः परमं पवित्रं प्रोवाच सम्यग्विसंघजुष्टं—*Svet. Up.*, VI, 21. Cf. also mantra 7. Neither works nor meditation, nor their combination will avail the wise.

The verse under comment is with reference to those who long for the sweets of life and so are assiduously engaged in works. For them works and meditation together and not singly are enjoined, nay devotion to either of them to the exclusion of the other is severely condemned. It is to be noted that both reason and scripture point to a combination of acts and meditation only in regard to the second class of men whose spiritual equipment ill fits them for the acquisition of jñāna leading to liberation.

अन्धं तमः—अदर्शनात्मकं तमः—blinding darkness.

ये अविद्यामुपासते; अविद्या—विद्याया-अन्या, तां—that which is different from knowledge, i.e., karma, works; jñāna and karma are opposed to each other. Those who are always engaged in the performance of sacrifices like agnihōtra are lost in utter ignorance.

ततो-ततः-तस्मात्-अन्धात्मकात् तमसः, भूय इव-बहुतरमेव, ते तमः प्रविशन्ति—they enter a region of even greater darkness. Who? ये तु कर्म हित्वा

विद्यामेव-देवता ज्ञान एव, रताः-अभिरताः—those who are engrossed in the meditation of some deity forsaking works altogether. 'विद्या' here means meditation or upāsana and not jñāna.

The Śruti rightly condemns mere meditation in even stronger terms than mere works inasmuch as a life of isolation, however conducive to the development of one's mental concentration, is somewhat unsocial in character. Action, on the other hand, enriches individual life and tends to the well-being of environment. Still one ought not to go away with the impression that the object of the mantra is to condemn either karma or meditation when performed alone, since the scriptures enjoin elsewhere their separate performance and set down also separate rewards for them. What is meant to show here is the superiority of their combined performance.

अन्यदेवाऽऽहुर्विद्ययाऽन्यदाहुरविद्यया ।

इति शुश्रुम धीराणां ये नस्तद्विचक्षिरे ॥ १० ॥

10. Different, the fruit that vidyā yields
And different is the fruit indeed
That avidyā yields ; thus have we heard
From mighty spirits who to us
Have expounded clear this self-same truth.

विद्यया अन्यदेव आहुः-अन्यत् फलं विद्यया क्रियते—'विद्या' *lit.*, knowledge, here used in the sense of upāsana or meditation ; *cf.* 'विद्यया देवलोकः', one attains a lordly state by meditation.

अविद्यया अन्यदाहुः-अविद्यया कर्मणा अन्यत् फलं क्रियते—'अविद्या' *lit.*, nescience, here means karma which is opposed to meditation ; *cf.* 'कर्मणा पितृलोकः', one attains the region of the fathers by sacrifice. The substance of the passage is that one result, *vis.*, the region of the gods follows from meditation, and a different result, *vis.*, the region of the manes follows from the performance of ritual. The mantra concludes by saying that through long generations eminent teachers have held the doctrine that jñāna and karma lead to distinct results.

ये—those preceptors ; नः—to us ; तत्-कर्मच ज्ञानं च—works and meditation.

विचक्षिरे-व्याख्यातवन्तः—have expounded, taught ; अयं आगमः पारं पर्यागतः—this teaching has come down by long tradition.

विद्यां चाविद्यां च यस्तद्वेदोभयसह ।

अविद्यया मृत्युं तीर्त्वा विद्ययाऽमृतमश्नुते ॥ ११ ॥

11. What vidyā is and what is not
How fruitful they when both conjoin,
Who this perceives shall transcend death
By that which other than vidyā is,
And deathlessness by vidyā gains.

The reward that a life of meditation yields is contrasted with that which accrues by a faithful performance of the prescribed ritual. विद्या and अविद्या are taken to mean, as in the preceding verses, meditation and ritual respectively.

अविद्या-कर्मणा, अग्निहोत्रादिना—by agnihōtra and other ritualistic practices.

मृत्युं, स्वाभाविकं कर्म ज्ञानं च ; रागतः क्रियमाणं कर्म ज्ञानं च—activities both mental and bodily prompted by natural impulses deserve to be termed death, since they frustrate a man's acquiring spiritual enlightenment. By the performance of duly enjoined ritual one is enabled to suppress such degrading activities.

विद्यया-देवताज्ञानेन—by meditation on Īśvara or Hiranyagarbha.

अमृतं-देवतात्मभावं—identity with the Saguna or the qualified Being meditated upon.

अश्नुते-प्राप्नोति—gets.

The mantra emphasizes the fact that one and the same person is competent to go through the two disciplines simultaneously, that of meditation and of ritual. Amṛta here mentioned is not the final beatitude but an exalted condition of bliss. The supreme bliss of Brahmahood can be attained only by right knowledge.

अन्धं तमः प्रविशन्ति येऽसंभूतिमुपासते ।

ततो भूय इव ते तमो य उ संभूत्या रताः ॥ १२ ॥

12. Into the boundless tracts of gloom
They enter who their solace find
In what unborn is and more
Profound the gloom they enter who
Are lost in that which born is.

Having pointed out the dire consequences of following singly the path of works and of meditation and having commended their combined observance, the scripture now emphasizes the desirability of meditation on both the primordial source of creation known as avyākṛta and the first-born Hiranyagarbha, the creator of the worlds known as vyākṛta.

असंभूतिः—*Asambhūti*, that which is unborn ; संभवनं, संभूतिः, सा यस्य, कार्यस्य,

सा संभूतिः—what is born is sambhūti, *viz.*, Hiranyagarbha (vyākṛta), who stands for the sum-total of all subtle bodies and is the first in the order of creation. Prior to Him, and different from Him, is Māya the primordial principle, Asambhūti known also as avidyā or avyākṛta. It is this beginningless avidyā that under the guidance of Īśvara is the cause of world-manifestation. The Śruti condemns devotion to either vyākṛta, the effect or the differentiated, symbolized in Hiranyagarbha or avyākṛta, the cause or the undifferentiated, symbolized in Māya and enjoins meditation on both.

“असंभूति (asambhūti) must be taken to mean Māya and not Brahma, because Brahma being immutable cannot directly be the originating

cause. Like deep sleep (सुषुप्ति) where the sorrows of life are absent, prakṛtilaya, merging in the original cause Māya also puts an end to saṁsāra for a whole cycle and is therefore worthy of being sought. It is impertinent criticism that no reward (फल) can be expected from prakṛti which is insentient, for it is always Īśvara that grants rewards".—Ānandagiri.

अन्यदेवाऽऽहुः संभवादन्यदाहुरसंभवात् ।

इति शुश्रुम धीराणां ये नस्तद्विचचक्षिरे ॥ १३ ॥

13. Different the fruit which springs from that
Which born is and different the fruit
Which springs from that which born is not—
Thus have we heard from mighty spirits
Who this self-same truth have taught.

Here is pointed out the importance of devotion to both vyākṛta and avyākṛta or meditation on the first of beings, viz., Hiraṇyagarbha and the inexplicable principle of Māya whose association with the Absolute starts the creation of the multiplex universe. In the case of those who are unfit for the highest knowledge devout contemplation on these two entities is enjoined, known as vyākṛtāvvyākṛtōpāsana. Meditation on Hiraṇyagarbha (संभूति) secures to the devotee the well-known eight kinds of yogic powers while meditation on avyākṛta (असंभूति) secures what is termed prakṛtilaya or a state of unconscious bliss. This state is akin to the bliss of deep sleep (सुषुप्ति) and lasts through a whole kalpa, but with the new creation it vanishes and the self starts on its fresh career assuming a different body.

संभूतिं च विनाशं च यस्तद्वेदोभयं सह ।

विनाशेन मृत्युं तीर्त्वा संभूत्याऽमृतमश्नुते ॥ १४ ॥

14. What begotten is and what
Perishable too, who knows them both
By the perishable he transcends death
And bliss he gains by what is born.

The mantras preceding have made it clear that meditation on Hiraṇyagarbha results in the destruction of sin arising from every kind of unrighteous thought and deed and that meditation on avyakta, i.e., Māya, the beginningless principle, the stupendous energy of Īśvara, results in prakṛtilaya or that form of bliss in which the individual is merged in this primordial śakti by whose aid Īśvara enacts the drama of creation. The same idea is emphasized in this verse also. Now to get at this sense we have to construe sambhūtim (संभूतिं) in both the first and second verses as asambhūtim (असंभूतिं). This is the emendation of Śankara. Different interpretations have been offered by other commentators who in their exposition have missed the central teaching of the Upaniṣad, which is, that works and meditation alone can suffer association and not works and the knowledge of the Absolute.

विनाशेन-कार्येण ; because कार्य the world, is destructible, it is here used for Hiranyagarbha whose work it is, the effect being put for the cause. It is by meditation on Him that one attains power and wealth and overcomes all sin incurred by pursuing an ungodly, unrighteous and covetous life.

असंभूत्या (संभूत्या in the text)-अव्याकृतोपासनया—by devotion to Māya or prakṛti.

अमृतं-प्रकृतिलयलक्षणं—dissolution in prakṛti which is the kind of salvation advocated by a school of philosophers—the Paurāṇikās.

हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापि हितं सुखम् ।

तत्त्वं पूषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्माय दृष्टये ॥ १५ ॥

15. By the golden bowl the face of Truth
Is covered, the which remove, O Pūṣan,
That so I might the Truth perceive,
I who abide for ev'r in Truth.

Sankara now summarises the Upaniṣadic teaching. The authority of the scriptures is limited to the injunction of works and meditation from the performance of which one can be sure of rewards. The endless series of births and deaths goes on till as the result of a life of action and meditation all multiplicity is merged in the root cause. This is known as the prakṛtilaya. The tree of saṁsāra with its branches, flowers and fruit is now merely in the form of seed. In such a state the distracting particularities have vanished and the jīva finds repose in the primal cause though shrouded in nescience. It is clear, therefore, that works and meditation cannot bring the highest blessing to man. By renouncing all desires and getting a true insight into the nature of God, does one obtain the real object of his quest. Then he grasps the truth that the Ātman is all in all. Thus in this Upaniṣad we find two courses laid down, one requiring effort (pravṛttilakṣhana) and the other renunciation (nivṛttilakṣhana) for the attainment of release. The first which consists of a combination of works and meditation is intended for those who, while discharging their duties, are gradually attuning their lives to the attainment of the highest knowledge. In their case, karma is indispensable from the moment of conception till they leave their mortal coil behind them. The second is with reference to those whose souls are alit with divine wisdom and to whom therefore neither karma nor meditation is of any avail. The verse under comment describes the manner in which the man who has led a life of service and contemplation prays when about to depart from here to the great luminary, the Sun, who like himself is the seat of the Lord. The moral and spiritual elevation of the devotee is apparent here since he is now convinced that the same God who resides in the Sun resides in him also. Hence he is emboldened to pray to the Sun to withdraw the luminous veil that dazzles his sight and prevents him from gaining the direct vision of the Lord ; cf. *Bṛh. Up.* V, 5.

हिरण्मयेन-ज्योतिर्मयमित्येतत्—means that the sun is a disc of mere light.
पात्रेण—by a covering lid which hides the object within, that object being the Brahman.

सत्यस्य-आदित्यमण्डलस्थस्य ब्रह्मणः—of Brahman who dwells in the sun's orb.

अपिहितं-आच्छादितं—veiled, covered up.

मुखं-द्वारं—door ; or मुख्यं स्वरूपं, his real nature ; *lit.*, the face.

हे पूषन्—O, sun.

अपावृणु—open, remove.

सत्यधर्माय—(१) यथाभूतस्य धर्मस्य अनुष्ठात्रे, for me who am following the path of righteousness ;

or

(२) तव सत्यस्योपासनात्सत्यं धर्मो यस्य मम सोऽहं सत्यधर्मा, for me who am satyadharmā, because I have become identified with you by meditation on you who are satyadbarmā.

दृष्ट्ये-तव सत्यात्मन उपलब्धये—for knowing you, the embodiment of Truth itself. The immortality here sought as the reward of karma and upāsana is relative—आपेक्षिकं.

The verses 15—18 form the 15th Brahmanam of *Brh. Up.*, V.

पूषन्नेकर्षे यम सूर्य प्राजापत्य व्यूह रश्मीन्समूह ।

तेजो यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि योऽसावसौ पुरुषः सोऽहमस्मि ॥

॥ १६ ॥

16. O Pūṣan, Lone Wanderer, Yama
O Sūrya, Prājāpatya, withdraw
Thy rays, gather up thy light ;
What thy most blissful countenance
Is, that I shall behold. I am
That Person who within thee dwells.

पूषन्-जगतः पोषणात् पूषा—the sun so called because he bestows diverse gifts on the world.

एकर्षिः-एक एव ऋषति, गच्छति इति, एकर्षिः—wandering or travelling alone, or the only seer.

यमः—Yama, the sun is so addressed because he controls all (सर्वस्य संयमनायमः).

सूर्यः-रश्मीनां प्राणानां रसानां च स्वीकरणात्—the sun, because he takes up all the rays, lives and moisture.

प्राजापत्यः—because the sun is born of Prajāpati or Hiranyagarbha.

व्यूह-विगमय रश्मीन्स्वान्—disperse your rays.

समूह-एकीकृत, उपसंहर—gather up, withdraw.

ते तेजः-तव तापकं ज्योतिः—your burning light.

यत् ते रूपं कल्याणतमं—that which is your most auspicious countenance.

तत् तव आत्मनः प्रसादात् पश्यामि—I shall see it with thy grace.

योऽसौ-आदित्यमण्डलस्थः—He who resides in the sun's orb.

असौ पुरुषः—that Person.

सोऽहमस्मि—that Person I am.

Sankara notes that the devotee does not entreat like a servant but realizing that the same Īṣvara finds abode both in himself and the sun claims as a matter of right the vision of the Lord.

For an explanation of the macrocosmic and microcosmic aspects of Brahman; vide Sankara's comment on *Brah. Sut.*, III, 3—21.

वायुरनिलममृतमथेदं भस्मान्तः शरीरम् ।

ॐ कतो स्मर कृतः स्मर कतो स्मर कृतः स्मर ॥ १७ ॥

17. And may my inner breath proceed
To join the vaster breath immortal,
Let this my body to the flames
Consigned to ashes wholly turn.
Om ! Hiraṇyagarbha, remember ;
Agni, remember all my deeds ;
O, Hiraṇyagarbha, remember,
Agni, remember all my deeds.

The yōgin when parting this life offers his last prayer to God thus : Let my bodily breath become one with the universal breath, *vis.*, Hiraṇyagarbha who sustains for all time this world-life ; let my gross body after the etheric self—लिङ्गशरीरं—has left it, be burnt up to ashes ; O God, now that the time has come, forget me not, but remember and grant Thy rewards, even as I deserve them.

वायुः—let the breath which is now animating my individual self commingle with the life-breath of the universe Hiraṇyagarbha or the aggregate subtle self. The breath (वायुः) is here used to denote the lingaśarīra purified by works and meditation. It is this lingaśarīra that migrates into other worlds or takes on different births. It is also called yātanāśarīra as it experiences pleasure and pain.

ॐ—Because the yōgin meditates on God with his mind concentrated on the sacred symbol 'Om', 'Om' itself is regarded as Hiraṇyagarbha, Agni or Āditya.

हे कतो-संकल्पात्मक—O, Hiraṇyagarbha, addressing the personal God.

स्मर-यन्मम स्मर्तव्यं तस्य कालोऽयं प्रत्युपस्थापितः—whatever you have to remember in relation to me, now recollect since the time has come.

कृतं-यन्मया बाल्यप्रभृति अनुष्ठितं कर्म तच्च स्मर—this is addressed to Agni (a variant of Āditya). Remember also the worship and sacrifice I have offered thee from my boyhood.

The repetition of the last sentence is to indicate the devotee's eagerness in his invocation to God.

अग्रे नय सुपथा राये अस्मान्विश्वानि देव वयुनानि विद्वान् ।

युयोध्यस्मज्जुहुराणमेनो भूयिष्ठां ते नमउत्किं विधेम ॥ १८ ॥

18. Lead us along the propitious road
O Agni, that we the wealth may gain ;
Thou knowest all the deeds we've done,
Thou knowest all the thoughts we've thought ;
O shining one, efface from us
Our crafty sins ; in abundance now
We offer words of praise to thee.

Again the devotee prays to the Lord to show him the right path.

सुपथा-शोभनेन मार्गेण, दक्षिणमार्गनिवृत्त्यर्थं सुपथेति विशेषणं—the attribute सु, good, in supathā indicates that the devotee is anxious to avoid the southern path (दक्षिणमार्ग) or the path of smoke (धूममार्ग) which has to be traversed again and again without coming to the end of saṃsāra. Hence the path of light or the northern path (अक्षिरादिमार्ग) is sought, from which there is no return to mundane existence.

राये-धनाय, कर्मफलभोगायेत्यर्थः—the wealth in the case of the devotee is the reward for his life of works and meditation, namely, a happy state of existence in the Brahmālōka.

अस्मान्—us, who having followed the injunctions relating to karma and jñāna deserve the fruit thereof.

विश्वानि-सर्वाणि—all.

वयुनानि-कर्माणि, प्रज्ञानानि वा—works or meditation or thoughts.

विद्वान्-जानन्—having known.

युयोधि-विनाशय—destroy.

अस्मज्जुहुराणमेनः, जुहुराणं-कुटिलं ; एनः-पापं—all our crafty and vile sins.

ततो वयं विशुद्धाः सन्तः इष्टं प्राप्स्यामः—purified by this disciplinary course we shall attain our heart's desire.

किंतु वयं इदानीं ते न शक्नुम परिचर्यां कर्तुं, भूयिष्ठां तुभ्यं नमउत्किं विधेम— and we shall utter words of praise and salutation to Thee, O Lord, since being about to quit this life we are no longer able to serve Thee in other ways.

इत्युपनिषत्—this is the Upaniṣadic teaching.

SOUTH INDIAN SERPENT-LORE.

BY R. KALYANASUNDARAM AIYAR, ESQ., B.A., L.T.

Folk-Lore and History.—The study of folk-lore is a matter of absorbing interest to men of all climes and ages, and is full of fascination to students of psychology in the study of the primitive mind. Historians have always found in it an inexhaustible storehouse of information affording ample material to the building up of the history of the ancient peoples. Considered in this aspect, the beliefs of the masses and even their superstitions acquire a new meaning.

South-Indian history is still in the making and has to be reconstructed from a mass of material that lies scattered about us. The study of South-Indian folk-lore and the cult of the snake, for example, may throw a new light and open a new vista of research to the historian. The object of this article is to attempt to record as faithfully as possible some of the popular beliefs and ideas current about serpent worship.

Serpent Worship.—A mass cult :—All classes of Hindus venerate the serpent, and men and women worship it in every part of India. There is no reason to suppose that serpent worship is purely a high-class cult. When the Āryans penetrated into South-India, they came face to face with a people who had already attained a degree of perfection in the realms of art and thought. The worship of the snake and idols had attained a vast popularity, so much so it is quite probable to hold that the Dravidians did not borrow serpent-worship from elsewhere. The Āryans evidently purified the indigenous faith and welded it into a common cult; and Nāga came to occupy a subordinate place in the Hindu pantheon. The similarity between the two cults and modes of worship lend support to the view held by some students of history that the Āryans were only sons of the soil and not aliens who migrated into India.

Local Legends.—The major Purāṇas abound in legends of serpents and their worship. But we are concerned in this article only with the legends and beliefs current in the South. Lord Naṭarāja of Chidambaram is believed to have been first worshipped by Ādiśeṣa under the name of Patanjali in company with Vyāghrapāda. Patanjali is also the name of the great Sanskrit grammarian, who worshipped the Lord in his mystic dance, and wrote the great commentary on Pāṇini's Sūtras. The legend runs thus:—

1. The king of serpents Ādiśeṣa had heard from Lord Viṣṇu of the mystic glory of Śiva's dance in Dārūkāvanam. Eager to witness the dance, he went to Mount Kailās and made severe penance. Lord Śiva revealed himself to Śeṣa and directed him to Chidambaram, where he would perform the dance for another devotee Vyāghrapāda. Śeṣa reached Chidambaram by an underground passage and emerged from a Biladvāram (opening) near the Ananthēśvaran temple at the western extremity of the town. He then met Vyāghrapāda and both attended the holy dance of Lord Naṭarāja on the Thai Puṣyam day. The place, where he emerged, is believed to form the present Nāgasēri Tank (*i.e.*, the place where the Nāgam hissed out). This Ādiśeṣa not only worshipped Sṛī Naṭarāja but also set up a small Lingam near the Biladvāram and worshipped it in the name of Ananthēśvara (*i.e.*, Lord of Anantha, *i.e.*, Ādiśeṣa).

2. The same Ādiśeṣa (Patanjali) in his original form with a thousand heads is said, according to the legend, to have taught his commentary upon Pāṇini to a thousand disciples from behind a screen in the thousand-pillared hall in the temple. One of the disciples in disobedience of his master pushed aside the screen, curious to have a look at his great Guru. Thereupon, the poison-breath of Patanjali burnt all the disciples to ashes. The disciple who drew aside the screen was cursed to become a Brahma-Rākṣasa.—The curse, however, was to become void on the disciple teaching his commentary to others who sought after it. The Brahma-Rākṣasa took his abode on a peepul tree close by, and

taught grāmmar by writing it upon the leaves of the tree and dropping them down. Some of the leaves were eaten away by the grazing sheep. It is for this reason that the missing portions of the great commentary go by the name of "Aja-Bhakṣa".

Serpent Idols.—Women of all castes worship the serpent to get progeny. Sterility in women is ascribed to Sarpā śāpā (*i.e.*, the curse of the serpent), either in this life or in the previous one. Hence, the worship of the serpent. Usually, stone images representing crossed serpents or single ones are placed at the foot of the aśvatha and nim trees and worshipped. Some make images of snakes and drop them in wells after worship for the same purpose. Women of the lower classes worship serpents after marriage on the Gō-Pūja day, in the Tamil month of Thai. No names of serpent gods are used in folk-worship, though in the Purāṇas the eight serpents (Aṣṭa Nāgas) go by the names of Anantha, Vāsuki, Kārṅkōṭaka, Pingalaka, Śanka, Padma, Mahā-padma and Dakṣaka.

Worship of Live-Serpents.—Living serpents are worshipped in some places. A living serpent is said to be worshipped in Nagarkoil. There is a Śiva temple at Thirukalacheri near Tranquebar. In the temple, there is a Lingam (Nāganātha) which is covered by an ant-hill. The daily worship consists, beside other things, in placing a bowl of milk in front of the Lingam to be sucked up by the serpent. The priest withdraws to allow the serpent to drink the milk. Worshippers also pour milk into the ant-hill, and a hissing noise resembling that of a snake sucking the milk is heard. The serpent is an old one and does not harm anybody. It quietly withdraws into the ant-hill at the approach of men. This was witnessed by the writer some thirty-five years ago.

Association of Serpents with Subramanya, Śāstha and Māriamma.—Serpents are not only associated closely with the two gods Subramanya and Śāstha (Ayyanār), but also with Māriamma. Goddess Māriamma is a Dravidian deity and her emblem is the serpent. Serpents build their nests in

the shrines of Ayyanār and Māriamma, as probably they are situated outside village limits. The association of the serpents with Subramanya is probably due to the fact that it is the favourite ornament of Lord Śiva.

Śāstha is another name for Ayyanār. He is the son of Hari (Viṣṇu as Mōhinī) and Hara (Śiva) according to the Purāṇic legends. No wonder then that he is associated with serpents. Śāstha has long been a popular deity in South-India. The name சாத்தன் (Sāttan) found in ancient Tamil works is no other than Śāstha (Ayyanār) and villages, e.g., சாத்தனூர் (Sāttanur) in Tanjore district are named after the god. Ayyanār may, therefore, be regarded as one of the ancient deities and he represents the unification of the two cults, Āryan and Dravidian.

Marriage between āsvatha and Nim Trees; Its Significance.—The āsvatha tree is Viṣṇu and represents the Āryan cult. The nim tree is sacred to Goddess Māriamma and is Dravidian. Serpents are sacred to both, and worship of the stone image of the serpent at the foot of the āsvatha and nim trees will propitiate both deities. In the so-called marriage of the two trees, one finds a unification of the two cults—Āryan and Dravidian—and the common efforts of both to propitiate the serpent and ward off its evil. It may be noted that nim leaves are a powerful antiseptic and are used as antidotes to poison and to charm away evil spirits.

Serpents as Omens.—Serpents are generally regarded as bad omen. However, if a serpent crosses your path to the right, it is not supposed to be bad. There is a Tamil proverb which says “Mattai (Snake) Valam, Kutti (Cat) Idam”. If one dreams of a cobra dancing, it is supposed to bring prosperity. But if it hisses, it is bad for the dreamer. If a white snake bites in a dream, it is a sign of coming prosperity. Some say the appearance of a snake in a house portends evil. It is also said to remind one of a forgotten vow to God Subramanya or Śāstha. Again, serpents of white colour and thin size are supposed to be auspicious and big and black ones inauspicious.

Serpents and Agriculture.—Serpents are held sacred by the agricultural communities of South-India. They are believed to contribute to the fertility of the soil and the health of the cattle. It is probably for this reason that a large number of pūjāris (priests) in serpent temples come from agriculturists like Padayāchis (Vanniyakula Kshatriyas). Serpents are believed to build their nests in places where there are springs of underground water. The presence of water-springs at a small depth generally contributes to the fertility of the soil. Moreover, the serpents build their nests in fine pulverized soil. Such a soil must certainly contribute to its fertility.

Snake-Treasure.—Snakes are believed to guard treasures underground. It is not difficult to understand how they come by them. Primitive people in their eagerness to save their wealth from the robbers or invaders took the treasure to the serpent gods and deposited them in their nests for safe custody.

There is yet another and more plausible reason. When a new shrine is inaugurated in Southern India, the custom from time immemorial is to deposit precious stones and gold—South-India was then rich being a self-governing country—under the pedestal of the idol. Since the live-snakes were worshipped in their nests, the inauguration ceremony was attended with deposit of gold and precious stones in the nests.

Nāgaratnam.—According to the popular belief, as serpents grow old they begin to grow shorter and shorter. Then they develop wings. The poison gets solidified and forms the Nāgaratnam or Mānickam. In search of prey it deposits the Nāgaratnam on the ground and with the light, it locates prey.

The serpent is believed to make a present of the precious stone to anyone with whom it is pleased. Such a stone was presented to a girl in Tellicherry and is still preserved. This story is vouched for by a graduate-friend of the writer, who is a distant relation of the girl.

Snake-Charming.—There is a separate caste of professional snake-charmers called *Pidārāns*. They are akin to *Kuravās* or *Dombās*. They are supposed to be under a curse of comparative sterility. If a snake-*pidāran* pulls out the poisonous fang of a snake, or otherwise ill-treats it, the curse will light upon him; otherwise he is free.

There seems to be some truth in the notion that cobras are charmed by fine music. There is a particular tune in South-Indian music called "*Punnāga Varāli*" which fascinates the snake. The *pidārāns* pipe such a tune on their instruments and blow over the head of the snake with their breath and catch them. The poison tooth is extracted. The snake-charmers chew some narcotic, like tobacco, and stupefy the snake with their breath. The docile snake then dances to the tune of his music.

A Serpent in Anger.—As a rule, serpents do not bite, unless they are provoked. When a *Śārāi* (the hoodless snake) is offended, it is supposed to lash its tail on the ground. It is believed to be a female snake. A cobra hisses and even bites in anger. Serpents develop poison in the hot season of the year and in rocky places, and also on the approach of New Moon and Full Moon days.

Some serpents are supposed to be immortal and they are the Brahmin snakes! Even snakes do not escape the curse of the caste system!

Protection from Snake Bites.—(a) Medical Means:—

(1) A plunge-bath from head to foot in cold water is believed to be good in the case of snake bites.

(2) A copious draught of plantain juice extracted from the inner stem of the plantain tree, is usually given to the patient.

(3) The juice of a green herb called '*Periyānangai*' or '*Siriyānangai*' acts as a good antidote to snake poison.

(4) Strychnine (*Etti*) and tobacco are also given.

(b) Magical Means:—(1) There are serpent specialists who effect cures by incantation of mantras, and charming away the poison by *nim* leaves. In such cases, the charming is effective only when the serpents have not been killed.

The writer knew of a District Munsiff at Māyavaram (Mādhva by caste) who attained wide popularity for charming by mantras. If it was a cobra-bite, the mantra brought instant relief. If some other snake, it took some days. This was about the year 1897. One of his disciples was a Postmaster in a village near Māyavaram and he effected several wonderful cures by the same mantra. The rule is that he must take no fee from the patients; otherwise, the mantras will be ineffective.

(2) The pūjāris in some of the snake-temples administer a cold bath to the patient and give draughts of cold water mixed up with holy turmeric paste. It is supposed to effect a cure.

(3) The following hymns occur in the daily Sandhyā worship of a Brahmin and are supposed to ward off serpents :—

नर्मदायै नमः प्रातः नर्मदायै नमो निशि ।

नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यम् त्राहि मां विषसर्पतः ॥ १ ॥

जरत्कारो जरत्कार्वा समुत्पन्नो महायशाः ।

अस्तीक सत्यसंधो मां पक्षगेभ्योऽभिरक्षतु ॥ २ ॥

अपसर्प सर्प भद्रं ते दूरं गच्छ महायशाः ।

जनमेजयस्य यज्ञान्ते अस्तीक वचनं स्मरन् ॥ ३ ॥

1. "O Narmada! (Goddess) I bow to thee every morning and evening. May thou save me from the poisonous snake!"

2. "O Astika, son of Jaratkāru (a great sage who married a sister of Vāsuki), O far-famed true one! protect me from snakes."

3. "O glorious snake, may good come to thee! Remember the words of Astika at the end of Janamejaya's sacrifice, and go far away from me."

MANDOOKYA UPANISHAD.

BY DR. M. SRINIVASA RAO, M.A., M.D.

(Continued from Vol. XXII, No. 3.)

THE unreality of duality may be established solely by reasoning without the aid of scriptures. A consideration of the nature of dreams is very important for this purpose.

A dreamer is conscious of various objects in his dreams. They appear to be outside of himself. Almost anything seen in the waking state may also appear in the dream. In the former state, we are conscious of unlimited space in which objects, large and small, are cognized to be in their usual places and positions. Thinking in the waking state, of how and where these objects could have been located in the dream, we conclude that unlimited space is not available to the dreamer. The dreamer himself at the time of dreaming does not notice any want of space and everything from an elephant to a pin seems to have its allotted and requisite space. The incongruity, so apparent to the wakeful person, is not at all felt by the dreamer at the time. The notion of space in the wakeful state is just peculiar to that state and is suited to it. One has no right to expect that the same notion should hold good in the quite different state of dream. The notion of space in a dream is peculiar to that state alone and is just suited to it. But, all the same, the person in the wakeful state concludes that dream objects are unreal.

It is well to recognize that what is unreal is not necessarily non-existent. Though the dream-objects are pronounced in the waking state to be unreal, the speaker does not mean that they did not exist during the time the dream lasted but thinks that, as compared to the objects in the waking state, they are unreal. As Edmond Holmes says in his "Experience of Reality", reality is only of degrees. In fact, in speaking of ultimate reality, we recognize gradations in reality. We speak of a higher and a lower self, a deeper and

a shallower, a wider and a narrower. It is in the self that we have expression of the different degrees of reality and the quest of ultimate reality must be carried on in the self. The conception of gradation in reality is obviously anti-dualistic.

Similarly, notions of time are peculiar to each state and one has no right to expect that what holds good in the wakeful state must also apply to the dreaming state. While dreaming, a man may feel that years have passed over him, while to one awake and beside the dreamer only a few minutes may have elapsed. Also a dreamer may be conscious of having gone to a distant country reached ordinarily by some months' journey and being engaged in some work there. But on waking from his dream, he finds himself in the place where he slept and not in the country he is supposed to have gone to in his dream. The persons that the dreamer met in his dream would not confirm his statement of his having seen them and conversed with them. While dreaming, the person would feel no surprise whatever at finding himself so far from his own home and in so short a time. Everything appears real to him and he behaves quite as he would have done, if he had been in the wakeful state. It is only after waking that he feels how impossible it was for him to have gone to distant countries and experienced so many things which now appear strange to him. The space and time orders of waking and dream are quite different and have no spatial or temporal connection with each other. So, after waking from dream, the man decides that the dream experiences are unreal, in contrast to his present waking experience. Many experiences of the dream appear to be absurd, grotesque, wild and disorderly when considered in the waking state. But when dreams do occur, they appear to be quite real and their incongruity is not felt at all. They are just appearances presented to consciousness by the active mind and they are accepted at their face value.

A dream is not recognized as such while it lasts and so we cannot study dream phenomena with the same care which

we can bestow on waking phenomena. We cannot predict the kind of dreams we are to have. It is commonly said that dreams are the expression of repressed desires. This is not invariably true. The plots and incidents in a dream have no relation whatever to waking experiences, feelings or desires. Dreams cannot be explained on any single theory or theories. It is the causal instinct that forces us in the waking state to find a possible cause of dreams. Various stimuli may come from the activities of stomach, liver, intestines, heart, lungs, brain and parts of the nervous system, emotions, incipient volitions and suggestions from others. Some one or more of these are taken for granted as causing dreams.

Day-dreams, which many people indulge in, are in the same position as actual dreams. Though awake, the mind is elsewhere engaged in its own activities and apparently oblivious to the immediate environment of which other people are conscious. It is only if particular attention is drawn to the present, that the person awakes from his day-dream and notices what others are conscious of. If the day-dream had been of a pleasant nature and unlike the actual present, the awakened person will have no reason to be grateful to the one that disturbed his dream.

The appearances presented to consciousness in the dream are capable of producing the feelings of pleasure and pain, anger and fear and so on. All the senses are in full operation in a dream and so also the organs of action. In dream the blind may see, the deaf may hear, the dumb may speak and the cripple may run.

From all that has been said above, one fact stands out clear and that is what is seen in dreams and day-dreams consist of appearances presented to consciousness. They are taken as real for the time being but, when they disappear, they are looked upon as unreal.

The Vēdāntin wants the same reason to be applied to what is experienced in the waking state. The phenomenal world is nothing but a series of appearances presented to the consciousness. If those of the dream are held to be unreal,

there is every reason to hold that the appearances of the waking state are also unreal. In all cases, the activity of the mind is responsible for these appearances. In many people, the mind is extraordinarily sensitive and active and the objects presented to consciousness are numerous and variegated and they are accepted as matters of fact. There are others in whom the mind is not so active and what they notice is much less than what others, more sensitive, do. There are also people whose minds are markedly torpid and almost inactive and to these the phenomenal world is far more restricted than in the case of others.

Effects of drugs such as alcohol, ganja, etc., are seen in people addicted to their use. These drugs, in the preliminary stages of their action, so stimulate the mind that what is perceived under their influence is far more pleasure-giving and stimulating than in the case of ordinary persons. With increasing doses, the mind ceases to be stimulated but becomes more or less torpid and inactive. The world to such people shrinks and is quite different from what it is to others.

Thus reason leads us to look at things in their proper perspective and to conclude that the waking state experiences have no more claim to reality than those of a dream.

Among the Western thinkers, F. C. S. Schiller is one of the few who attach as much importance to dream as to waking experience. He considers that the dream phenomena are as real as those of the waking state. Bertrand Russell also says "The creative as opposed to the critical mechanism is the same in waking life as it is in dreams" and "if modern physics is to be believed, the dreams which we call waking perceptions have only a very little more resemblance to objective reality than the fantastic dream of sleep." And again "It is not logically impossible that my life may be one long dream, in which I merely imagine all the objects I believe to be external to me." At any rate, no thinking person can deny that a dream is known as such, only when one is awake. Intrinsically, there is nothing to distinguish dream from waking. Each is real within its own limits.

When the mind is altogether inactive as in deep sleep, there is no world at all. Nothing of the nature of a variegated universe is presented to consciousness and there is no perceiver, no percept, no perception, no pleasure, no pain and, in fact, nothing to remind one of a world. The world disappears as if it had never been, showing that it is the activity of the mind that is at the root of it.

One may ask if in deep sleep there is identity with Brahman, how can individuality come back on waking? If a drop of water is put into a large body of water, one can never be sure of getting the same drop back again. This analogy is not consistent with facts. There is nothing to distinguish one drop of water from the rest of the water, but in the case of Jivas, karma and knowledge differentiate one Jiva from another. The continuity of consciousness of external objects proves that the same Jiva wakes as went to sleep. The upadhi-complex of one Jiva is sufficient to differentiate him from all others. In death also, the individuality of the Jivas is kept up by karma, knowledge and the upadhi-complex forming the subtle body. These are carried on to a new birth, where the balance of karma remaining from the previous existence will be worked out. It is only in the case of those who have realized Brahman that no new birth is possible. But, the actually fructifying karma in any particular existence must run its course in spite of the knowledge gained.

The objects of the waking state are like a mirage having no existence either in the beginning or in the end. A mirage comes into view only in particular conditions. It does not exist either in the morning or in the evening. It is only when the sun is hottest on dry sandy desert that the phenomenon appears. A thing that does not exist in the beginning or in the end, does not also exist in the interval.

We do not know that the objects appearing in the waking state have an existence prior to their appearance and we do not know how they end in sleep, when they disappear. Being present only in a stated interval, they have no claim to reality. But the ignorant people regard them as real,

It may be objected that the objects of the waking state cannot be unreal, as they serve particular purposes. For instance, food and drink are useful in assuaging hunger and thirst but the food and drink appearing in a dream do not serve such a purpose. The objection has no force as the facts noted are not true. The food and drink seen in a dream do serve their purposes in the state of dream. One in the waking state may partake of food and drink to his heart's content and so feel no hunger or thirst. But if he happen to sleep, he may dream that he has been hungry and thirsty for a long time, the food and drink of the waking state having been of no use to him in his dream. The converse also holds good. A man may dream of having fully satisfied his hunger and thirst, by eating and drinking in the dreaming state but immediately on waking may feel hungry and thirsty, the food and drink of dream having been of no use to him. It is not right to expect that the same objects will be of use in both the states. The objects of one state will be of use only in that state and not out of it. So if the food and drink of the dream are unreal, those of the waking state are quite as unreal. Moreover, objects in both states have a beginning and when the state is over, have an end and therefore both are unreal.

It may be asked : who creates the objects ? who cognizes them ? and who forms the basis for memory and knowledge ? The final opinion of Vēdānta is that Ātman of the nature of consciousness by his own Māya creates all objects out of himself and cognizes them himself. No one different from Ātman is the basis of memory and knowledge. Ātman first determines, in his own mind, what to create and then finally creates objects as external to himself. Internally, in his mind, he creates desires. Though internal mental impressions or vāsanās remain in the mind unmanifested and though external objects are manifested and visible, to the sensory organs such as the eye, their differences depend upon the instruments of cognition, the mind in the one case and the sensory organs in the other, and not upon anything real in their nature : for

they appear to be similar so far as their reality is concerned in dream as well.

Jīva corresponds to the soul of the Western philosophical systems which make hardly any distinction between soul, consciousness, mind, ego and spirit. Any of these terms is used indiscriminately when Jīva is referred to. No attempt has been made to establish the soul as distinct from the physical body. Some assume that God creates the souls, conferring immortality on them at the time of their origin. Others assert that souls have no origin at all, but remain immortal. In contrast to such assertions, the Upanishads hold that the soul or Jīva is nothing more than the Consciousness limited by the physical body, senses and intellect, in the waking state. It is the actor and the enjoyer as long as that waking state lasts. But in sleep, it relapses into the consciousness free from the ego and the non-ego. Therefore, the soul or Jīva is not a created thing and like consciousness is immortal. Waking, dream and sleep are separate manifestations of the one reality, consciousness. When consciousness manifests itself as ego and non-ego, both ego and non-ego appear as real, because the one reality consciousness underlies both. Whatever is cognized is, for the moment, real. Opinion may change later on when any illusion is detected. But the reality of an object as an appearance is confined to that state alone, either waking or dream, in which it is perceived. For instance, the snake is real till it is discovered to be a rope. Whether a thing is real or unreal depends upon how we interpret it. The innumerable dream experiences are all real for the time being and when they disappear leave no traces of them behind.

Plurality is repugnant to Vēdānta as consciousness is non-dual. Empirical experience shows a plurality of egos and non-egos, but this empirical reality is not of the same grade of reality as consciousness. For all practical purposes, it is real.

The conviction of our own reality is founded on intuitive experience. We cannot deny our own existence nor conceive

of our non-existence. We have a certainty of experience of the three states and hence feel our reality intuitively. It is impossible for anybody to convince us of our unreality.

Jīva or the individual soul is the first product of thought of Ātman. The very nature of Jīva consists of the relation of cause and effect, as shown by his statements "I do this" and "I am subject to happiness and misery". Though the Ātman is pure and free from all relations, he superimposes on himself the idea of Jīva, like the superimposition of the snake on the rope. The Jīva, who is himself the product of superimposition, becomes the basis for all subsequent superimpositions. His knowledge is derived from his varied experience and his memory corresponds with his knowledge. From this he comes to have a knowledge that a particular thing is the cause giving rise to a particular result, the effect. He differentiates between action, instruments of action and results of action and creates external and internal objects such as Prāṇa or life-force and the like. From a memory of these, new experiences arise. Thus, he creates numerous kinds of external and internal objects, binding them together with the relation that some are causes and others are effects.

When people, in imperfect light, superimpose a snake on a rope, they commit the initial error of not determining the nature of the rope. If the real nature of the rope had been previously established, there would have been no superimposition of anything of the nature of a snake. Similarly, a man does not determine beforehand that his Ātman is of the nature of pure, non-dual consciousness in contradistinction to the medley of worldly experience bound by the relation of cause and effect and, in consequence, superimposes on Ātman, a Jīva, life-forces and a variety of other objects.

This superimposition is the Māya of Ātman and by it he believes himself to be deceived. Māya is wrong knowledge or belief that a non-existent thing exists. Just as one builds castles in the air, Ātman by his Māya makes the phenomenal world appear and is deceived by it himself, that is to say, he looks as if he were deceived. When one comes to believe

that any particular thing is Tattva or reality, he superimposes on himself something which has no real existence. When one comes to think of a thing as belonging to himself, he imparts a relation which does not exist.

Though Ātman is the inseparable basis for the superimposition of Prāna and other objects, ignorant people convince themselves that Ātman is something separate from the objects, just as the snake is believed to be separate from the rope. To enlightened people, however, Prāna and other things do not exist apart from Ātman, just as a snake does not exist apart from a rope. He who knows conclusively that apart from Ātman, there can be no superimposed objects and that Ātman alone remains without any superimpositions, that man is devoid of all doubts. He may and can determine that such and such is the meaning of a particular portion of the Vēdās and that such is the meaning of another portion. He who has no right knowledge of Ātman cannot understand the truth of the Vēdās properly.

When once it is established that duality is unreal or false and that there is only one real non-dual Ātman, then it also becomes clear that all worldly and Vedic experience is referable to wrong knowledge or Avidya. In that case, dissolution, creation, a person bound by Samsāra, or working for release, or a person released from bonds of Samsāra, all these cannot be true. In the absence of creation and dissolution, the real truth is that there can be no one bound, etc., as creation and dissolution can be predicated of a thing that exists and not of a thing that does not exist. The horn of a hare, which does not exist, can neither be created nor destroyed. To speak of non-duality being subject to creation or dissolution is also a contradiction in terms.

Though the world is a manifestation of the one reality consciousness, we start with the error of conceiving plurality and distinctions as real, independent of the basic reality consciousness. In addition to opposing self to non-self, we transpose the characteristics of one to the other. The subject is regarded as one among the objects and as an

accidental occurrence in an external objective world and conversely the world is considered permanent and real, while the subject is looked upon as a negligible element in it appearing and disappearing in time. The soul or Jīva is identified with the body and is supposed to be born, to grow and die. Unceasing existence and persistence are ascribed to the world which is presumed to continue during sleep. It is we that conceive of the ideas of life and of reality and still we are content to look upon the world as the source of both.

Vēdānta describes all this as mistaken transference of the characteristics of subject to object and of object to subject. This belief men try to account for by the theory of Māya or Avidya or nescience.

Though it is a fact that in sleep we become one with consciousness, we have no *knowledge* of that fact. To acquire it, we must engage in enquiry during the waking state with the aid of the subtlest powers of reflection. We come into touch with the world only in the waking state and in our notion of the world, sleep and dream are excluded and have no meaning. It is the self that experiences the three states and the world is an appendage to one of them, that is, waking. For purposes of enquiry, one must turn upon one's own self and the three states which he experiences.

The world is but a mental superimposition like the superimposition of a snake on a rope. The mentally superimposed form of a snake and other things are not created in the rope, nor destroyed there. The rope-snake is not born in the mind nor destroyed there. It is not right to say that it is born in both rope and mind and destroyed in both. Therefore as duality is mere mental superimposition, it has no birth or death. In the controlled state of the mind and in deep sleep, duality is not seen at all. Duality, being a mere mental superimposition, has no real existence and hence the real truth is that creation and dissolution cannot be referred to it.

To some it might appear that the illustration of the rope-snake is not appropriate for the rope, on which the

snake is superimposed, is also an object of superimposition. There is, however, nothing wrong with the illustration, for before the knowledge of the non-existence of the snake, the rope was not the subject of any superimposition. In cases of superimposition, we speak of *this* rope, *this* snake, etc., while the rope, the snake, etc., have special different features. What we imply by "*this*" always remains unchanged; and "*this*" is the real basis of all superimposition. Moreover, all disputants admit *the priority of existence* of the superimposer and that without him, there can be no superimposition at all. So the basis for all superimposition is this Ātman. Even when the superimposition is shown to be unreal, there remains the Ātman who is non-dual and requires no proof of his existence. Everybody knows intuitively that he exists. Even to deny one's existence, one must predicate a conscious Ātman already existing.

All such ideas "I am happy", "I am miserable", "I am the enjoyer", "This is mine", etc., are all superimposed on Ātman, while Ātman itself remains unchanged as their substratum and is never absent in any of these conditions. The intention of the scriptures is to remove the superimposition on Ātman, such as "I am happy", etc., and not to assert that Ātman is of the nature of unhappiness. If unhappiness is the real quality of Ātman, it should be in Ātman always. If Ātman is by nature unhappiness, one cannot superimpose on Ātman the idea such as "I am unhappy".

All qualities are really superimpositions on Ātman, who is devoid of all qualities. Superimpositions are inauspicious for like the snake-rope, they create fear and other feelings. In the non-dual state, there can be no fear and therefore it is auspicious.

When the phenomenal and samsāric world is looked at from the point of view of the real and non-dual Ātman, it does not exist in the form of a variety of objects different from one another. When the rope is examined in proper light, there is no snake different from it. In ordinary

Vyavahāra, we believe that there is a variety with differences. But as all superimpositions are on Ātman, they are not different one from the others nor are they independent of Ātman.

Knowers of Brahman thus realize Ātman as the only reality. They are free from all evils such as attachment, fear, anger, etc., are acquainted with the conclusions of Vēdānta and are ever engaged in study and contemplation. Such alone are able to realize Ātman who is devoid of all superimposed objects and who is non-dual on account of the absence of the world in which are extended a vast variety of objects.

After understanding what non-duality is realizing "I am Parabrahman", transcending all wants such as hunger, etc., and knowing that the directly experienced unborn Ātman is beyond all worldly concerns, one may take part in worldly affairs like any ordinary person. He does not proclaim himself to be a knower of Ātman and does not feel himself to be superior to others. He behaves in such a way that he does not see any being second to himself. This is the true test of his having realized Brahman.

This is quite different from what is spoken of as mysticism. By various ascetic practices, self-mastery is sought to be attained. Some ascetics go so far as to mortify the flesh, kill the desires and annihilate self-hood. This argues a desire to show off, to gain reputation for sanctity, supernormal power and control over occult forces of nature. Similarly, self-pauperization may go too far, may be mere ostentation or desire to shirk ordinary duties. This may also cause a narrowing of one's sympathies and interests. What is required is the inward detachment from material possessions. It is possible to be in the world though not of it. Humility also should not be allowed to take the form of self-abasement.

Though the unreality of the world has been established by scriptural authority and appeal to reason, people of limited intellect find it impossible to reconcile themselves to the existence of a non-dual Brahman out of all relation to themselves. They see others like themselves, have dealings with

them and see persons being born and die every day. Birth and death are so common and inevitable that any doctrine which deals with them as unreal things appear to them incredible. Moreover, the average men and women have a religious consciousness and they seek for a higher personality than themselves, for worship and adoration and invest him with omniscience, omnipotence and all auspicious qualities. They adopt a conditioned Brahman as a personal God and worship him as a means of attaining Mōksha. Through wrong knowledge or Avidya, they are incapable of realizing the unborn Ātman present both without and within, think their own selves or Ātmans to be inferior beings, think that they are born and are existing in the manifested Brahman and that, through a course of worship and devotion, they would in the end attain Brahman.

This attitude of the generality of people is not to be wondered at, when we find that eminent scientists such as Bertrand Russell are troubled with the same doubts and are not sure of what to think but zealously seek for something "eternal". According to Russell, man is but "the outcome of accidental collocation of atoms". In his essay on "A Free-man's Worship," he says, "To abandon the struggle for private happiness, to expel all eagerness of temporary desire, to burn with passion for eternal things: this is emancipation and this is the free-man's worship." Russell does not say anything about consciousness. Is this also "the outcome of accidental collocation of atoms"? He speaks of "the passion of eternal things". How does he deduce the existence of anything "eternal" and why does man "burn with passion" for this 'eternal' and with what end in view? And, after all, what kind of 'emancipation' can this be? He speaks of the liberation being effected by "a contemplation of fate". But, liberation from what? Is he conscious of any bondage from which he wishes to be liberated? How can "contemplation of fate" be of any use in bringing about this much-desired emancipation? He also advocates the abandonment of "the struggle for private happiness". Happiness as such can

only be private and individual. There is no such thing as public happiness. Even if every one in this world is happy, each individual can be aware of this only in his own mind and this happiness, derived from contemplation, must be only private. All this vague and unsatisfied desire for "emancipation" from "private happiness" and "temporary desire", only shows that every thoughtful and thinking man wants to get beyond the region of happiness and desire, but does not know how. Russell does not speak of any personal God and communion with him after death. He thus shows a logical mind which refuses to be satisfied with a mere assumption. He places the waking world on the same plane of reality as the world of dream and recognizes that the phenomena in both states are changing but fails to see that the consciousness which notes them remains the same. If he had also pondered over the experience of deep sleep, along with that of waking and dream, he could not have failed to predicate the eternal existence of consciousness. Instead of the vague hankering after something 'eternal', he would have lighted upon the eternal consciousness as the basis and foundation of the waking and dream worlds and he would have seen the impermanence of 'temporary desire' and 'private happiness'. Russell's apparent difficulty is the unaccounted for existence of individual souls and the appearance of this plural, diversified universe. Contemplation of his experience of the three states of waking, dream and deep sleep, would have proved to him the non-existence of diversity in deep sleep and therefore its impermanence. What appears only in two states cannot claim any reality or permanence. But, unfortunately for Russell, he is so imbued with the Western scientific spirit that he is afraid of letting go what he deems the only reality to be found in the experience of the waking state.

Moreover, the Western thinkers are labouring under the disadvantage of believing that whatever ought to happen must happen in this one and single earthly life and that, succeeding this, there is either heaven for the few or hell for the many. But we of the East cannot be prevented from

hoping that great thinkers like Bertrand Russell will, in a future life on this earth, be placed in positions in which this way of thinking will come easily to them, when the renunciation or liberation for which they are vaguely hoping now will accrue to them on their realizing their identity with the eternally conscious and blissful Ātman.

Therefore, it is necessary to lay great stress on the non-dual Brahman known as Bhooma, realizing whom there is an end to all limitations created by Avidya.

For purposes of illustration, the supreme Ātman is compared to Ākāśa which is very subtle, without parts and all-pervading. Just as the Ākāśa enclosed by a number of jars is the same as the unenclosed Ākāśa, so the Jīvas or Kshētrajñas or knowers of Kshētra (body) are identical with the Paramātmān unlimited by the bodies. Just as Ākāśa may be said to be born in the form of Ākāśa enclosed in jars, so Paramātmān may be said to be born in the forms of Jīvātmāns limited by the bodies. There is no such thing as real birth. The five elementals Ākāśa, Vāyu, fire, water and earth, their combinations forming the sensory organs and bodies, Jīvas, etc., are superimposed on Paramātmān in the same way that a snake is superimposed on a rope. Therefore, Jīvas may be said to be born from the combination of the elementals. For the instruction of dull-witted persons, wherever the Śrutis refer to the birth of Jīvātmāns from Paramātmān, it should be understood to be in the same way that Ākāśa enclosed in jars may be said to have their birth in the unlimited Mahākāśa. When the jars are broken, the enclosed spaces become one with Mahākāśa.

Similarly, when the combination of elementals forms bodies, etc., the Jīvātmāns may be said to be born and on the dissolution of the bodies the Jīvātmāns become one with Paramātmān. Therefore, really there is no birth or death of Jīvas.

The dualists may say: if one Ātman resides in all bodies, then whatever happens to one Ātman, such as birth, death, happiness, misery, etc., must also be related to all the other

Ātmans and actions and their results must get mixed up. The Vēdāntin will reply that it is not so. Just as any dust, smoke, etc., contaminating the space enclosed in one jar, will have no effect on the spaces enclosed in the other jars, so happiness and misery of one Jīva cannot affect other Jīvas.

Just as Ākāśa is believed to be soiled with dust, smoke, clouds, etc., which are really superimposed on it by wrong knowledge or Avidya, similarly happiness, misery, etc., are superimposed on Ātman, through Avidya creating mind and other limitations. In this state of superimposition, that is in the experience of the wakeful state, there is nothing wrong in attributing bondage and liberation to Ātman. All disputants are agreed in accepting the experience of the waking state due to the activity of Avidya-created mind, but nobody holds that the true reality or Ātman is only as real as Vyavahāra. So the theory of the multiplicity of Ātmans has been uselessly formulated by the logicians such as Sāṅkhyas and Vaiśeṣikās.

If it be asked how experience, which depends on the variety of Ātmans or Jīvas, can be said to be due to the superimposition of variety on the One, non-dual Ātman, by Avidya, the Vēdāntin will reply. In this world Ākāśa is one but on account of its being enclosed in different articles such as a large jar, a small jar, houses big and small, etc., it comes to be spoken of as being big or small, according to the forms it is supposed to assume. Again, it serves different purposes and looks different in our experience, according as its action is "fetching water", "storing water", "living purposes", etc. Our varying experiences due to the variety of forms, etc., in Ākāśa, are not really to be found in Ākāśa. From the true point of view, there is no variety in Ākāśa at all. Our experience, depending on the seeming variety in Ākāśa, is simply due to the limitations superimposed on it in the form of jars, houses, etc.

Similarly, the Jīvas, differentiated from one another by the limitations of their bodies, are in the same position as the Ākāśa enclosed in jars, houses, etc. Therefore, wise

people have considered all this deeply and have come to the conclusion that Ātman is all one without any differentiation.

The jar-enclosed spaces are not modifications of Mahākāśa nor are they parts of it. Similarly, the Jīva is never and nowhere a modification of or a part of Paramātmān. Therefore, the experiences depending on the appearances of variety of Jīvas is unreal.

Just as the experiences of form, action, etc., are dependent on the knowledge of the differentiations of jar-enclosed Ākāśa, so our experience of birth, death, etc., are based on our knowledge of the differences in the embodied Jīvas. So also is the appearance of misery, action and its results in Ātman due to the differences in the embodiments and has no reality. Those who cannot discriminate Ātman from his concomitant embodiment see him as subject to evils such as misery, action and its results. Men of discrimination do not see Ātman associated with misery, etc. Thirsty living creatures superimpose on a desert, water, foam and waves, while in reality there is no water. So all the evils, superimposed by ignorant people, do not really exist in him.

The bodies take their origin in the Māya of Ātman, that is to say, are superimposed on Ātman and have no reality. They are exactly like the bodies of persons seen in a dream.

(To be continued.)

APHÆRESIS AND SOUND-DISPLACEMENT IN DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, ESQ., M.A., B.L.

THE gradual and "unintentional" loss of a short unaccented vowel or syllable at the beginning of a word is described as Aphæresis in phonology. In English, for instance, we know that this change underlies the development of words like *squire* from *esquire*, *down* from *adown*, *limbeck* from *alimbeck*, *'tention* from *attention*, colloquial *ñkiu* or *kiu* from *thank you*. A similar change has been recorded in some words of the Middle and New Indo-Aryan speeches, e.g., Prakrit *lau* from *ālābu*, Pali *dāṇim* from *idāṇim*, Pali *lankāra* from *alankāra*, Pali *numati* from *anumati*, Bengali *tisi* (linseed) from *atisi*, *bhitar* (inside) from *abhyantara*, *ḍumura* from *uḍumbara*, *chila* (was, remained) from *āchila*, etc.

The loss of an initial short vowel or of a short syllable is also a striking phenomenon underlying the development of words in certain dialects of Dravidian. This change is not found to occur in all dialects of this language-family; yet the change is neither isolated nor sporadic in the speeches in which it occurs, but it is found to be present in varying degrees of intensity. Wherever it occurs, it is characterized by such interesting peculiarities that it deserves to be treated as one of the most important among the phenomena associated with the inter-dialectal divergences of Dravidian phonology.

No systematic classification of these Dravidian instances has so far been attempted by any scholar.¹

I propose to adopt tentatively the term Aphæresis to describe this change in Dravidian. A simpler and less imposing term Aphesis has been recently popularized by Anglicists with a restricted application to the change so far as it is applicable to the history of certain English words; but as the phenomenon in Dravidian is far more

¹ Some Telugu instances have been collected together by K. V. Subbayya in *Dravidic Studies*, II, pages 44 and 45.

complex' and varied than in English, I think it would be desirable to retain the older word for the Dravidian phenomenon. It would be necessary, however, to remember that the peculiarities and variations characteristic of this phenomenon in Dravidian are such as might necessitate the use of a special terminological unit for the Dravidian change; but since the term Aphæresis has familiarity in its favour, we might retain it provisionally for describing the Dravidian phenomenon.

II.

Four main types of Aphæresis can be distinguished in Dravidian; and in the case of each of the first two types, it is possible to mark off two sub-types also.

[A]

A₁. The loss of an initial short vowel of a word, immediately preceding the medial consonants *l*, *r*, (*j*), (and rarely *ḍ*), as a result of which these consonants become the initial members of the new words and the vowels which originally followed them in the second syllable now become the members of the first syllables, *unaltered in character*, though lengthened in some instances.

A₂. Same change as the above, with one difference, *viz.*, that the vowel of the original second syllable is adapted or assimilated (in character) to the vowel undergoing Aphæresis.

[B]

B₁. The disappearance of a short vowel of the initial syllables of words with consonant-*Anlaut*,¹ immediately preceding *r* and *l* in Kûi and *r* only in Telugu, as a result of which the original initial consonants combine with *r* or *l* (as the case may be) to form consonant groups initially in the new words; the vowels of the original second syllables now become parts of the first syllables, with their original *character* unaltered and with or without lengthening.

¹ The consonants so appearing are usually the plosives and the labials *v* and *m*-. In Kûi, a few words with *s*-*anlaut* look like aphæresized forms; but I cannot say how far they are Dravidian.

B₂. Same change as the above, except for the fact that the character of the vowels of the original second syllables becomes assimilated or adapted to that of the aphæresized vowels.

[C]

The loss of the short vowel of the initial syllable of certain Tamil-Mal. words in colloquial enunciation. These words show in the literary dialect as well as in the colloquial a long -á- in the second syllables.

[D]

The disappearance of initial short vowels in the colloquial enunciation of certain words and expressions carrying with them a high degree of "affectivity".

It has to be noted that the operation of A is always subject to the condition that the vowel (which disappears) is immediately followed by one of the following consonants :—

l, r, d for Kûi ;

l, r, and rarely a few others for Telugu ;

l, r, j, d, for Tuḷu and *l* and *r* in Gõṇḍi.

Similarly, in B the vowel undergoing Aphæresis should be followed by *l* or *r* for Kûi, *r* alone for Telugu.

These facts, as we shall see later on, are important in connection with our inquiry into the factors contributing to the origin of Aphæresis in the dialects concerned.

III.

Distribution.

A		B	
Kûi	[before <i>l, r, j, d</i>]	Kûi	[before <i>r</i> and <i>l</i>]
Telugu	[before <i>l, r, d</i>]	Telugu	[before <i>r</i> only]
Tuḷu	[before <i>l, r, d < d</i>]		
Gõṇḍi	[before <i>l</i> and <i>r</i>]		
C		D	
Tamil		Tamil	
Mal.		Mal.	

It will be seen that Aphæresis has been very active in Kûi and Telugu, in a lesser degree in Tuḷu and least in Gôṇḍi, but we may note here that even in Kûi and Telugu the change has not been absolutely uniform, inasmuch as

- (i) every word satisfying the conditions mentioned above for the operation of the change has not undergone the change; and
- (ii) there are words (either chronologically different or of sub-dialectal occurrence) in Telugu and Tulu which show side by side the aphæresized and the non-aphæresized forms.

We have therefore to classify the conditions of occurrence of Aphæresis in each dialect with special reference to these divergences.

Before doing so, I shall give below the instances themselves from the different dialects.

IV.

Illustrations.

Kai.¹

- A₁. (1) Before *r* :
râ-g-a (to be worn away). —cf. Tel. *râyû* (to be rubbed) beside *orayû*, Tam.
râ-k-a (to cause to rub together; to wear by friction) } *oray-*, Mal. *oray-*, *oras-*,
rê-s-a (to rub, chafe) } Kann. *ore-*, *ores*, Tuḷu *ore-*,
ri-vā (to burn, as of fire)—cf. Tam. *eri-*, Tel. *eri-*, Kann. *uri-*, Tuḷu *eri-*, *uri-*, Gōṇḍi *eri-t-* (to ache), Kur. *ôr-*, *ûr-* (to be heated or burning), *ôl-* (to burn).

¹ The verb-formatives and verb-extensions of Kāi are of *two* types: (i) older ones retained in all conjugations and (ii) new semi-formatives appearing only in some conjugational forms. [Vide Winfield's *Gr.*, pages 857 and 858.] The final -a of Kāi verbs is an enunciative. Verbs with semi-formatives are classified by Winfield as weak verbs with the endings -pa, -va, -ba; the others containing the older affixes and verb-extensions (hyphenated in this essay from the enunciative, as in *vē-s-a*) are called strong verbs by Winfield. The cognates given in this essay would show the relationship of the Kāi affixes to the older Dravidian ones.

(2) Before *l* :

lai (inside, within)—*cf.* Tam. *ul*, Kann. *ol*, Tel. *lô*, Gôṇḍi *lôn*, *rôn* (house), Kur. *ulâ* (inner room), (?) Br. *urâ* (house).

*lâa*¹ (young woman) } —*cf.* Tel. *ela*, *lê*⁻¹ (young, tender),
lâ-v-êñju (a youth) } Tuḷu *lattu*, *lambu*, Tam. *il-a-*, Mal.
eḷ-a-, Kann. *eḷ-e-*, Tuḷu *elli*, *elya*.

le-ṅg-a, *ḍe-ṅg-a*, Kûvi *lai-* (to break, burst)—*cf.* Tam. *oḍ-ai*. [The interchange of *l* and *ḍ* is a sub-dialectal occurrence in Kûi.]

(3) Before Kûi *j* :

[Kûi *-j-* in medial positions sometimes corresponds to *-r-*, *-ṛ-* of the southern speeches, as in Kûi *âj-* (to cool down) beside *âr-* of the south, Phulbani Kûi *mija* (to transgress) beside Tam. *mîru*, *paja* (to hew, cut) beside *paṛi*, *pari* of the south, *vejgu* (firewood) beside *viṛagu*, *veṛagu* (wood, fire-wood) of Tam. and Mal. *Cf.* in this connection the correspondence of Tuḷu medial *-j-* to *-ṛ-* of the other southern speeches as in *âj-* (to dry up), *âji* (six), *tajap* (to cut to pieces), *ûj-* (to ooze), *majw* (freckle, pimple) beside Tamil *âr-*, *ârû*, *taṛai-*, *ûṛ-* and Mal. *maṛu* respectively.]

jâ-ḥa (to descend)—*cf.* Tuḷu *japp-* beside *erag-*, Tam. *iṛang-*, *eṛang-*, Tel. *eragu*, Kann. *erag-* (to come down, bow down, etc.).

jâ-ḥa (to beg, beseech)—*cf.* Tam. *era-kk-* (to crave, beg), Kann. *ere-*, Tel. *eruvu* (loan), *eragu* (to prostrate, salute).

A₂. (1) Before *r* :

rî (two)—*cf.* Tam. *ir-*, *iraṇḍu*, *raṇḍu*, Kann. *ir-*, *eraḍu*, Tuḷu *raḍḍu*, Gôṇḍi *raṇḍ*, *irur* (couple), Kur. *êṛ*, *irb*, Br. *irâ*, *iraṭ* (two).

rî-nd-a (to be stable) } —*cf.* Tam. *ir-u-tt*, Kur. *il-d-* (to
rî-s-a (to steady, cause } be erect), *ij-* (to be in an upright
to stand firm) } position).

¹ It may be noted that, as in this case, a Kûi instance belonging to A₁ may have an aphæresized cognate in Telugu belonging to A₂.

ro (one)—*cf.* south Dr. *or-* [and its developments *ondru*, *oñji*, *ondu*], Gōṇḍi *or-*, Kur. *orot*, *ort-* (one), Br. *asit* (one).

rūm-a (to roar)—*cf.* south Dr. *urum*, *urum*.

(2) Before Kūi ṛ¹ [which in the following instances corresponds to -ḷ- of Tam., Kann., Mal. and to other sounds in the other dialects] :—

ṛū-va (to plough)—*cf.* Tam., Kann., Mal. *uḷ-*, Tuḷu *ura* (ploughing), Kur. *uy-* ('to plough' as in *uynā zossna* 'to plough and dig').

ṛi-va (to weep, cry)—*cf.* Tam. *aḷ-*, Kann., Mal. *aḷ-*, Tuḷu *ar-*, Tel. *éḍ-u-tsu*, Kur. *olox-*, Br. (*h*)ogh.

(3) Before *l* :

lōṅgi (white, fair, shining)—*cf.* Tam., Mal. *viḷaṅg-*, coll. *voḷaṅg-* (to shine), Kann. *beḷaṅg-*, Tuḷu *boḷaṅg-*.

(4) Before *ḷ* :

ḍē-ñj-a (to be raised) } —*cf.* Tam., Mal.
ḍeh-k-a (to carry on the shoulders) } *ēḍ-u-kk*, Kodagu *ēḍ-*.
ḍēpa (raised ground)—*cf.* Tam., Mal. *ēḍ-u-ppu* (raising, raised house, construction, etc.), Kur. *eṛpa* (house, hut, building).

ḍi-g-a (to touch)—*cf.* Gōṇḍi *iḷ-* (to touch), south Dr. *iḍ-* (to place, etc.).

ḍāñju (moon), beside *lāñju*, Kūvi *lēñju*—*cf.* Tam. *nilā*, Mal. *lā*, Karkaḍi *ñālāy*, Gōṇḍi *nalāñj* (full moon), Tel. *nela* (moon).

ḍāka (distended, replete)—*cf.* Tam. *aḍ-a-kk-* (to fill), Kann. *aḍ-a-kk-* (to pile up), Tuḷu *aḍ-a-pa* (bundle), Tel. *aḍ-a-k-amu* (what is contained).

Telugu.

A₁. (1) Before *r*, *ṛ* :

rāyu (to be rubbed) } —see under Kūi *rāk* above.
rāyi (stone)

¹ Tamil-Mal. sound *ḷ* corresponds to different sounds in other dialects: these are indicated below; the conditions, so far as they are capable of being classified, will be found in my paper on Tam. *ḷ*.

Tam.	Kann.	Tel.	Tuḷu	Kāi.
ḷ	ḷ, ḷ, r	ḍ, r	r, ḷ	r, r.

(2) Before *ḍ*:

ḍā beside *eḍama* (left)—*cf.* Tam., Mal. *eḍa-m* (left), Kann.,
Tuḷu *eḍa*.

A₂. (1) Before Tel. *l*¹:

lē-tsu (to get up)—*cf.* Tam. *eḷ-*, Kann., Mal. *eḷ-*, Tuḷu
la-kk-, Kūvi *rē-* (to ascend), Baḍaga *yḷe-*.

lē- (not, no), the base of negatives like *lēka*, *lēdu*—*cf.* Tam.
il-adu (not-it), Kann., Mal. *illa*, Kūvi (*h*)*ille*,
Goṇḍi (*h*)*ille*, (*h*)*uille*, negation-word.

lō (within, inside) used generally } —*cf.* Tam. *uḷ*, and
as the locative post-position } other cognates mention-
lōnu (inside, heart, mind) } ed under Kūi *lai* above.

lē (young, tender)—see under Kūi *la'a* above.

lēḍi (antelope)—*cf.* Tam. *iladi*, Tuḷu *eraḷæ*.

(3) Before Telugu *ḍ* [which corresponds in a number of
instances medially to *ḷ* of Tamil, Kann. and Mal.] :—

ḍebbadi ('seven-ten,' 'seventy')—*cf.* Mal. *eḷu-padu*, Tam.
eṇ-badu, Tel. *ēḍu* (seven), Tuḷu *ēḷu*.

ḍigu, *ḍigu* (to alight, get down) } —*cf.* Tam., Kann.,
ḍintsu, *ḍintsu* (to let down, leave) } Mal. *iḷi* to comedown,
ḍinku (to die) } etc.), Tuḷu *iḷi*, *ili*.

ḍāgu (to lie hidden), beside } —*cf.* Tam., Mal. *aḍ-*
aḍagu (to be depressed, concealed) } *aṅg-* (to be contained,
etc.), Kann. *aḍag-*, Tuḷu *aḍe-* (to be concealed),
deṅ (to be hidden).

(4) Before *r*:

rā- in the infinitive, imperative } —*cf.* Tam., Mal. *var-*,
and causative of *vatsu* (to } Kann. *bar*, Kūi,
come) } Kuṛ. *bar-*, Br. *bar-*.

(5) Before *v* and *ḍ* in the following only :—

The demonstrative pronouns *vāḍu*, *viḍu* (he), *vāru*, *vāru*
(they) and their oblique forms, the oblique forms of *adi*, *idi*

¹ *lamp-aṣa* (weariness) } —*cf.* Tam., Mal. *al-a-y-* (to roam about, be
[Kittel explains this word in } weary), Tuḷu, Kann. *ale-*, *alas* (to become
Kannaḍa as being formed of } weary), Tel. *alay-* (to feel weary), Tam.
Kannaḍa *alapu* (weariness) } *alanṅ-*.
and the ending *-aṣe* appear-
ing in *ubbāṣe*, *ārbaṣe*, etc.]

(she, it), *avi*, *ivi* (they) and the oblique forms of the interrogative pronouns *édi* and *évi*.

• It is probable that the accent-displacement which led to Aphæresis in these instances was due to the combined influence of psychological factors and of analogy.

(6) Before *k* or *g* in the following only:—

kâ-du (< *agadu* 'it does not become' > 'it is not so')—
cf. Tam. *âg-â-du*.

kâ-ni, negative participle of *ag*¹ (to become).

ka-ŋdi, negative imperative of *ag* (to become).

kâ-v-intsu, causative of the negative of *ag*.

gôru (finger-nail, talon)—cf. Tam. *ugir*, Kann. *ugur*, Tuḷu *ugur*.

Tuḷu.

A₁. Before *l*:

lambu, *lattu* (young, tender)—see Kûi *laa* above.

lakk- (to get up)—cf. *erk-* (to rise—see Tel. *lê-tsu* above).

lumb- (to wash) beside sub- } —cf. Tam., Mal. *alamb-*.
dialectal *alumb-* (to wash) } Tel. *alam-*, Kann. *alamb-*,
alub-.

lepp- (to call) beside sub- } —cf. Tam., Mal. *viḷi*, Tel.
dialectal *voḷepp-*, *volepp-*, } *piḷi-p-*, Tōda *pirṣ-*; *birṣ-*.
olepp-

laḷḷ- (to measure) besidesub- } —cf. Tam., Mal. *aḷa-*, Kann.
dialectal *aḷaḷḷ-*, *alapp-* } *aḷa-*.

(2) Before *j* [< *r*, *r*, *y*]:

jaḷḷ- (to descend)—see Kûi *jaḷḷ* above.

jaḷḷ- (to select) beside sub- } —cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. *ây-*.
dialectal *ajapp-*, *ây-* }

¹ Cf. also the adverbial particle *-gâ* (*-kâ*) of Tel., as in *taṇḍrigâ* (like father). It is to be observed that Aphæresis has affected those conjugational forms of *ag-*, which have been associated with a high degree of "affectivity"—cf. *lê-* in *lêdu*, *lêka*, etc.

A few verb-forms of Tel. *anu* (to say) also show the change:—

<i>nâ-ka</i>	beside	<i>ana-ka</i>
<i>nâkumu</i>	"	<i>anakumu</i>
<i>nâni</i>	"	<i>anani</i>
<i>nâmi</i>	"	<i>anami</i>

In *anunni* (say thou!) and *anunḍu* (say ye!) the change does not occur.

(3) Before *d*:

daræ (fence, boundary wall) } —cf. Tam., Mal. *aduru*
 beside *aduru* (sub-dialectal) } (boundary).

dari-p- (to shiver, tremble) beside } —cf. Kann., Tel.
adur- (to tremble) } *adur-* (to shake,
 quiver), Tam. *ayar-*.

[In the following instances: Tuḷu dental *d-* stands for older *-ḍ-*; for this change, cf. Skt. *ḍambha* appearing as *dambha* in Tuḷu, IA *ḍabbi* (box) appearing as *dabbi* in Tuḷu, *ḍera* (caravan) as Tuḷu *dēra*; cf. also the same change of *ḍ* to *d* in Telugu instances like *ḍigu* (to alight) and *digu*.]

dambaḍi (agreement, reconciliation) } —cf. Tam., Mal.
dambaḍi-y- }
dambaḍi-p- } (to be reconciled, etc.) } *uḍambaḍi*, coll.
dambaḍi-s- } *oḍambaḍi*.

dā in *dāgayi* (left hand) } —cf. Tel. *ḍā*, *eḍama*,
damma (left) } Kūi *deba*, Tam.,
datta (left) as in *dattakai* (left hand) } Mal., Kann. *eḍa* (m),
dattu (left side)—beside sub-dialectal } Mal. *eḍa-ttu* (on
tal eḍa (left side) } the left side).

ḍakka (trouble, hindrance) } —cf. Kann. *aḍa* (obstruc-
 beside *aḍakka* with the } tion), Tel. *aḍḍa-g-i-ntsu* (to
 same meaning } hinder), etc.

dakk- (to cast away) beside sub-dialectal } —cf. Kann. *aḍakk-*.
aḍakk- (to cast away)

dapp- (to plough) beside sub-dialectal *aḍapp-* (to plough).

dabbu (crack) beside sub-dialectal } —cf. Tam., Mal.
aduru (crack), *aḍar-* (to crack) } *aḍar-*, *aḍal-*, Kann.
aḍal-.

deṅg- (to lie hidden) beside *aḍaṅg-* } —cf. Tel. *ḍāg*, Tam.,
 (to be compressed, concealed) } Mal. *aḍaṅg-*, Kann.
aḍag-.

dekkatti (nut-cracker)—cf. Mal. *adekka-katti* ('nut-knife'
 used by those who chew betel with areca-nut).

dekkāru (space between the legs)—cf. Tuḷu *iḍæ* (space
 between) and *kāru* (leg).

dekkāji (bracelet) beside sub-dialectal *iḍekkāji* with the same meaning. [*kāji* 'glass bracelet'—'glass' is a Marāṭhi loan in Tuḷu and Kannaḍa.]

A₂. (1) Before *r* :

reḍḍu, *raḍḍu* (two)—see under *Kūi ri* (two) above.

reṅke (wing of bird)—see under Tel. *rekka*.

(2) Before *l* :

land- (to lead a vagabondish life)—see under Tel. *lampaṭa*.

lēdu, *lēḍe* (denying)—borrowed from Tel. (?)—see Tel. *lēdu*. Apart from the instances in A₁ and A₂ mentioned above, the following Tuḷu forms also evidence an aphærestic change :—

The proximate demonstrative personal pronoun *mōḷu* (she), beside the remote form *āḷu* (she)—cf. Tam., Kann. *ivaḷ* (she) and *avaḷ* (she).

The proximate plural third person pronoun *mō-kūḷu* and *mēru* (they), beside the remote forms *ā-kūḷu* and *āru*—cf. Tam. *ivaigaḷ*, *ivar* ; *avaigaḷ*, *avar*.

[Aphæresis has affected only the *proximate* forms, the reason for the difference probably being that in the remote forms the accent on the first syllable was preserved for psychological reasons.

Cf. also Tuḷu *mūḷu* (here) with *auḷu* (there).]

Gōṇḍi.

Before *r* :

ragg-, *regg-* (to descend)—see under *Kūi jā-pa* (to descend) above.

raṇḍu, *reṇḍu* (two)—see under *Kūi ri* above.

rōn, *lōn* (house)—see under *Kūi lai* above.

Kannaḍa.

[The instances are rare. Most of them are probable Telugu loans, as they are found only in the Mysore dialects; the precise circumstances of the borrowing cannot be easily determined.]

(1) Before *r*:

râyi (stone)—Mys. Kann.—cf. Tel. *râyi*.

rêvu, *řêvu* (landing place)—Mys. Kann.—cf. Tel. *rêvu*.

rekke, *řekke* (wing)—Mys. Kann.—cf. Tel. *rekka*, *řekka*.

reṭṭa (double)—cf. Tam., Mal., Tel. *reṭṭa*.

(2) Before *l*:

lampu (beauty), beside *alambu*—cf. Tam. *aluvu* (delight).

[B]

Kûi.

[The following points have to be noted in connection with the cognates of Kûi words given below:—

Kûi *r*, *ř* correspond to *r*, *ř*, *ḍ* or *ḷ* (Tam., Kann., Mal.)
of other dialects.

„ *l* corresponds to *l* or *ḷ* of other dialects.

„ *b*- corresponds mostly to *p*- and rarely to *v*- of
other dialects.

„ *g*- corresponds sometimes to *k*-.

Among the affixes, *-s*- corresponds in some instances to *-t*- and in others to *-y*- of other dialects. The Kûi reinforcer *-p*- (cf. the reinforcer *-p*- of Tuḷu) serving the function of *-k*- or *-kk*- of Tamil and Malayalam, is a semi-formative in Kûi.

The older formatives and verb-extensions are retained in Kûi “strong” verbs, while the semi-formatives *-p*, *-b* and *-v* appear in certain conjugations of what Winfield has described as “weak” verbs.]

B₁. (1) Before *r*:

bruṅga, *pruṅga* (to be plucked out)—cf. Tam. *piḍuṅg*-,
coll. *puḍuṅg*-, Tel., Kann. *piḍi* (to seize), Kuṛ. *puḍug*-
(to pluck out).

greṅga, *grēṅja* (to moan)—cf. Tam., Mal. *karai*- (to call,
cry), Kann. *kare*- (to call).

grī-pa (to cremate)—cf. *kari*- (to be burnt to cinder),
Kann., Tel. *kari* (black), Gōṇḍi *karv*- (to burn).

kró (pungent)—cf. south Dr. *kaḍu* (excessive) as in Tam.
kaḍumbuḷi (excessively sour), Kann. *kaḍu-kamḷu*
(excessive fragrance).

kṛē-nga (to be shaken)—*cf.* Tam. *kulung-* (to be shaken), Tam., Kann., Tel., Tuḷu *kuluk-* (to shake), Gōṇḍi *karēng-* (to be shaken).

mṛī-eñju (son)—*cf.* Tam., Mal., Kann. *maṛi* (child), Gōṇḍi *marri* (son), Tel. *maraka* (young one), Br. *mār*, *malh* (son).

*priu*¹ (worm), Kūi *pli*—*cf.* Tam., Mal., Kann. *puḷu*, Tel. *pruvvu*, *purugu*, *puruvu*, Tuḷu *puri*, Gōṇḍi *puṛi*, Kuṛ. *poc-go* (insect), Br. *pū*.

B₂.² (1) Before *r*:

bree (afraid), *brā* (confused, bewildered)—*cf.* Tam., Mal. *veṛi* (intoxication, fury, perplexity), Kann. *beṛ-a-gu* (alarm, astonishment).

grā-p-a (to cross) } —*cf.* south Dr. *kaṭa-*, Kann.
grā-s-a (to pass a } *kaṭe-*, Kuṛ., Gōṇḍ *kaṛ-* (to
 thing over or through) } crawl through).
Kūvi glā- (to cross)

grā-mb-a (to learn)—*cf.* Tam. *kaṭ'k-*, Mal. *kalk-*, Kann. *kaṭi-*, Tel. *kar-a-tsu* (to teach), Gōṇḍi *kar-i-t*.

kṛāḍi, *kṛāṇḍi* (tiger, leopard)—*cf.* south Dr. *karaḍi* (bear).

kro-k-pa (to lower, reduce)—*cf.* Tam., Mal. *kuṛai-kk-*, Tel. *kurata* (reduction), Kann., Tuḷu *kure-* (to be diminished).

kriu (ear), beside *kiru*; Kūvi *kriyu* (ear)—*cf.* Tuḷu *kir-m-bilu* (ear-wax).

kṛōga (fat, tallow, suet)—*cf.* Tel. *krovvu* (fatness), Tam. *koḷiṭṭpu*, Kann. *korpu*, *korbu*, *kobbu*.

¹ If a form like Tuḷu *puri* or Gōṇḍi *puṛi* is the immediate ancestor of Kūi *priu*, then the instance belongs to B₁; but if the variant *piru* is the immediate source, then *priu* would belong to B₂. *Cf.* *kliu*, *kilu* (clay), *vliu*, *vilu* (wind), the cognates of which in southern Tamil are respectively *kaṭi* and *vaṭi*.

² Kūi *klai* (threshing floor) may be compared to Tam., Mal. *kaṭ-am* and Kann. *kaṭa* which are supposed to have been adapted from IA *khala*. Kūi *brōḍi* (banyan) can be confronted with Gōṇḍi *barōli*; Kūi *kṛūa* beside *kuṛa* (*cf.* Muṇḍari *kuṛa*) also shows Aphæresis; but these forms may be non-Dravidian in origin.

krai (young female buffalo or goat)—cf. Tam., Mal. *kaḍā* (male calf), coll. Tam. *kiḍāy*, Gōṇḍi *kurra* (bull calf).

kṛu-mb-a (to sink beneath) } —cf. Tel. *kruṅku* (to sink),
kṛu-va (to sink) beside *kuṛa* } Kann. *kugg-*, *kunk-*, *kuñc-* (to
 (to fall) } become low, be depressed).

mraṇnu (tree)—cf. Tel. *mrānu*, Tam., Mal., Kann. *mara(m)*, Kuṛ., Malto *mann*, Gōṇḍi *maṛā*.

mrā-ṅ-a (to be lost, mislaid)—cf. Tam., Mal. *marai-* (to be lost to view), Kann. *maṛe-*, Tel. *marugu*.

mrāu, *mrāo* (daughter), beside *marō*—see under *mri-eṅju* above.

mriu (scar)—cf. Mal. *maṛu* (wart), Gōṇḍi *marō* (wart, scar, pimple), Tuḷu *majw* (pimple, wart), Kann. *mare* (concealment, cover).

mru-ṅ-a (to be torn)—cf. Tam. *muṛi-* (to be broken, cut), Kann. *muri-* (to break), Tel. *muri-* (to cut to pieces), Gōṇḍi *muri-t-* (to be dislocated).

prēṇḍa (paternal uncle), beside } —cf. Gōṇḍi *pérī* (elder
péro (paternal aunt) } aunt)

prāḍi (old)—cf. Tam., Kann. *paḷa* (ripe, old), Tel. *prāta* (old), Tuḷu *para*, Kuṛ. *pannā* (to ripen, become old), Gōṇḍi *paṇḍi-* (to become ripe).

pri-pa (to roll up)—cf. Tam., Mal. *piri-* (to roll, twist), Kann. *puri* (twist), Brāhūi *pirr-* (to twist involuntarily of the body), *pinn-* (to twist), *pirgh-* (to twist rope).

prisa (tall, high, lofty) } —cf. Tam. *peri-ya* (great, large),
prī-pa (to be tall) } Kann. *pere-* (to increase), Brāhūi
 } *pir-* (to swell), Gōṇḍi *pōr-* (to grow big).

priu (roll of string or fibre)—cf. Tam., Mal. *piri* (roll).

prēnu (bone), Kūvi *plēka* (bone)—cf. Gōṇḍi *peḍēka* (bone), Kann. *peḍasu* (hard, inflexible), Tel. *pelutsu*, *peḷutsu* (hard, brittle).

trē-ba (to wander about) } —cf. south Dr. *tir-* (to turn),
tro-ṅ-a (to be rolled) } Tel. *trippu* (to turn round),
ṭru-k-a (to oscillate) } Gōṇḍi *tiri-t-*.

- tru-ng-a* (to be pierced) } —cf. Tam. *tīṇa-*, coll. *tāṇa-*
tru-k-pa (to bore, pierce) } (to be opened), Mal. *tuṇa-*,
tru-va (to be pierced) } Tel., Kann. *tera-*.
vrê-ja (to bend back) } —cf. Tel. *vrêlu* (to hang down),
vrê-pa (to return) } Mal. *vīl-* (to return).
vrî-ng-a, *vrî-va* (to be untied, loosened, disintegrated)—
 cf. Tam. *vīri-* (to be loosened), Kann. *biri-*, Tel. *vrîlu*,
 (to go to pieces).
vrî-va (to descend)—cf. Tel. *vrâlu* (to alight).
vrî-s-a (to scratch, write)—cf. Tel. *vrâyu*, Tam., Mal.
varai-, Kann., Tuḷu *bare-*.

(2) Before *l* :

- blu*, *vlu*, beside *vilu* (wind)—cf. Tam. *vaḷi*, Gôṇḍi *vaṛi*.
kliu (clay) beside *kilu*—cf. Tam. *kaḷi-man* (clayey soil).
glâ-h-pa (to mix)—cf. Tam. *kal-a-kk-* (to mix), Kann.
kalas- (to be mixed), Tel. *kalangu*, *kalagu* (to be
 agitated).
tlâu (head), Kûvi *trâyû*—cf. south Dr. *tala*, Gôṇḍi
talâ, Malto *talîḥ* (hair).
glô-ng-a (to be muddy)—cf. Tam., Mal. *kuḷ-ai-* (to be
 mixed to the point of softening).
mlau (bamboo)—cf. Tam. *muḷai* (shoot), Kann. *muḷe*, Mal.
muḷa, Tel. *mula*, Mal. *muḷa* (reed, sprout, bamboo).
plâ-pa (to enquire, ask, question)—cf. Kann. *pêḷ-* (to speak,
 order), Tel. *paluku* (to utter).
pli-ng-a (to be cracked) } —cf. Tam. *piḷakk-*, Mal. *pīḷar-*,
blâr (opened) } Kann. *piḷig-* (to break, burst).

Telugu.

B₂. Before *r* only :

- krînda*¹ (below)—cf. Tam., Kann., Mal. *kīḷ*, Tuḷu *kīḷ*, *kīr*,
 Kuṛ. *kīta*, *kiyya*, Br. *ke-*, *ki-*, *keragh*.
krunku, *kâku*, *kukku* (to sink, as the sun)—see Kûi *krûva*.

¹ Many instances of Tel. *r* in B correspond to the unique sound *-ḷ-* of Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam. Our list shows the following: *krînda*, *krakku*, *krôlu* (tube), *krôvi*, *gruḷlu*, *groyyi*, *trâgu*, *proddu*, *pruvvu*, *mringu*, *vrêgu*, *vrêlu* (to hang).

krâyu (to rinse mouth and spit out water)—cf. Tam.,

Kann. *kâr-* (to vomit, emit), Mal. *kâr-*, Tuḷu *kâr-*.

krôlu (to drink, eat, enjoy)—cf. south Dr. *kuḍi-* (to drink),

kuḍ-u-tsu (to drink).

krakku (to vomit)—cf. Kann. *kaḷk-*, Tam., Mal. *kakk-*.

krovvu, *kovvu* ('fatness' > 'insolence')—cf. Tam. *koḷuppu*,

Kann. *korbu*.

krunigu (to be bent)—cf. Tam., Mal. *kuṟug-*, Tam. *kurang-*,

Mal. *kuṟuṅg-*, Kann., Tuḷu *kugg-*, Tel. *kurra* (short),

Br. *kurr-* (to contract), *kûr-* (to roll up).

krêpu (calf)—cf. Kûi *krai* (calf), Tam. *kaḍâ*, Mal. *kaḍâ*,

kiḍâ, *kiḍavu*, Gôṇḍi *kuṟṟa*.

krôlu, *krâvi* (tube)—cf. Tam. *kuḷal*, *koḷal* (tube), *koḷây*,

Kann. *koḷavi*, *kôvi* (tube), *koḷal* (flute), Tuḷu *koḷavæ*

(tube).

krô-, *krôtta* (new)—cf. Mal. *kurukk-* (to sprout afresh),

kuruttu (sprout, new bud), Kûi *kôru*, *kôra* (sprout, bud),

Gôṇḍi *kor-s-* (to sprout), Kuṟ. *kor-*.

krôlutsu (to sound, cry)—cf. Tam., Kann., Mal. *kural*,

koral (sound), Tam. *korai-*.

gruḍḍi (blind)—cf. Tam., Kann., Tuḷu, Mal. *kurudu*.

grullu (to rot)—cf. Tam., Mal. *kûlu* (what is softened,

rotten, etc.), Gôṇḍi *kukki-*.

groyyi (pit)—cf. Tam., Kann., Mal. *kuḷi* (pit), Tuḷu *guri*

(pit).

trippu (to turn), beside *tirug*—see under Kûi *tre-ba* above.

trâgu (to drink)—cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. *tâl-* (to be

lowered), Kann. *tar-gu*, Tuḷu *târ-*, *tâl-* (to be depressed),

Br. *dar-* (to go down).

trôyu (to be pushed)—cf. Tam., Mal. *tora-ṭ-* (to push,

drive away), Kûi *trô-p-a* (to press something forward

with fingers).

trôva (road, way)—see under Kûi *tru-ṅg-a* (to be pierced)

above, and Tam. *turai*, *torai*, etc.

proḍḍu (time, morning)—cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. *poḷudu*,

Baḍaga *hḷottu* (the sun), Tuḷu *portu*, Tam. *pôdu*, etc.,

Gôṇḍi *a-ppor* (then), Kûi *e-m-bô* (when?).

prótsu (to nourish)—cf. Tam. *pót't'r*-, Mal. *pót't'*-, Kann. *pore*-, Br. *pôr*- (to hatch).

pru-tsu (to rot)—cf. *pruvvu* (worm) below, Gôṇḍi *puṛi-t*- (to rot, etc.).

prêlu (to chatter)—cf. Kann. *pêl*-, *pêl*- (to speak).

prôgu (heap, collection)—cf. Tam. *por-u-nd*- (to be joined, to suit), Tel. *pond*- (to be joined), *por-u-d* (to come into clash, to fight), Tuḷu *pord*- (to be joined).

pruvvu, *purugu*, *puruvu* (worm)—see under *prutsu* (to rot) and Kûi *prîu* (worm) above.

mrânu (tree), beside *mara* in *mara-gôlu* (wooden leg), etc. see under Kûi *mrâlnu* above.

mrîngu (to swallow)—cf. Tam., Mal. *viḷung*-, coll. *mulung*-, Kann. *mrîng*-, *miṅg*-, Gôṇḍi *miṅg*, Kuṛ. *môx* (to eat anything except rice).

mrôyu, beside *morayu* (to sound)—cf. Tam. *moray*-, Kann. *more*- (to hum).

mrêgu (to smear)—cf. Tam., Mal. *meḷug*-.

mrâbbu (obscurity, darkness, dimness)—cf. Tam., Kann., Mal. *maṛavu*.

mrôḍu (stump of tree, bluntness)—cf. Tam., Mal. *muraḍu*, Kann. *moraḍu* (roughness).

mrâlu (to be fatigued)—cf. Tam. *maral* (dizziness), Kann. *marul*.

proyya (oven)—cf. Tam., Mal. *pori*- (to fry), Tel. *poraṭu* (to fry), Kann., Tuḷu *puri* (to parch, roast).

vrâyu (to write)—see under Kûi *vriṣa* above.

vrêlu (to hang)—cf. Kann. *biḷal* (hanging), Tam. *viḷ*- (to fall), Tuḷu *bâr*- (to fall).

vrîlu (to go to pieces)—cf. Tam. *viri*-.

vrêlu (finger)—cf. Tam. *viral*, Kann., Tuḷu *biral*, *biral*.

Baḍaga.

The type of change B₂ underlies the formation of a number of Baḍaga words with *l*. I take the following instances from LSI, Vol. IV and from the Baḍaga bible. The sound-values of some of the words have been verified by

me with the help of the gramophone records published by the Madras Government. The change, it may be noted here, occurs only in connection with *l*.

hlē-g- (to speak)—cf. old Kann. *pēl*, new Kann. *hēl*-, *hēl*-

blu- (to fall)—cf. Kann. *bu*l-

hlottu (the sun)—cf. Kann. *po*ludu

yle- (to rise)—cf. Kann. *e*l-

kḷe- (to hear)—cf. Kann. *kē*l-

blē (corn)—cf. Kann. *bi*le

hḷoye (river)—cf. Mal. *pu*la, *po*la

glattu (neck)—cf. *ka*ḷuttu

hlà (waste)—cf. *pā*ḷu

etc., etc.

[C]

The following Tam.—Mal. words lose, in colloquial enunciation, the vowel of the first syllable:—

Tamil *tol-l-āyiram* (nine hundred)—*tlāyiram*. [Here certainly the length of the medial syllable with *-ā-* has attracted the primary accent to itself from the initial syllable whereupon the vowel of the initial syllable is elided in the colloquial.]

nīlāvu (moon, moonlight)—Tam. *nī*lā, Mal. *nī*lā, *lā*.

palā, coll. *pilā* (jack tree)—Tam. *plā*, Mal. *plā*vu.

viḷā (wood-apple)—Tam. *vī*lā, very conspicuous in the compound *vī*lā-*m-bā*ḷam (ripe wood-apple).

kaḍā, *kidā*, *kādāy* (bull calf)—Tam. *kḍā*, Mal. *kḍā*vu.

purā (pigeon)—Tam. *prā*, Mal. *prā*vu.

Tam., Mal. literary *uvā* (fullness, full moon, new moon)

—Mal. *vā*vu (full moon or new moon).

Tam., Mal. *ulā-v-udal* (to take a walk)—Mal. *lā*-tt-.

Tam., *arā-v-udal*, *irā-v-udal* (to file)—Mal. *rā*-g-, *rā*-v-.

The problem of the origin of the long *-ā-* of the second syllable of these literary words is difficult of a satisfactory solution. (*Vide infra*.)

It might, nevertheless, be noted here that the Aphæresis of the vowel of the initial syllable in the colloquial enunciation is connected with the length of the medial *-ā-*.

[D]

A strong degree of "affectivity" appears to be the reason for Aphæresis in the colloquial forms of certain words in the southern speeches.

Tam.—Mal. *dâ* for *idâ* (here it is!)

„ *dô* „ *idô* (here indeed it is!)

Mal. *n'n'a* „ *in'n'a* (< *indâ* 'here it is' < 'take it').

Kann. *ḍi* (stroke, blow) for *iḍi*.

Coimbatore Iruḷa *lāri* (painful cry) for *alāri* from *alār-* (to utter a distressed cry).

The factor conditioning this change is certainly the high degree of "affectivity" associated with these expressions in the colloquial. The above instances are some which I have personally observed myself; it is possible that the colloquial varieties of other Dravidian speeches might furnish similar instances.

It was probably the same factor of "affectivity" that gave rise to the Telugu forms *kādu*, *lēdu*, etc., from original *agadu* [negative neuter Aorist of *ag-* 'to become'] and *iladu* (not-it), etc., respectively. Whereas *kādu*, *lēdu*, etc., have become fixed in the literary dialect of Telugu, the instances listed above are confined to the colloquial of the respective dialects in which they occur.

A conspicuous instance of this type in English colloquial is *ṅkiu!* or *kyu!* for *thank you!* when conventionally expressed. Prof. Chatterjee (p. 278 of *ODBL*, footnote) explains the loss of the initial syllable here as being due to the fact that "the high pitch in which the second syllable is pronounced makes the preceding one almost inaudible, although normally it is the stressed syllable in this sense-group."¹

¹ A. Schmitt (page 91 of his *Untersuchungen zur allgemein Akantilehre*) tells us: In erstaunter Frage: "nein (wirk)lich?" kann der starke Kontrast zwischen Tieftone der ersten Silbe des Wortes "wirklich" und Hochton der letzten Silbe dazu führen, dass die erste Silbe stimmlos wird. Auch von "(dan)ke!" "(bi)tte!" hört man in nachlässiger Unterhaltung oft nur die letzten Silben."

V

Definition of Conditions.

General.

We have seen above that each of the types A and B has two varieties in one of which the vowel of the original second syllable remains unaltered in *character* while in the other it is assimilated to the aphæresized vowel. Instances of the second variety are more numerous than those of the first in Kûi and Telugu.

These two varieties are not different essentially, inasmuch as the features involved in each of them are fundamentally alike except for the vowel assimilation characteristic of the second variety of each type. In both varieties, the change takes place before *r* or *l* chiefly; and in both we find instances of the lengthening of the vowel of the original second syllable. We shall, therefore, not be justified in refusing to recognize their probable intimacy of relationship in origin and occurrence.

Kûi.

The largest degree of change is attested in the central Indian dialect Kûi. The types of Aphæresis [A] and [B] are represented by the maximum number of instances in this dialect. The consonants before which Aphæresis takes place in this speech are *r*, *l*, *j* and (rarely) *ḍ*.

An examination of the list of instances would show that

(i) short vowels or short initial syllables alone are aphæresized;

(ii) many cases of Aphæresis are attended by the lengthening of the vowel of the second syllable (with or without vowel assimilation);

(iii) in many cases the character of the vowel of the second syllable is assimilated to, or affected by, that of the aphæresized vowel—*vide* A₂ and B₂ above;

(iv) the change, though general in the circumstances defined above, is found to be absent in certain cases most of which are sub-dialectal variants:—

krîu (ear) beside *kiru*.
mrâu (daughter) beside *maró*.
plièri (tail of peacock) beside *pili*.
priu (worm) beside *piu*.
*vliu*¹ (wind) beside *vilu*.
kliu (clay) beside *kilu*.
krúa (wife) beside *kura*.

(v) some aphæresized words have *cognates*, with allied meanings, which *either* do not evidence the change *or* have undergone different developments:—

mrāu (daughter) } — *mara* (to give birth to).
mrīñju (son) }
mrūnga (to be torn) — *murpa* (to split wood).
vrīsa (to scratch, write) — *verka* (to scratch a part that
 itches).
lruk-pa } (to pierce hole) — *tuspa* (to bore, pierce).
trus-pa }
grīpa (to cremate) } — { *kām̐ba* (to scorch).
grēhpa (to broil) } — { *kār̐a* (to be hot).
trēba (to be turned) — { *tij̐a* (to be turned back).
 { *tihpa* (to cause to turn back).

(vi) a few instances exist of other non-aphæresized² native words with short initial syllables immediately followed by *l* or *r*:-

¹ Whether *pīru* (worm), *vīlu* (wind), *kīlu* (clay) are the immediate ancestors in Kāi of *pīru*, *vīlu*, *kīlu* respectively is not clear. It is possible, if the analogy of *kīru* (ear—cf. Tuḷu *kīr-* in *kīr-m-bīlu* 'ear-wax') holds good here, to regard Kāi *pīru*, etc., as older Kāi forms which gave rise to the aphæresized variants; in this view we shall have to postulate a still older metathetical change:

piru < **puri*—cf. Tuŋu *puri* (worm), Gõŋdi *puri*
vilu < **vali*—cf. Tam. *vaŋi* (wind), „ *vapi*
kilu < **kali*—cf. Tam. *kafi* (clay); one cannot say, however,
 whether the aphæresized forms *priu*, *vriu*, etc., are not directly formed from
puri, *vali*, etc., according to B₁, and whether the variants *piru*, *vilu* are
 not secondarily derived from the aphæresized words. The history of these
 Kêi words is obscure.

² It should be noted that Kâi words which possessed or developed originally a long vowel in the initial syllables, followed by /r/ or /r/, did not undergo the change of Aphæresis. This rule applies to the other dialects as well.

kel-pa (to invoke deity)—cf. south Dr. *kêl-* (to ask), Gôṇḍi *keñj-* (to ask).

kalu (liquor)—cf. south Dr. *kaḷḷu* (toddy).

kiri inba (to turn)—cf. Tam. *kirukku* (giddiness), Tel. *krikku*, Kuṣ. *kir-* (to turn back).

goṛ-p- (to aim at, hit the mark)—cf. Tam., Mal. *kuṛi* (mark, aim), Kann. *gottu*, *gortu*, Tel. *gurtu* (aim, intention), Tel. *gurintu* (to intend).

tiri (clear, shining)—cf. Tam. *teḷi*, Kann. *tīḷi*, Tel. *tella* (white).

Telugu.

Both types of Aphæresis [A] and [B] are represented in Telugu; but, so far as [B] is concerned, the consonant before which the change occurs is *r* only. Further, the instances in each case are less numerous than in Kûi.

Here too we note that

(i) short vowels alone are aphæresized and these vowels are generally of the 'closed' variety.

(ii) the lengthening of the vowel of the second syllable though not common in the type [B], is frequent in [A].

(iii) the assimilation of the vowel of the original second syllable to the aphæresized vowel is common.

We have seen above that the changes [A] and [B] are more or less general in Kûi in the circumstances defined above. The exceptions to the rule are few and mainly sub-dialectal in occurrence. In Telugu, however, Aphæresis (to the extent to which it is found) is not so general as in Kûi, inasmuch as many words fulfilling the requirements for the change are not affected by the change:—

karag- (to melt), *kuri-* (to rain, fall), *eri-* (to burn), *torag-* (to flow, rush), *poral-* (to roll over), *marug-* (to be concealed), *piri-* (to twist), *turug-* (to cram in, insert), etc., etc.

(iv) the older un-aphæresized words or their cognates exist side by side with the aphæresized forms; if they are of general occurrence, the meanings are carefully differentiated, while in a few instances they appear as sub-dialectal variants.

orayu (to be rubbed)—*rāyu* (to be rubbed).

ekku [\leftarrow **elku* \leftarrow **eḷku*] (to rise)—*lē-tsu* (to get up).

vatsu (to come), stem retained for most conjugations—*rā-* in the infinitives *rā-ka*, *rā-v-aḍamu*, etc., in the imperatives and in the causative.

eraka (wing, rib, shoulder)—*rekka* (wing, leaf of door, anything resembling a wing).

ela (young, tender) as in *ela-nagupu* (tender smile), *ela-niru* (coconut water), etc.—*lē*, as in *lē-nela* (young moon), *lē-lōṣa* (fine garden).

oḷavu (secret intelligence) [\leftarrow *oḷ* \leftarrow *uḷ*]—*lō* (within).

alayu (to be weary, etc.)—*lampata* (weariness).

eḍama (left) as in *eḍama ceyya*, etc.—*ḍā*, as in *ḍākannu* (left eye), etc.

ēḍu (seven)—*ḍebbaḍi* [\leftarrow **eḍubadi* 'seven-ten'].

agu (to become), stem for most conjugations—*kā*, stem of certain negatives of *agu*.

<i>tirugu</i> (to turn, rove, etc.)	} — <i>trikku</i> (to be turned) <i>trikku</i> (twist) <i>trippu</i> , causative of <i>tirugu</i> .
<i>tirupu</i> (turning)	
<i>tiri</i> (twist)	
<i>tirigi</i> (again, back)	

<i>tera</i> (opening)	} — <i>trōvu</i> (road, way)
<i>teragu</i> , <i>teravu</i> (way, road)	

<i>toragu</i> (to be pushed)— <i>trōyu</i>	} — <i>irilu</i> .
<i>viriyu</i> (to be loosened)	
<i>virigu</i> (to break to pieces)	

morayu (to hum)—*mrōyu*

<i>purugu</i>	} (worm, insect)— <i>pruvvu</i> .
<i>puruvu</i>	

Tuḷu.

This dialect shows Aphæresis much less extensively than Kûi and Telugu. Type [A] alone is represented, and even here the change is not so frequent in words with *r* and *l*, though Tuḷu does show a number of unique cases of the aphærestic change in words with *d* \leftarrow *ḍ*. Vowel-lengthening is absent.

Sub-dialectal variants exist without Aphæresis:—

- Folk-Tuḷu *lamb-* (to wash), beside Brahmins' dialect
alamb- (to wash)
 „ *lepp-* (to call), beside Brahmins' dialect
volepp-
 „ *jappa-* (to choose), beside Brahmins' dialect
ajapp-
 „ *ḍakk-, dakk-*, beside Brahmins' dialect
aḍakk-
 „ *lapp-* (to measure), beside Brahmins' dialect
alapp-, alapp-

Kannaḍa.

The very few instances of the type [A], found in the Mysore dialect of Kannaḍa speech, resemble so closely the corresponding aphæresized forms of Telugu that it is probable that these are Telugu loans. The borrowing may have been fairly ancient, as some of the instances are attested in literary texts.

Gōṇḍi.

The instances are few and these belong to the type [A]. *r* and *l* are the consonants involved. The vowel of the original second syllable is found lengthened in *lōn*, *rōn*.

Tamil-Malayālam.

The important types of Aphæresis, *viz.*, [A] and [B] are entirely absent in Tamil-Malayālam. [C] and [D] affecting the colloquial enunciation of certain words are governed by "affectivity" and *not* by any of the factors conditioning [A] and [B].

Kurukh, Malto, Brāhūi.

So far as we could see, there are no instances of Aphæresis in these dialects.

VI

Influence of the Factors Involved.

[A] and [B].

We have seen above that the important features involved in the types of Aphæresis [A] and [B] are the following:—

(i) The change affects initial short vowels or short vowels of initial syllables.

(ii) The vowels so aphæresized are, generally speaking, 'closed'.

(iii) Vowel-lengthening (of the original second syllable) accompanies the change in Kûi and less frequently in Telugu.

(iv) The change occurs in Kûi immediately before the consonants *r*, *l*, *j* and rarely *ɖ*, in Telugu before *r*, *l* and *ɖ* for [A] and *r* for [B], in Tuḷu before *r*, *l* and *ɖ* < *ɖ* [A], in Gōṇḍi before *r* and *l* [A].

(v) Vowel assimilation is very common.

(vi) We may also note that, in most of the instances of Kûi, Telugu, Tuḷu and Gōṇḍi, the formative elements are conspicuous.

The features (i), (ii) and (iii) irresistibly lead to the postulate of the influence of a kind of accent-displacement underlying the types of Aphæresis [A] and [B]. The loss of short vowels in initial syllables (or the loss of the entire initial syllables in Kûi) accompanied by the lengthening of the original second syllable (in greater or lesser degree, according as we are concerned with Kûi or Telugu) is a phenomenon that has to be associated with a redistribution of accent resulting in an increase of accent in the original second syllable and a conspicuous decrease in the first syllable. This is what we are led to expect from general principles of phonetics and phonological processes.

Even where (as in Tuḷu, Gōṇḍi and in some cases of Telugu) no lengthening of the vowel of the original second syllable is involved, the dropping of initial short vowels (or of short vowels in initial syllables in Telugu) has in some degree to be attributed to a strong decrease of accent on the first syllable.

The normal rule of accentuation in Dravidian is that radical syllables carry primary accent, the formatives the main secondary accent, and the other syllables (if any) the subsidiary accent. Though the character of what we call accent in Dravidian (i.e., whether it is stress or pitch or both) remains

yet to be investigated experimentally, there is hardly any doubt as to the fact that an examination of the features of accentuation in the south Dravidian speeches to-day reveals this scheme as the normal rule.

When now we consider the features (i), (ii) and (iii) mentioned *supra* in relation to (iv), *viz.*, that most of the instances that have undergone Aphæresis have conspicuous formative elements in them, we are led to query whether the peculiar accent-displacement might not have been in some degree due to the introduction of the formative elements themselves. As we shall see below, other influences have also been active, and if the formative elements did exercise influence at all, it should have been but partial and contributory. Unfortunately, we know as yet much too little of the history of Dravidic accentology, on the one hand, and of the conditions of the development of formatives, on the other, to be able to determine precisely the part played by these formative elements in this unique accent-disturbance in Kûi and Telugu. The fact that there certainly occurred a strong displacement of accent in connection with conspicuous formatives in a large number of words of Kûi and in many "popular" words of Telugu is, however, an inference which directly emerges from the lists of words themselves. Without expressing any opinion about the part played by these formatives in the accent-displacement, I would merely record here the fact of the presence of conspicuous formative elements in most instances of Aphæresis.

A close examination of the Kûi and the Telugu instances listed above would reveal that in most cases the change appears to have occurred in connection with words showing (i) formative suffixes (both noun-forming and verb-forming), (ii) verb-extensions, or (iii) compounded elements.

Kûi.

(i) The older formatives or verb-extensions are conspicuous in instances of "strong" verbs like the following :—

- râ-g-* (to be chafed) } — cf. Tam. *or-ay-*, Kann. *or-e-*, *or-e-s-*
rê-s- (to rub, chafe) }
ri-nd- (to be steady) } — cf. Tam. *ir-u-u-*
ri-s- (to steady) }
gr-i-pa (to cremate)—cf. *kar-i-* (to be burnt to cinder)
mr-i-eñju (son)—cf. south Dr. *maṛi*, *mari*.
pr-i-pa (to roll)—cf. *pir-i-*
mru-ṅ-a (to be torn)—cf. Tam. *muṛi-*
glô-ṅ-a (to be muddied)—cf. Tam. *koḷ-a-ṅ-*
krê-ṅ-a (to be shaken)—cf. Tam. *kul-u-ṅ-*
pru-ṅ-a (to be plucked)—cf. Tam. *piḷ-u-ṅ-*, coll. Tam.
puḷ-u-ṅ-

New semi-formatives (appearing in some conjugations of verbs) have been developed in Kûi (vide Winfield's *Gr.*, page 57); to this class would belong cases like the following:—

- jâ-pa* (to descend)
jâ-pa (to beg)
tru-va (to be breached), etc., etc.¹

Telugu.

(i) A very conspicuous suffix *-l* is prominent in cases like the following:—

- krô-l-u* (to drink, eat, enjoy)—cf. *kuḷ-i-*
krôlu (tube)—cf. Tam. *kuḷ-al*.
krévi (tube)—cf. Kann. *koḷavi*.
krô-l-utsa (to sound)—cf. Tam., Kann. *kural*, *korai* (noise, sound).

¹ That formative elements had something to do with the displacement of accent and consequent Aphæresis in Kûi is also illustrated by the following:—

prêṇḍa (paternal uncle)—*pêro* (paternal aunt)

While in the former the formative element is conspicuous, in the latter the absence of a similarly conspicuous formative element appears to have stood in the way of Aphæresis. The words are related to Gôṇḍi *pêri* (elder aunt) and to south Dr. *per-i-ya* (big, great), etc.

Another instance is furnished by *kiru* (ear) a variant of *kriu* (ear), the plural of which is invariably *krî-ka* with Aphæresis, vowel assimilation and vowel-lengthening. While in the singular number *kiru* is allowed, the plural with *-ka* is invariably aphæresized.

vṛēlu (to hang)—cf. Kann. *biḷ-al* (hanging), Tam. *viḷ-al* (falling).

vṛēlu (finger)—cf. Tam. *vir-al*, etc.

vṛilu (to go to pieces)—cf. Tam. *vir-(d)-al*.

Indeed, some of these Telugu verbs with *-l-*, showing Aphæresis, appear to have been formed on an original basis with *-al* or *-il*.

Other formative suffixes are conspicuous in instances like *proddu*, *trōva*, *mrabbu*, *prōgu*, *gruḍḍi*, *rāyu*, the cognates of which in other dialects show the same suffixes.

(ii) As for verb-extensions, instances like the following, when compared with their cognates in other dialects (*vide* lists *supra*) would show that the older verb-extensions are retained : *mringu*, *krunku*, etc.

ḍebbadi (seventy) is a compound with a prominent second constituent.

VII

The Influence of the Liquids *l* and *r*.

A very significant feature of Aphæresis of the types [A] and [B] is that the change occurs mainly in connection with *l*, *r* and *ḍ*.

Kûi words with medial consonants other than *l*, *r* and *ḍ*; and Telugu words with medials other than *r* for [B] and *l* and *r* for [A] are not, generally speaking, affected by Aphæresis.

The change was thus connected in some manner with *l* and *r* particularly.

What exactly was the part which these sounds played in the process?

An answer to this question might be envisaged if we inquire into the treatment of *l* and *r* in the Dravidian dialects.

Preliminarily, we might note that cacuminal *r* has become alveolar *r* in most of the dialects with which we are concerned.

(a) In initial positions of original native words of Dravidian which have not undergone Aphæresis, *l* and *r* do not occur.

The literary dialects of the south, like Tamil and Kannaḍa, showed such a strong aversion to *l* and *r* in initial positions

that when Indo-Āryan words with initial *l* or *r* were assimilated in these speeches, a prothetic short vowel was incorporated before *l* and *r* in the adaptations:—

Tam. <i>araśan</i> , <i>arayan</i> —IA <i>rājā</i>	
„ <i>ilenigai</i> — „ <i>laṅkā</i>	
„ <i>uruvam</i> — „ <i>rūpa</i>	
„ <i>arakku</i> — „ <i>rakṣa</i> , <i>rakka</i>	
„ <i>iravi</i> — „ <i>ravi</i>	

(b) In medial positions, *l* (*l̥*) and *r*¹ show a strong tendency to coalesce with consonants through syncope of medial syllables and then to disappear altogether:—

Cf. Tam. *elumbu* (bone), Kann. *elu*, *iluvu*, *elumbu*, with Tel. *emmu*.

Tel. *kelaka* (side, cheek) with Kann. *kekke* (cheek), Tuḷu *kekke* (cheek, neck).

Tel. *nekkonu* (to be fixed) from *nelakonu*.

Tel. *valuda*, *ṛalunda*, *valda* (big).

Cf. also Telugu colloquial *kaddu* with literary *kaladu* (it happens), *vaddu* with *valadu* (do not, must not).

Kann. *kuluku*, *kulku*, *kūku* (shaking).

Kann. *bēku*, old aorist of future of *bēl* with the affix *-ku*.

Mal. *kakk-* (to steal, etc.) from *kaḷk*.

Coll. Mal. *vikk-* (to sell) from *vilk-*.

Cf. Tamil <i>irukk-</i> (),	Kann. <i>ikk-</i>	
„ <i>erudu</i> (bull),	„ <i>erdu</i> ,	Tel. <i>eddu</i>
„ <i>erumai</i> (buffalo),	„ <i>emme</i>	
„ <i>urukku</i> (steel),		„ <i>ukku</i>
„ <i>kaṛappu</i> (blackness),	„ <i>kappu</i> ,	„ <i>kappu</i>
„ <i>paruppu</i> (dhal),	„	„ <i>pappu</i>
„ <i>parutti</i> } (cotton),	„ <i>parti</i> ,	„ <i>parti</i>
„ <i>nerippu</i> (fire),		„ <i>nippu</i>
„ <i>perumai</i> (greatness),	„ <i>perme</i> ,	„ <i>pemme</i>

¹ Syncope is found in Telugu colloquial in connection with *-ḡ*: also: *aḡgu* for *aḡḡu*, *eḡda* for *eḡḡa*, *kaḡḡu* for *kaḡḡḡu*, etc.

Now, the older treatment of *r* and *l* in the south Dravidian speeches as reflected in Tamil, Telugu and Kannaḍa would show that—

(i) the articulation of *r* and *l* in initial positions could be stabilized only if protected by prothetic vowels carrying with them a certain degree of accent;

(ii) in medial unaccented syllables syncope sometimes affected *r* and *l* and led to the coalescence of these sounds with other consonants and then (in some instances) to their subsequent disappearance.

These facts would seem to imply that in Dravidian the stability of these two sounds *l* and *r* could be effectively secured only in the presence of a certain degree of "protecting" accent on the syllable of which *r* or *l* was a constituent.

Applied to the phenomenon of Aphæresis, these facts may have to be interpreted thus:—

For reasons all of which we cannot now clearly define, in Kûi and Telugu there was a strong redistribution of accent which caused a disturbance of the normal rule of Dravidian accentuation, *viz.*, that the radical syllables carried with them the primary accent; but this redistribution appears to have occurred mainly in connection with syllables containing *l* and *r*. The effort to preserve and define the articulation of medial *l* and *r* which in unaccented positions tend to coalescence and disappearance, appears to have led to the transference of the primary accent of the words from the initial syllables to those with *l* or *r* and thence to the gradual disappearance of the vowels of the initial syllables.

This is the only possible explanation that we could give for the phenomenon with the materials at our command. The absence of direct evidence regarding the history of the change in Kûi and Telugu prevents us from making the matter more precise than this.

VIII

The chronology of these changes in the different dialects concerned cannot be determined. About the past history of

Kûi, Tuḷu and Gōṇḍi we do not, and possibly cannot, know anything at all. As for Telugu, we find the aphæresized words from the earliest times that we know of, *viz.*, the period of the oldest extant literary texts. In the face of these limitations of data, it is difficult to mark off the period or periods when these changes may have occurred in the different dialects.

Again, whether indeed there was a stage common to Telugu, Kûi, Tuḷu and Gōṇḍi, in which Aphæresis of the type A or B may have taken place, is more than we can say with our materials. Aphæresized words from bases common to two or more of these dialects are the following:—

Kûi	Telugu	Gōṇḍi	Tuḷu
<i>ri</i> (two)	<i>reṭṭa</i>	<i>raṇḍu</i>	<i>raḍḍu</i>
<i>rāk-</i> <i>rêsa</i> } (to rub)	<i>rāyu</i> (to be rubbed)		
<i>lai</i> (within)	<i>lô</i>	<i>lōnu</i>	
<i>la'a</i> (tender, young)	<i>lē</i>		<i>lattu, lambu</i>
<i>japp-</i> (to descend)		<i>regg-</i>	
<i>deba</i> (left)	<i>dâ</i>		<i>dâ-, dattu</i>
	<i>lê-tsu</i> (to get up)		<i>lakk-</i>
	<i>rekke</i> } (wing)		<i>rekke</i>
	<i>rekke</i> }		
<i>krîva</i> (to sink)	<i>krunku</i>		
	<i>dâgu</i> (to be hidden)		<i>deng-</i>
<i>mrâhnu</i> (tree)— <i>mrânu</i>			
<i>trêba</i> (to be turned)— <i>trippu</i> (to turn)			
<i>trîva</i> (to be pierced)— <i>travvu</i> (to dig, pierce)			
<i>prâu</i> (rice)— <i>prâlu</i> [Pl.]			
<i>vîsa</i> (to write)— <i>vrâyu</i>			
<i>vînga</i> (to fall to pieces)— <i>vrîlu</i> (to go to pieces)			
<i>krôga</i> (fat)— <i>krovvu</i> (fatness)			
<i>vrêja</i> (to bend back)— <i>vrêlu</i> (to hang down)			
<i>krâi</i> (calf)— <i>krêpu</i> (calf)			

An examination of the above list of correspondences, showing as it does differing formatives in many instances, would render it difficult for us to ascertain how far the change cropped up at a common stage, especially in view of the

absence of evidence regarding the history of each set. But as the same bases have been affected by the change in the different dialects, the possibility of an early stage common to these dialects need not necessarily be ruled out.

IX

We have now to take up the phenomenon of the disappearance of the vowel of the initial syllables of certain words of Tamil and Malayalam in colloquial enunciation.

A proper explanation for the origin of Aphæresis here would depend upon the question of the origin of the unique -â- appearing in the medial syllables of Tamil literary words of the type listed on page 464 above.

Other native words than those mentioned above with medial long -â- are the following :—

ayâ, *asâ* (languor)—*cf.* *ayar-* (to be weary)

aîâ-vudal (to mingle), beside *aîa-v-udal* (to mingle)—*cf.* *aîa-*
[Both words are found as verbs in *Puṣanânûṟu*.]

uṇavu, *uṇâ* (food)—*cf.* *uṇ-* (to eat), *ûṇ* (food, meal).
[Both forms occur in *Puṣanânûṟu*.]

uyâ (suffering) [*cf.* *Tolkâppiyam uyâvê-y-uyanigal*], beside
uyavu (suffering [occurring in the old *Kalittogai*] and *uyavudal*
(to suffer)—*cf.* *uy-*.

kuḍâ, *kuḍavu* (bend, curve)—*cf.* the base *kuḍ-* (bending).

kuṟav- (to sink, as in disappointment)—*cf.* *kuṟai-* (to shrink).

ulâ (procession), *ulâ-v-* (to move about) [found in old texts like *Puṣapporuḷ veṇbâmālai*] beside *ulav-* (to move about).

uvâ, beside *uvavu* (full moon, new moon)—*cf.* *kaḍav-*,
kaḍâ- (to interrogate), beside *kaḍavu* (question, interrogation).

ṣurâ, *ṣuravu* (shark), the latter occurring in *Puṣanânûṟu*.

naṟâ (honey, toddy) [*Kuṟal*], beside *naṟavu* with the same meaning [*Padit't'rupattu*].

[*Cf.* in this connection the following also :—

tayavu, *tayâ* (kindness) < IA *dayâ*

karâ-m, *karâ*, *karavu* (alligator) < IA *grâha*

irâ, *iravu* (night) < ? IA *râtri*]

The following points may be noted in connection with these instances:—

(a) The long *-â-* (in the native verbs and nouns given above) is unique in Tamil.

(b) In most cases, Tamil possesses variants with short *-a-*.

(c) Both sets appear to be ancient in origin, as they occur in old texts.¹

Though no definitive conclusions regarding this *-â-* are possible in the present state of our knowledge, the following considerations might be useful in envisaging certain perspectives:—

If the analogy of the Sanskrit instances given above is of any value, then we may have to recognize the individuality of the *-â-* in the native instances given above. In this view, *â* (cf. *α* 'to become') may have been an independent particle strengthening the meaning of the bases on which the native words in question have been formed.

nḍr (smelling) + *â* 'what smells', 'toddy', 'honey'.

kuḷ (bending) + *â* 'bend, curve'.

un (eating) + *â* 'food'.

aḷ (mingling) + *â* 'to mingle'.

This suggestion that *-â-* of these Tamil words is an original and independent particle is, it has to be observed, strictly tentative. If it is to be accepted, then, the aphærestic change [C] in the colloquial enunciation of the words given on page 464 above should be ascribed to the fact that the syllable with long *-â-* attracted to itself the primary accent of the initial syllable which thereupon lost its vowel. The process then would be slightly different from that which was operative in the types of change [A] and [B].

The difference may be represented thus:—

[A] and [B]

Accent-disturbance intensified by the factors (i), (iii) and (iv) in certain dialects → unique accent-displacement in

¹ Cf. Sâtra 235 of Tolkâppiyam (Eḷuttadigâram).

these dialects → Aphæresis initially and vowel-lengthening medially in most cases of Kûi and in some cases of Telugu.

[C]

Original long vowel in the second syllable → association of higher accent with this syllable in the colloquial of Tamil and Mal. → Aphæresis of vowel in initial syllable.

X

Summing up our discussion, we may formulate the following conclusions:—

1. Aphæresis has been very active in the history of Kûi and Telugu, in a lesser degree in Tuḷu, and least in Gôṇḍi.

2. Though the chronology of the several types of change cannot be ascertained with our present data, we find that the features involved in the types [A] and [B] are more or less alike in the dialects concerned and that possibly, therefore, the factors conditioning the change are partially or wholly the same.

3. One of the most important of these factors appears to be connected with the treatment of medial *r* and *l*. In Kûi, the phenomenon appears to have affected, generally speaking, most words with *-r-* and *-l-*; in Telugu, where the change is less general and where words with *-r-* alone have been affected, "popularity of usage" and "affectivity" seem to have been additional factors in conditioning the incidence of the phenomenon.

4. In a large number of instances, the phenomenon of Aphæresis has been accompanied by the assimilation of the character of the vowel of the second syllable to that of the aphæresized vowel.

5. The vowel of the original second syllable has, in a large number of these instances, also been lengthened in the process of the change.

STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS.

No. XXXVIII.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On an Ancient Indian Myth about the Battle of the Birds and the Sea.]

IN my paper entitled "*On a Sema Naga Aetiological Myth about the Black Colour of the Jungle Crow, the Red Colour of the Scarlet Minivet, and the Red Chin of the Ruby-Throat*" (being *Studies in Bird-Myths*, No. XXXI) and that "*On an Ao Naga Aetiological Myth about the Black Colour of the Jungle Crow and the Red Colour of the Bill and Legs of the Green Magpie*" (being *Studies in Bird-Myths*, No. XXXII) which have been published in previous issues of this *Journal*, I have shown how there are current among the Sema Naga and the Ao Naga tribes of the Naga Hills in the North-Eastern Frontier of India, traditions of a battle which was fought by the birds of the air with the snakes of the earth, in far-off times.

In this paper I shall show how there was current, in Ancient India, a myth about a war which was waged by the birds of the air with the ever-turbulent waves of the sea. It is, follows:—

Once upon a time, there lived two *tittiva* birds (partridges) on the sea-beach; and the female bird laid two eggs in a hole of a rock which jutted out into the sea. One day, the hen bird said to her mate: "I always live in fear of the sea lest its waves will wash away my eggs." To this the male bird replied in a tone of bravado and pride: "Don't be afraid. Will the sea have the audacity to carry off our eggs? I will remain close to our nest, Should the waves of the sea dare approach near our nest. I shall fight with them." The sea overheard the male bird's boastful words and washed away the eggs, saying: "Now, come and fight with me if you have the power to do so."

On this, the hen bird wept and said: "O mate! see what is the result of your boasting and pride!"

The cock bird answered : " Have patience. I shall mete out terrible punishment to this 'wicked sea.'" Having said thus, he flew away and summoned together all the birds of the world for the purpose of waging war with the sea.

Then the battle of the birds with the sea commenced in grim earnest. The birds were armed with all kinds of weapons, and they hurled them at the sea. They also swooped down on the sea-beach and, scratching up the sand, threw it into the sea for the purpose of silting it up. In this way, the battle raged fiercely for days and days together. But the birds were unable to cow down the sea and compel it to give back the stolen eggs. Being baffled in this way, the birds, in despair, at last appealed to their king—Garuḍa—for help.

Sympathising with the distressed condition of the birds, king Garuḍa came bearing the *chakra* or the flaming discus of his master Viṣṇu, the Preserver, for the purpose of drying up the waters of the wicked sea.

" O mercy ! mercy ! " cried the sea, terror-stricken at the sight of the weapon of fire. " Don't throw the *chakra*. Here are the eggs of the *tittiva* birds."

Thus the battle ended in favour of the feathered combatants. The *tittiva* couple had their eggs restored to them, and the sea solemnly promised never to harm them again.*

From a study of the foregoing myth, we find that :—

(1) The ancient Indian myth-maker has, in this myth, inculcated the great moral lesson that " Pride goeth before destruction and haughtiness before a fall ".

(2) The " Battle between the Birds and the Sea " symbolises the contest between unaided forces of the air and the sea-god Neptune.

(3) When the Forces of the Air were aided by Divine Fire, the former triumphed over the Forces of the Water.

* *Indian Fables and Folklore*. By Sovana Devi. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1919. Pages 51—53.

(4) The *chakra* or discus of the God Vishnu, the Preserver, represents Divine Fire.

(5) When the Forces of the Air threatened to dry up the waters of the sea by means of the scorching beams of Divine Fire, the Forces or Powers of the Water were cowed down ; and the former triumphed over the latter.

It would not be out of place to mention here that the foregoing myth is contained in the collection of ancient Indian fables entitled : *Hitopadesha* or *Salutary Advice*. This work is based mainly upon the *Panchatantra* in which twenty-five of its forty-three fables are found.

STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS.

No. XVI.

BY PROF. SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Bengali Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the Husks of the Rice-Grains or the Grains of the Paddy-Plant.]

RICE or the Grain of the Paddy-plant (*Oryza Sativa*), which belongs to the Order *Gramineæ*, is known in Bengali and Hindi as *Dhān* or *Chāwol*, in Tamil as *Nellu* or *Arisi*, in Telugu as *Bium* or *Vudlu*, and in the Burmese language as *Sābā*. Rice is the most important of the Indian food-grain crops and is the staple article of diet of the people of Bengal, Assam, Burma, and parts of Madras and Bombay. There are more than three hundred well-marked varieties of rice. The two principal classes of rice, which are usually cultivated, are the autumn and the winter varieties. These are again subdivided: rice which is sown broadcast and that which is transplanted. The varieties of this food-grain are distinguished according to the quality of the husked rice, the long, fine, white and fragrant kinds being regarded as superior. The rice produced on uplands is generally superior to low-land rice. The Patna and Pilibhit table-rice hold the first place. Rice is eaten boiled and is also made into flour and cakes. It is not a nutritious food as it contains only nine per cent of nitrogenous ingredients and eighty-nine per cent of non-nitrogenous constituents. In medicine, it is used for poultices, and various preparations of it are used as diet for sick people. The straw of the paddy-plant forms a valuable fodder for cattle. It is also used for thatching huts, and is also suitable for the manufacture of paper.

The following myth is narrated among the Bengalis to account for the origin of the husks of the rice-grains or the grains of the paddy-plant :—

In ancient times, grains of rice *devoid of husk* used to be produced on the paddy-plants. On one occasion, the father of the Rājā of the country died; and his *srāddha* ceremony was

celebrated with great *éclat*. A great banquet was given; and thousands and thousands of Brāhman were invited to this feast. A very greedy Brāhman was one of these invitees; and he so much overgorged himself on the delicious viands which were served at this banquet, that, while rinsing his mouth after the meal had been partaken of, he vomited out all the food he had eaten. This he did by the margin of a field in which paddy plants containing huskless rice were growing. The result was that, after vomiting out the food, the greedy Brāhman again became so very hungry that he began to pluck out handfuls of the huskless rice and to munch and gulp down the same. Seeing this strange event, the God presiding over fields and agriculture in general (क्षेत्रपति देवता) appeared on the scene, and being greatly angry with the greedy Brāhman and his monstrous gastronomic feat, pronounced the curse to the effect that, from that time forth, all paddy-plants would bear grains of rice covered with husks and that men would have to husk the grains of paddy so that edible rice may be produced therefrom. It is for this reason that at the present time all paddy-plants produce grains of rice covered with husks.*

From a study of the foregoing ætiological myth, I find that:—

(1) It affords an object-lesson against greediness and over-eating, and inculcates the lessons that both these habits produce sickness and ill-health, and should, therefore, be got rid of.

(2) In the very beginning of the universe, the Great Creator, being actuated by the desire of saving all mankind from all labour, created food-stuffs which men had simply to collect and gulp down.

(3) But men misused this blessing and became greedy and voracious. At this, the Great God became angry and deprived men of this blessing.

* For this ætiological myth, see the Bengali book entitled: *Ājgubi Janmakathā* (or "*The Wonderful Birth-Stories*"). Calcutta: 1329, B.S., pages 1—5.

(4) It also inculcates the economic truth that the voraciousness of the people and the consequent over-consumption of the food-stuffs of a country might result in the economic distress of that country and that it is for this reason that the people of a country should be abstemious in the matter of its food and drink.

It will not be out of place to state here that an ætiological myth, closely parallel to the foregoing one, is also prevalent among the Santals who are a pre-Dravidian people living in the Santal Parganas which are situated to the west of Bengal. It also accounts for the origin of the husks of the rice-grains or the grains of the paddy-plants and is to the following effect :—

In the far-off times when the Santals lived in Champā, Kiskus was their Rājā. In those times, the Santals were simple in their habits and religious by disposition. They worshipped the Supreme Being whom they named the *Thākur Bābā*. *Then grains of rice devoid of husks grew upon the paddy-plants in the fields*; the cotton-plants produced cloths which had been woven from before; the people were so cleanly in their bodily habits that they had not to undergo the trouble of picking the lice out of each other's hair; and men's skulls grew loose upon their heads so that each man could lift off his own skull, and, after cleaning it, replace it upon the top of his head.

But the afore-described beneficent and kindly provision of good and convenient things was destroyed by the wickedness of a servant-girl of one of the Rājās. When she used to go to the fields for the purpose of answering nature's calls, she would pluck off handfuls of unhusked rice and eat the same. Then again, she would clean her hands when dirtied by 'cow-dung, by wiping the same upon her own cloth. These dirty habits of the Santals so much angered the Supreme Being *Thākur Bābā* that he deprived mankind of the afore-mentioned benefits he had conferred upon them. *As the result of the punishment meted out by Thākur Bābā, grains of rice covered with husks began to grow upon the paddy-plants*; and the

cotton-plants produced only raw cotton and men's skulls became fixed upon their heads so that these could no longer be removed for purposes of cleaning.*

From a study of the preceding Santali ætiological myth we find that:—

(1) It affords an object-lesson inculcating that men should be cleanly in their habits.

(2) It further teaches that cleanliness is next to godliness and confers health upon mankind.

(3) Then again, it further inculcates that whoever is dirty in his or her bodily habits and practices, will be afflicted with diseases.

(4) The similarity between the Bengali and the Santali myth is remarkable with this much difference only, namely, that the former denounces greediness and voracity; whereas the latter condemns dirtiness and uncleanness.

(5) Considering the close similarity between the two, the presumption of mutual borrowing naturally arises. But it is difficult to say whether the Santals borrowed it from the Bengalis or *vice versa*.

* For this Santali ætiological myth, see the folk-tale entitled "*The Beginnings of Things*" in C. H. Bompas's *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* (published by David Nutt, London, 1909), pages 401-404.

THE MYSORE GAZETTEER*

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, ESQ., B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S.

I. INTRODUCTORY

THE idea of a Gazetteer for Mysore first took shape in 1867. H. Wellesley and B. Krishniengar worked at the Mysore and Kolar districts, in pursuance of a policy of publishing a volume for each of the eight districts in the State; the general work and the gazetteer portion was later on handed over to Mr. Rice; and a work known as *Mysore* was first issued to the public in 1876. This was better than anything which Hunter was able to do even for Bengal. With the multiplication of archæological and epigraphical material available during the next two decades, a revision was called for and was undertaken by Mr. B. L. Rice, the revised edition itself appearing in two volumes in 1897. Mr. Rice's monumental work for Mysore and its several dynasties is enshrined in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and elsewhere.

During his retirement in England, Mr. Rice found time to publish a concise account of Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, and it was intended to publish a revised edition of his *Mysore* along with the Census Report of 1911. That, however, not being possible, the work of revision was entrusted to Mr. V. R. Tyagaraja Iyer, Rao Bahadur R. Narasimha-char being desired to undertake the historical portion. Even these were not accomplished for several reasons, and the entire work was finally entrusted to the competent hands of Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao in February 1924. What might at first sight appear as a delay in the publication of the Gazetteer is really not so as will be abundantly clear from the immense task which Mr. Hayavadana Rao had before him. It was contemplated that the revised edition should fully reflect not merely the progress in historical work or the results in other departments of the State but that it should include the

* In Five Volumes. Revised and Edited by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao. Government Press, Bangalore. Rs. 30 per set.

changes introduced in the administration of the State during the past thirty years. There is thus presented to us in these pages the evolution, from the dim antiquities to its present condition, of Mysore, one of the most progressive administrations in the world. In Mr. Hayavadana Rao's hands, the original first volume is comprised in volumes 1-4, while the second volume has expanded into 1,500 pages. The second volume of the revised series extends to over 3,000 pages and deals with the history of Mysore through the ages up to 1930. By his unrivalled knowledge and prodigious industry, Mr. Hayavadana Rao has been enabled to give us a connected narrative of Mysore and its people and we congratulate him most heartily on the success which has attended his efforts.

Mr. Rice's honoured name is omitted from the cover: illustrations are lacking; no attempt has apparently been made to insert blocks or wood-cuts of the excellent photographs of Mysore available; even the maps, which appeared in the previous edition, have been cut out; bibliography should have been fuller; a consolidated index should have been prepared and appended; floral design with the gandabherunda in the centre is an improvement on the cover, but the binding is not as good as it ought to have been; Volume V is too huge and cumbersome to handle; and to avoid footnotes, authorities have been incorporated in the body of the text but, to the general reader, this is not a very convenient method. The delay in the publication of the work has also necessitated a long errata list at the end of each volume. The spelling of proper names has been changed to suit the Government's approved system. The changes introduced in the general plan of the work and arrangement of matter make the Gazetteer a new work altogether.

No review of a work like Mr. Hayavadana Rao's covering over 6,000 pages of matter and dealing with the vicissitudes of a country from the misty dawn to the twentieth century, in all departments of life and activity, can be comprehensive and it is not pretended to make anything like a survey of

the volumes under review. I shall only attempt to invite the attention of the reader to a few salient points.

Volume I: Descriptive

The first volume of the revised edition is descriptive, and in this we are referred to Haider's attempt to establish navigation of the Tunga River (p. 8). Mysore rocks are of the archæan formation and explain the absence of coal in the State. The geological strata represent the most ancient epoch of the earth's crust, far anterior to the sedimentary formations in which fossil records of ancient plants and animals have been preserved. Of the earthquakes, which are of the harmless variety, a Nelamangala inscription mentions one which occurred in July 1501. An æreolite weighing $11\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. fell near Maddur at 7 A.M. on the 21st September 1865, with a report like the firing of a cannon ball. The observation under meteorology that some relation seems to exist between the rainfall and the number of sun spots and that years close to the sun spot maxima and minima are periods respectively of heavy or light rainfall, instanced by a few cases (pp. 48-49) deserve more detailed examination. In the chapter under botany, the length of roads having avenue trees of various kinds might have been given: we have heard it said that there are nine crores of trees on these roads. Under horticulture in the Bangalore district, we find illustrated in the Lal-Bagh, the remarkable adaptation of the plants to the outdoor cultivation of plants from different parts of the world—South and North America, Cape of Good Hope, South Sea Islands, Australia, China, Great Britain and Mexico. These plants, which in their natural habitats are found at various elevations, are all growing luxuriantly here in the same soil and under the same exposure as the tropical plants of India. The Mysore lemurs are said to mimic the spotted owl (*athene brama*) in their screeching. Dealing with the family elephas, the elephant which was a part of the fighting forces of the country under the Hindus down to historical times and an emblem of the famous Ganga dynasty of Mysore, represents mythologically

the conception of eternity, Ganesa, denoting bodily and mental strength though its reputed intelligence and sagacity are not borne out by the structure of the brain.

II. ETHNOLOGY

A comprehensive and up-to-date account of ethnology and caste is contained in this first volume. Mr. Hayavadana Rao has devoted a lifetime to the study of this important subject and his contributions are of very great weight. The deductions so far made cannot be treated as final, for an examination—physical, lingual and ethnographical—has only just begun and much remains to be done before anything like satisfactory data can be made available for drawing scientifically accurate conclusions on racial origins and distribution of races in South India. Anthropometry, as a test of race, has not yet yielded much useful result but some broad characteristics may be noted. Palæolithic man has left no representatives; and evidences are to be found embedded in pleistocene deposits, the remains being mostly chipped stone implements. Here, as elsewhere, he must have been a rude personage. He was followed by people of the neolithic age whose implements and weapons, in much greater form and variety, were made by chipping and subsequently by grinding and polishing suitably hard and tough stones: as in his day drilling stone and other hard materials was familiar. Also, the art of making pottery had been discovered. Neolithic remains are found in West-Hill, French Rocks, Seringapatam and Srinivasapur, while the palæolithic ones are traced near Banavar, Holalkere, Hosadurga and elsewhere (pp. 135-36). The people of the Iron Age whose remains are found widely scattered in the Mysore State are regarded as having been probably the direct descendants of the neolithic people.

The present population of Mysore might ethnically be considered as comprising at least three primary elements, following Bruce-Foote, *viz.*, the Pre-Dravidian, Dravidian and the Aryan. The Pre-Dravidian includes the Forest and Hill Tribes, the Irula, Kadu Kuruba, Sholiga and Kadu Golla:

and he is ethnically related to the Veddas of Ceylon and the Sakais of the Malaya Peninsula.

Caste

There are thirty-four dominant castes and tribes in Mysore, of whom, seven are essentially Kannada in origin, two are Telugu long resident in the State, two more are Tamil settled in Mysore time out of mind, eight were originally Telugu and are now Kannada also, speaking the prevailing language of the area in which they are found (p. 142). North-west of Mysore is subject to Southern Mahratta influence; north-east is semi-Telugu, coming on the borders of the Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool districts; the east and south are semi-Tamil, partaking of the characteristics of the neighbouring territories; while the west comes under the influence of the Malayalee. Southern India up to the Krishna is regarded as one ethnological block, in spite of intrusion from physical and linguistic points of view, and lends itself to broad, though not universal, generalization.

There has been much, too much speculation about the origin of caste, which is perhaps a pontifical denial of the brotherhood of man. Robertson and Abbé Dubois consider it a great safeguard of social tranquillity and an indispensable condition of progress in certain arts and industries. Sir Alfred Lyall and Dr. J. N. Farquhar express the same view. Certain results which followed may be set down. It was a thoroughly social institution: it absorbed the aborigines: it preserved the Hindu race and civilization and their family institutions: the division of labour and of work in the Hindu castes was at best comparable to that of the mediæval trade guilds of Europe: and it obviated the necessity of a Poor Law in India.

Mysore Castes : General Characteristics

Amongst the general characteristics of the Mysore castes, some of whom belong to the right-hand or the left-hand section or the nine or eighteen panas, may be mentioned the following:—There is no evidence of polyandry, while among

a few kudike or a form of marrying another husband during the lifetime of the first exists. Mother-kin (*Mutterrecht*) persists amongst the Kurubas, Bedas, etc. Pre-marital communism, post-marital license, divorce and polygamy are looked upon with suspicion, though the last may be resorted to for the sake of progeny. Forms for widow remarriage are prescribed among the lower castes. The influence of religion is clearly traceable in female chastity being highly prized. Restrictions on marriage are based on linguistic, territorial and other considerations and endogamy is the essence of the caste system, exogamy amongst primitive communities being probably a survival from an earlier culture. Totemism was once widely prevalent as can be seen from kula or bedagu. Of the unusual or curious customs may be mentioned couvade amongst the Korachars in Shimoga, amongst whom when a wife is delivered of a child, the man undergoes confinement: circumcision is practised amongst the Bedas of Chitaldrug and to them pig is taboo as food. Considerable reference to caste is found in proverbs. The Sanketis are Smarthas from Madura and the mixture of Tamil and Kannada in their speech is thus explained (p. 224). The Kamme country appears to have been to the east of the Kolar district (p. 222).

Language

The chapter on languages discloses not much of fresh material since Rice's day and Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar* is still the ruling authority. We are yet far, unfortunately, from a scientific study of the Dravidian languages. Kannada claims about forty-five lakhs of people as against nine of Telugu and two and a half of Tamil speaking persons.

Literature

As regards literature, attention might be drawn to the fact that Prakrit was a cultivated language in the State as attested by the Satavahana and Kadamba inscriptions. It is needless to add that the story of the development of the

Kannada language and literature has received adequate treatment in the work. Haider created a sensation in England according to English writers of the period and Tippu Sultan was noticed by contemporary authors. Sir Walter Scott pictures the reign of Haider Ali in his *Surgeon's Daughter* and Dr. John Leydon bursts into poetry on the vanity of human wishes, profoundly inspired by the death of the Tiger of Mysore, and evidently reflecting the circumstance that Sri Ranganatha overlooks the downfall of the Mahomedan power in the State.

Religion

We have no evidence worth recording about the prehistoric religion of the palæolithic man. With the neolithic man, in Mysore as elsewhere, a nascent fetishism might be predicated. He perhaps believed in a happy future life of eating and drinking, when children would need their playthings and men their customary implements. Objects found with the remains and pre-historic stone circles may have a religious significance though not a religious bearing.

In South India, there is no gap between them and the Iron Age men who descended from the former directly. The Iron Age people continued the burial usages of their predecessors and perhaps had a similar belief in future life, e.g., the beliefs of the Irulas, Todas, Sholigars, etc., may be taken for comparison. Sculptural cromlechs and other memorial stones in South India attest their prevailing practices.

We do not know how far the jungle tribes and castes found in South India can be identified with the pre-Dravidians. Nevertheless, certain religious beliefs and tendencies they exhibit may be noticed. While we cannot define their indebtedness to their alleged ancestors, the palæolithic men, we yet find Irulas, for instance, still constructing stone circles, worshipping fetishes in the shape of water-worn stones under the shade of trees and revering their totem animals. These perhaps point to a belief in spirit life as being common to most primitive races all the world over.

Animism

The basis for any discussion of the development of the Dravidian religion and the influence of the pre-Dravidian upon them is rather scanty and it is not possible to affiliate the Dravidian to any well-known families of religion. Animism was once widely prevalent among the Dravidians, traced to a belief in spirits and a fear of the evils which they inflict, but little connected with morality. Their doctrine of immortality lay in the continuance of the earthly life elsewhere. To them, divine motherhood was a physical fact and she took oftentimes a double form. Their worship of the gramadevatas, etc., is well known. While only goddesses were fond of animal sacrifices, offering of he-buffaloes to Māra in Manjarabad may be referred to.

Vedic Hinduism

The story of the Brahman or rather the Aryan migration into Southern India has not yet been placed on any historical footing and here, as elsewhere, Mr. Hayavadana Rao summarizes the several views upon the subject. The only light derived from the inscriptions does not take us beyond the second century A.D. But it is permissible to agree with Mr. Rice that Brahmanism must have established itself in high favour in the early centuries before the birth of Christ. If Baudhayana may be reckoned as a southerner, if Apastambha belonged to the Andhra country and if we remember the former's references to the peculiar South-Indian customs and laws, much support for Rice will have been canvassed. It might be added that Siva was worshipped in the form of a linga in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Unlike the Dravidian, the Aryan religion looked above and not under the world, cared for gods and not for ghosts. Whether the celebrated Siva acquired the form of Vishnu and Vishnu gained the great and famous form of Siva in order to fulfil the Vedic dictum that the two were one; and whether the Saivas worship Him as Siva, the Vedantins as Brahma, the Buddhists as Buddha, the Nyayakas as Karta, the Jainas as Arhat and the Mimamsakas as Karma,

we may have to remember that the worship of Siva was from an early period associated especially with Lakulisa, an ancient teacher, perhaps of the first century A.D.

Jainism

Jainism which was older than Buddhism was, according to unvarying Jain tradition, introduced into Mysore by Bhadrabahu, the last of the Srutakevalis and his royal disciple Chandragupta Maurya (321-297 B.C.), following a great twelve-year famine. Support has also been obtained for this view from references contained in literature and lithic inscriptions and it is further stated that V. A. Smith veered round from his 'somewhat unbelievable' standpoint to 'a solid foundation in fact' (*cf.* Vol. II, Chap. III).

Buddhism

The establishment of Buddhism in the State was the work of Asoka, grandson of the Mauryan Emperor. While in the third century B.C. Northern Mysore was under its influence, the decline of Buddhism was complete in the eighth century A.D.

Brahmanism

In his account of later Hinduism, Mr. Hayavadana Rao refers to several leading Brahman sects, of which naturally a great deal of attention is bestowed upon Sankara and his philosophical system (pp. 299-308). The date of Sankara is a much-debated point. Sir John Fleet gives 625-655 A.D. K. T. Telang would put him earlier. Max Müller refers to A.D. 788-820, from Sankara's reference to Sambandar as Dravida sisu in the Saundaryalahari, a period acceptable to Mr. Hayavadana Rao. But the article in the Jignasa based on the Kanchi, Dvaraka and Govardhan lists, Punyaslokamanjari, Sushama and Gururatnamala takes it at least to five centuries B.C. after a discussion of the several authorities and texts that bear upon the subject. Besides, Dravida sisu may be Sankara himself.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao, quoting Prof. Jacobi, suggests that Sankara's doctrine of Maya was derived from Buddhism. There is no doubt that the whole system of Sankara's

philosophy hinges on the absolute identity of the individual soul with the Brahman and his great and original contribution is the doctrine of Maya or cosmic illusion. The germ which can even be traced in the Upanishads attains its classical form in Sankara's hands. In order to clear any misunderstanding that may possibly exist in the minds of the readers as regards Buddhist traces in the theory of Maya as propounded by Sankara, it may be stated, at the outset, that according to Sankara as well as according to every system of Hindu philosophy, illusion is called Maya or Avidya and that is responsible for the supposed duality between the Supreme Soul (God) and the individual soul (atman). According to the Buddhists, there is no soul, either individual or supreme, and, consequently, the Buddhist is not at any trouble to find out a reason for the differentiation between the two. The Buddhist says that everything is changing ceaselessly (Kṣhaṇika Vāda) and, hence appearances which constitute the world are undependable. Another fundamental difference is that while the Hindus assert that, though the appearances are illusory the matter behind them (ādhiṣṭhāna) is real (satya), the Buddhists deny even this substratum, their system being therefore rightly regarded as sūnya vāda or pure nihilism. Their theory of creation out of nothing was therefore condemned by Sankara in unmistakable terms. Still another matter may be mentioned, when on this subject. Sankara did not promulgate the worship of any deity—Siva, Vishnu or any other. He recognized the worship of Siva, Vishnu, Devi, Surya and Ganapathi as Sastric under the panchāyatana, as a resort to those who desired Savikalpapuja, and condemned the worship of others as unsastric.

Speaking of Sringeri, Mr. Hayavadana Rao calls (p. 306) the government subsidy to the Jaghir against the abolition of the supari halat since 1906, erroneously as a grant. He further says that the Jaghir expenditure incurred in feeding and presents exceeds the income and that to make up the deficit, the Svami of the Mutt is constantly engaged in long and protracted tours for the purpose of receiving contributions

from disciples. This is again wrong. The Sringeri Svami tours but rarely and then, it is not to fleece the people, his disciples, as suggested. The veneration in which the Sringeri Guru is held all over India sufficiently negatives the implication.

The discussion of the dates of the Gurus of Sringeri (Vol. I, pp. 307-08) requires verification and the identification of Vidyāraṇya (1331-1386) with Mādhava, the brother of Sāyana, the celebrated author of Parāśara Mādhaviya, Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha, etc., as he says, needs further elucidation.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao's theory (Vol. I, p. 323) regarding the fusion of Siva with Vishnu, and later of both with Brahma, into the 'now' well-known Hindu trinity, is open to very serious objection. The position of these gods and their 'later' reconciliation was not the result of any arbitrament by the several peoples who worshipped them but the earliest references to the Hindu trinity are traceable to the Rig and Atharva Vedas. They all sing to the purport 'एकं सद्भिर्बहुधा वदन्ति', etc. And we cannot help regretting that in such a standard work as the one under review, such an error should be allowed to creep in while comparing the highest conceptions of Hindu divinity.

Lingayetism

In his narrative regarding the Lingayets, Mr. Rao refers to the influence of Kashmir Saivism on Southern India. While its influence on the revival of Saivism cannot be gainsaid, it has nothing whatever to do with Lingayetism. His treatment of the Pāsupatas might have been fuller. Like their brothers who were also Saivites, they were catholic in their teaching and they did not break away from the traditional Vedic faith. They cultivated Vedic and philosophical learning and lived in amity with the followers of Vishnu and even Jaina. The religion of the Pāsupatas, however, made Siya the transcendental god and they affirmed that Siva as Pasupati was the operative cause. How far Basava, the Veerasaiva

founder, was indebted to the teachings of these sects which, if anything, only struggled against Brahmanic control rather than against Vedic belief does not appear. Besides, these Veerasaivas are Sakti-Visishtādvaitins, whereas the Pāsūpatas are Śaivādvaitins and the Kashmir Saivites are either Śaivādvaitins or Śaivavisishtādvaitins. The Veerasaivas and Kashmir Saivites have consequently little in common between them. Bhakti or love of God and a course of moral and spiritual discipline leading to the attainment of sāmānyasya with Siva is their method of redemption. The Lingayets resembles the Roman Catholic in his implicit obedience to a Guru.

Islam

The earliest introduction of Islam into Mysore was about 1294. With the attack of Malik Kafur on Dorasamudra in 1310 and the story of the Sultan's daughter falling in love with a Hoysala prince who repulsed her overtures are traced the first beginnings of the religion of the Prophet in the State. The first serious settlement of the Mahomedans, however, may be said to have begun with Ranadullakhan about 1637.

Christianity

Amongst the followers of Christ, the Dominicans under De Severao came to Mysore in 1325 and there appears to have been a Christian Dewan at the court of Vijayanagara in 1445 A.D.

Population

Mysore seems to have been populated from time immemorial and the dress of women was always very becoming and modest. In the malnad parts of the State which once contained very flourishing and populous towns, the actual and natural population has been diminishing due perhaps to excess of deaths over births, the unusual prevalence of malaria and water-borne diseases, and marriages being less fertile than in the maidan parts.

III. HISTORICAL

Volume II of the Gazetteer consists of four parts, each part separately printed and bound, dealing with the historical

portion, extending to over 3,200 pages. It carries the reader from the earliest and Puranic ages to the present day. The first part (1930) deals with the sources and periods of Mysore history, comprising antiquities, written records, coins, books, art and architecture, sculpture and painting, archæological and other work and information gathered from these. All available material has been utilised and the scholarly work of Rice, Narasimhachar, Krishnasastri, Venkayya and others as also Archæological and Epigraphical Reports, the Records of Fort St. George, numismatical data, facts gleaned from literature, etc., have all been drawn upon in compiling this narrative. Research is not a mere mechanical registration of records and imagination and perspective are essential to clothe with flesh and blood the kings of long ago. A correct version of the account of the reign of Krishnaraja Wadiyar III has been based on original documents discounting the myth of maladministration.

The early history of Mysore continues up to 1336 A.D. or the foundation of the empire of Vijayanagara, and is followed by the mediæval period which closes with the battle of Talikota or Rakkas Tadagi in 1565. The modern period is considered under six sub-heads:—

- (i) Expansion—1610 A.D. Conquest of Seringapatam and the expulsion of the Vijayanagara Viceroy by Raja Wadiyar.
- (ii) Consolidation—1704 A.D. Death of Chikka Deva-
raya.
- (iii) Usurpation—1799 A.D. Death of Tipu Sultan,
Fall of Seringapatam and Restoration of the
Hindu dynasty.
- (iv) Restoration—1831 A.D. Assumption of adminis-
tration by the Government of India.
- (v) Commission—1881 A.D. Rendition in favour
of Chamaraja Wadiyar.
- (vi) Post-Rendition—From 1881 A.D. Witnesses the
celebration of the Silver Jubilee of Krishnaraja
Wadiyar IV.

Early History

Under Pre-history and Proto-history in Chapter II, are referred the decay of the low, rude culture of the palæolithic man and the existence of the evidences of the neolithic who used polished stone, pottery, drilled stone and other implements, whose direct descendants were perhaps the Iron-Age men, under whom progress of art was made and whence descended the present inhabitants. The Mahabharata war marked an epoch bringing about a fusion of different races, about the tenth century B.C. or a little before the commencement of the Kali Yuga, and Ramayana recorded the adventures of a Solar king Rama, once a real ruler. Agastya was a conspicuous sage in South India, who gave rise to a cult, and was perhaps the forerunner of the last Aryan migration to the south. Whether he brought letters to the south and civilized the people there we cannot say. His greatness, however, is attested by his identity with one of the most brilliant stars in the heavens, viz., Canopus. Weber says cannibals once existed in the Deccan. Kamma-sandra (near Nelamangala) on the Arkavati river is associated with the traditions of Vatapi and it is doubtful if Yelwal near Mysore is not named after Ilvala. Of the sages, Gautama at Seringapatam, Kanva at Malur (Channapatna), Vibhandaka on the Tunga (Sringeri), Markanda at Bhadra (Kandiya), Dattatreya who establishes oneness of the Hindu trimurtis at the Bababudans and of the Asuras, Guhasura in Harihara, Hidimba at Chitaldrug, Baka in Rahman Ghar, and Mahisha at Chamundi are among the familiar traditions. While the Vanara Kingdom of the monkey race is identified as Kishkinda near Hampe, the Jaina Ramayana in Hale-Kannada traces the genealogy of the kings of the Rakshasas and the Vanaras up to the expedition of Rama and introduces us to the Vidyadharas with their capital at Rathnapura (Chakravalapura). It is important to observe that the Silaharas of Karahāta were known as Vidyadharas.

Haihayas

The Haihayas, a foreign tribe (Wilson), of Scythian origin (Tod and Wilson) were connected with a race of a similar name which first gave kings to China, and Haihaya is said to be a grandson of Yadu. These overran the Deccan, drove Bahu, seventeenth in descent from the Solar Purukutsa from the Mahismati (on the Upper Narmada river), the restorer of the dominion of the Nagas. Sagara, born in the forest, was a conqueror and a great ruler and was an example of liberality in endowing lands. He nearly exterminated the Haihayas and others when Vasishta forbade further slaughter. Then, the Haihayas made their capital at Ratanpur (C. P.) where they were ultimately deposed by the Mahrattas in 1741 A.D. This dynasty approximately ruled from the second to the eighteenth century A.D.

The famous Kartivirya Arjuna was a king of the Haihayas. Jamadagni was a nephew of Visvamitra and his fifth son by Renuka was Parasurama who avenged the death of his father, in the seven Konkanas. Surabhi is identified with Sorab. A temple of Renuka at Chandragutti marks her sati, while Kolahalamma at Kolar is said to have been erected in Renuka's honour, from Kartivirya Arjuna having been there slain. At Hiremagaluru (Kadur district) is a singular memorial in the temple of Parasu (the axe of the hero), and its ancient name of Bhargavipuri connects it with him as he is a descendant of Bhrigu. Rishya Sringa (Kadur district) is the place to which the birth-place of Rama is ascribed. Rama's route from Panchavati (Nasik) on the Godavari to Ramesvara lay through the Mysore Tableland and several places are pointed out in this connection. Similar tradition connects several places with the heroes of the Mahabharata. The Janamejaya grants and several others, most of which, however, are described as spurious, may be referred to. Since villages identifiable in these grants still exist, Rice felt they may not be palpable forgeries. The grants themselves may be genuine, being long ante-dated for security. Historically, however, their value is little.

Archæological

In Chapter III, the archæology of the historical period and epigraphy are dealt with. 1,400 inscriptions incidentally furnish data of great historical value, though their primary object is to record grants for religious and other purposes. Inscriptions proper are really official notifications of a more or less public nature, dated or undated, reciting facts, simple or complex, usually found engraved and not written, on stony surfaces or metal plates, being intended to be permanent records of the matters to which they refer. The antiquity of the Mysore coins is dealt with in Chapter IV under numismatics. Puranas or punchmarked silver and lead coins, the Satavahana coins, a Chinese brass coin belonging to the middle of the second century B.C. found at Chandravalli, and Roman coins may be mentioned. Chapter V is devoted to sculpture and painting. Monuments in wood and stone in Mysore have something unique to offer to the critical student of Indian art. Fragments of carving are not idle curiosities but the highest specimens of art, being a symbolical representation of an idea and suggesting not a mere imitation of nature.

Temple Architecture

Image worship is older than the time of Buddha and is contemporaneous with if not anterior to Patanjali, the systematiser of the Yoga system. It is said that Buddha himself was a follower of Yoga before his enlightenment and the Gandhara sculpture is referred to as an illustration. Image worship was common in Yāska's time and was well known at least in the third century B.C. The Garuda Stambha of Antalkidas (175—135 B.C.) at Besnagar shows that worship of Vasudeva could not be later than the second century B.C. An advanced stage in the development of Vishnu and Siva cults had been reached by the fifth century A.D.

Sculpture

Sculpture consisted of things made of wood, stone, precious gems, i.e., crystal, diamond, ruby, etc., and metals

i.e., images made for processional purposes. Wax moulds belonged to the eighth century A.D. and metal casting was older than the tenth. Agamic writers also add earth, ivory and brick and lime, the latter particularly for vimanas. Of the different classes of sculpture, the Mathura School has no representative in Mysore nor are there any of Bengal, Assam and Orissa: the early Chalukyas of Badami have left no direct examples but there is evidence of their influence in the north-west of Mysore between the fifth and eighth centuries A.D.; there are traces of Pallava sculpture in the monuments in Mulasthana at Nandi; and the Chalukyan or more appropriately the Hoysala dominates Mysore and evidently influenced the ideas of even builders in the Dravidian style in Mysore, Bangalore and Kolar. Thus a trikutachala temple in the Dravidian style occasions no surprise and the florid ornamentation and delicate tracery of the Hoysala school permeates the Dravidian architects of later days.

Mr. Hayavadana Rao gives a catalogue of the several icons of the Hindu pantheon found in the Mysore temples, but the leading features of the different styles of sculpture, and the grouping of sculptural specimens later on would have been more useful.

Nandas and Mauryas

In recounting the history of Mysore, Mr. Hayavadana Rao furnishes a full account of each dynasty and then draws particular attention to the share of Mysore in its vicissitudes. While this method multiplies matter, it nevertheless makes for thoroughness of treatment and has thus to be welcomed. Nandas who were the predecessors of the Mauryas (*E.C.* VII, Sk. 225) are allotted to the fifth century B.C.; they governed Kuntala (*E.C.*, Sk. 236) and from them descended the Kadambas. These renowned Nandas themselves succeeded the Saisunagas. The fifth from Saisunaga was Bimbisara (*circa* 582), the real founder of Magadhan imperial power, who married a Lichchavi Princess of Vaisali and had by her a son, Ajatasatru. His grandson was Udaya whose son

was Nandivardhana. His son Mahanandin had an illegitimate son Mahapadma Nanda, the usurper (413 B.C.) whose eight sons were familiar in connection with Alexander's invasions. Nandagudi (Hoskote) is said to be the capital of Uttunga Bhuja, whose nephews the Nanda Princes, imprisoned by him, obtained their release and seized the kingdom through the machinations of Chanakya. Likewise Mankunda near Malur (Channapatna) is associated with Vijayapala of the solar race. While background for these stories is lacking, the legends exhibit a close connection with the account of the rise of the Kakatiya family of Telugu rulers (Vol. V, pp. 36-37). Chandragupta Maurya was a respectable person, not of base origin, and a relative of the early Nandas. A successful revolution brought him into prominence. He first appears as a youthful adventurer in the camp of Alexander, fleeing from Nanda (Justin), and then proposing to Alexander (Plutarch). His abdication and retirement to Mysore are contained in the Bhadrabahu tradition. Mr. Hayavadana Rao follows the generally accepted interpretations (pp. 460-74) and as regards Dr. Shamasastri's identification of Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty relevantly suggests that his chronology is defective. Bindusara's (298-72 B.C.) military exploits extended to Mysore, Kadamba kings claimed descent from Nanda, and early Pallava inscriptions regard Asoka as one of the ancestors of the dynasty. In the seventh century A.D. a Chalukya monarch, it is said, subdued the Mauryas in the Konkans. The Asokan edicts in Mysore are in Indo-Pali characters. The break-up of the Mauryan Empire about 185 B.C. led to the accession to power of the dynasty of the Sungas (185 B.C. to 73 B.C.) who were followed by the Kanvas (73-28 B.C.)

Andhras

Then came the Andhras, Satavahanas or Andhra-bhritiyas. Their official religion was Brahmanism though there are recorded their donations to Buddhistic institutions. Their connection with Mysore is established and their rule in

its northern parts proved. Mr. C. H. Rao's statement that Kanishka founded the Saka era of 78 A.D. (p. 494) accords with the views of Sten Konow, Jayaswal and others. A relic of Satavahana rule is that the king's name is associated with the name of his mother (*E.C.*, VII, Sk. 176, Sk. 263, *I.A.*, XIV, 333, etc., refer to these kings).

Kadambas

The Kadambas have already been dealt with in separate articles in this Journal (*Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 313-324 and Vol. XXII, pp. 56-64). He places Mayurasarṃa at about 200 A.D., following Dr. Shamasastri but does not state whether the date is acceptable to him. His period of the Kadambas (the third to sixth century A.D.) while opposed to Dubreuil, is supported by palæographical evidence. Religious and social life under the Kadambas, their contribution to history and their importance would have made a welcome addition. Brihad-Banas or Mahavalis are of great antiquity and their connection with the north-east of Mysore is to be found in the inscriptions at Mulbagal from the first to tenth century A.D. The Vaidumbas are to be found in Bowringpet, Bagepalli, Mulbagal and Chintamani Taluks (*M.A.R.*, 1921, § 59).

Pallavas

The powerful dynasty of the Pallavas succeeded the Andhrabhṛityas in the regions where the Telugu language is now spoken. In some grants, these rulers profess to be of the Bharadvaja gotra but the Puranas mention them along with the Yavanas. Pahlavas are now considered different from the Pallavas who radiated in all directions from their capital at Kanchi. With the abandonment of the Parthian origin, they are traced to the Cholas and Nagas, and Krishna Sastri deduces them from an intermingling of Brahman and Dravidian tribes. If the theory of their foreign origin be untenable, the suggestion of the transference of hatred between the Seleucidæ and Arsacidæ from Mesopotamia to India is far-fetched and the causes of the war between Chalukyas

and Pallavas must be traced elsewhere, *e.g.*, in the religious disputes between the Saivites and Vaishnavites as suggested by Venkayya. According to a copper-plate of Rayakota, Asvatthaman,* the Brahman founder of the race, married a Naga woman and the son born of that connection was Skandasishya and thence arose the Pallavas. In the *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 246, they are regarded as Brahmana-Kshatriyas, like the Kadambas, Nolambas and Matsyas of Oddavadi, *i.e.*, as being Brahmans in origin and Kshatriyas by profession. Regarding the dynasties of the Pallava kings, it has to be observed that there are Prakrit charters from about the third to fourth century A.D. showing that the court language was once Prakrit. Their connection with the Andhras enables Krishna Sastri to fill up the gap of a century. From the fifth to the sixth century A.D. they employ Sanskrit charters and their lithic inscriptions belong from the sixth to eighth centuries. The line of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, who, on account of his tender age and as having descended from Bhimavarman, the younger brother of Simhavishnu, was elected by the nobles, was also called Gangapallava. The history of the different branches of this dynasty has been sketched (pp. 537-80). The Nolamba Pallavas were overrun about 974 A.D. by the Ganga King Marasimha. The Chola conquest and the occupation of the Western Chalukyas were other episodes. The social life in the ninth century A.D. can be gleaned, among others, from Velurpalaiyam and Tandantottam plates. The Brahman religion was reasserting itself, Vishnu and Siva temples became abundant, and learned Brahmans as spiritual preceptors of kings had large gifts of land. The high state of Sanskrit education is evidenced by the Bahur Plates (p. 584).

Gangas

The sway of the Gangas may be roughly described to date from the second century A.D. to the eleventh century.

* *S.I.I.*, II, pp. 361-74; *M.E.R.*, 1916, p. 114; *S.I.I.*, I, pp. 12-14; *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 49-53; Virakurcha (*S.I.I.*, II, pp. 342-61; *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 115-24).

The Gangaridæ Calinge is not connected with these. The Gangas, however, are referred to by the Greek writers of Alexander's time, by Virgil, Valerius Flaccus, Curtius and Pliny among others. Their traditional stories and their lithic records are referred to (pp. 586-92). Several Ganga copper-plates have been discovered, not a few of them being regarded as genuine. A discrepancy in the week day, or a more accurate reading of a date is not *per se* sufficient to condemn a grant. In palæography, it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line and recent grants have confirmed Fleet's test and Rice's conjecture. For a proper reconciliation of dates given in the copper-plates with what is contained in lithic inscriptions, a systematic village-var survey is essential. Plenty of references to the social, economic and religious life of the period is given.

Chalukyas

Between the fifth to the eighth century the Chalukyas were in the ascendant in the north-west of Mysore. Apart from their Puranic origins, their real source is far from clear: Kon Kanpur of Hiuen Tsiang is perhaps Banavase, not Koppana, Anegondi or Golkonda. Pulikesi II exchanging presents in Persia is said to be represented in the frescoes in Ajanta, but it has not been accepted (*J.I.H.*, IV, Pt. II, p. 33). It is again a debatable point whether Siladitya has to be identified with Harsha (p. 716).

Rashtrakutas who succeeded them played an important part in Mysore. These were Rattas or Rajput Rathors. Amoghavarsha's trans-Indian reputation may be observed (*E.C.*, XI, Chit. 76 and 49). The Arabs paid tribute to Rashtrakuta rule with which they were in friendly relations. Of the Rashtrakutas, Nripatunga (pp. 738-46) receives detailed notice. He is the author of *Kavirajamarga* and he may have received support from Sri Vijaya.

Vikramaditya VI (pp. 800-26) was a Jain but catholic in his patronage. There was a Saiva revival at Banavase, Nalambavadi, etc., and Kālāmukhas gained royal favour. The Kālāmukhas seemed to have belonged to Muvara-Koneya-

Santati of the Parvatavali (Sk. 99) and their head and heavenly seer and emperor was Divyajñāni Kāsmira Deva.

Kalachuryas

A short but eventful period in our history was that of the Kalachuryas, under whom, within a short space of twenty-seven years, Veerasaivism developed into a strict and militant type. Kannada literary effort was stimulated and the more ancient Buddhist and Jaina faiths suffered eclipse.

Cholas

Mr. Hayavadana Rao's account of the Cholas, a very old royal line going back to the fourth century B.C., is the most exhaustive narrative we have till to-day and 408 pages are devoted to it. He still adheres to the second century theory of Karikala, which is being given up by Tamil scholars. He does not agree with the view that Kulottunga Chola II persecuted Ramanujacharya and controverts it by referring to the inscriptions which describe him as a liberal-minded king. A detailed review of the economic, social and religious life in the Chola period is given from 850—1250 A.D. We may also note that the economic history of South India as derived from inscriptions has since been published under the auspices of the Madras University.

Hoysalas

The history of the Hoysalas has also been narrated in the pages of this Journal (*Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 292-309 and Vol. VIII, pp. 61-76). After detailing it, Mr. C. H. Rao gives us a picture of their religious, social, literary and artistic life under each ruler instead of in a separate chapter with a view to emphasize their just importance. Ballala III (1291—1342 A.D.) frequently resided at a place variously described but perhaps Hampe or its vicinity and the transition from their rule to that of Vijayanagar, as I have remarked in my Vijayanagara Lectures, was not marked by any bloody conflict and in all probability there was a close alliance between the two dynasties.

Pandyas

Frequent Pandyan incursions broke up the Chola Empire and its collapse paved the way for Mahomedan incursions whose invading armies marched through the Chola country. The Pandyans were the next to fall and forty years of Pandyan occupation of the Chola territories were followed by half a century of Mahomedan usurpation in Southern India. These were not without their repercussions on the Hoysala Empire whose capital was twice sacked by Malik Kafur. Under the banner of the Vijayanagar kings the Hindu princes united and a Vijayanagara prince, Kampana II, ultimately drove the Mahomedan garrisons from Madura.

Vijayanagara

In his interesting sketch of the Empire of Vijayanagara, Mr. C. H. Rao rightly believes in the Karnataka origin of the empire and the influence of Vidyaranya in the foundation. He scrutinizes the views of Sewell in the light of inscriptions and corrects them. For example, the story of Devaraya I giving his daughter in marriage to Firoz seems unfounded (p. 1549); and the suggestion that Devaraya II ascended the throne through his elder sister, who was perhaps married into the Bahamani family, has to be given up, since it is now known that Devaraya II had a younger brother called Pratapa Devaraya and it is he who is referred to in *Nijāgrajāt prāpta* (pp. 1570-71). The first and the second usurpations have been adequately dealt with. Krishnadevaraya is the best of Vijayanagara rulers and, in spite of his brilliant achievements, Ramaraya is an usurper. The great battle with which the Empire fell recalls the remark of Cæsar Frederick that the defeat of the Hindus was due to the treachery of their Mahomedan armies led by Ain-ul-Mulk.

Social Life

Social life in the middle of the fifteenth century was dominated by religion and castes were crystallized into water-tight compartments, retarding social progress and development.

Under the Vijayanagara kings, foreign trade with all parts of the world increased. With the absence of a necessity for sinking religious differences, they became unable to unite and keep the foreign aggressor at bay. But the good of the Empire to South India cannot be too fully set out. People of South India are the children of that Empire—in religion, social life and philosophic ideals. Spread of Saivism and Vaishnavism, literature and fine arts, architecture and sculpture, learning and the secular arts flourished. With these as a valued heritage to posterity, the Vijayanagara Empire lives, though dead and its fall marks the passage from the mediæval to the modern world, ushering in the greatest transition in the history of South India.

In the later history of Mysore, the exaggeration contained in the alleged treatment of the Jangamas has been pointed out; that the events of 1831 did not justify the Government of India taking the administration of Mysore from Krishnaraja Wadiyar III has been established; and the lives of Haider and Tippu are given a proper setting. Characterized with a fulness of detail, accuracy of information and an insight into the originals, the modern history of Mysore has been sketched from every point of view.

IV. ECONOMIC

Vol. III (1929), pp. 430, is well called the economic as it is concerned with the economic welfare of the people of the State. The economic conference, agriculture, irrigation, mines and minerals, electric power, arts, industries and manufactures, commerce and trade, co-operative societies, means of communication, rents, prices and wages, famine and economic condition of the people are the topics dealt with. Most of the matters included in this volume is fresh and indicates the progress achieved by the State under the ægis of Krishnaraja Wadiyar IV, the present Maharaja.

V. ADMINISTRATIVE

Vol. IV (1929) is administrative. The system of administration from the days of the Mauryas to 1831 is sketched

in Chapter I, followed by an account of the administrative machinery up to 1855—the non-regulation period. The transition period followed up for another six years and the Regulation period comprised the years between 1863—1881. The system of administration since the Rendition—Revenue and Survey Departments, Inam Settlement, Excise Administration, Protection, Local Self-Government, Life Assurance, Army, Technical Departments, Public Instruction, University, Muzrai, etc. has been sketched, as usual, with thoroughness and lucidity.

VI. GAZETTEER

Volume V of the work under review, printed in 1930, is a stout and unwieldy volume, containing nearly 1,500 pages including the index. In plan it follows the earlier edition, district-var. The first section is descriptive, detailing situation, area, boundaries, physical aspects, etc. The next section gives the historical and archæological notes and these are followed by the economic, administrative and gazetteer sections.

CONCLUSION

Connected with many a legend enshrined in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, not to speak of the palæolithic or the neolithic periods, the ancient history of Mysore is both varied and interesting. In the course of his expedition to search for Sita who was carried off by Ravana, Sri Ramachandra is generally admitted to have passed through the Mysore Plateau. In attempting to rescue her, Jatayu was mortally wounded on the Jatinga Ramesvara Hill (Mk. 27) and Hanuman crossed the Cauvery River at Ramanathapura (Ag. 53; Yd. 25, 26), its tributary Lakshmanatirtha being named after Lakshmana. On the return journey, Rama passed through Avani, Nandi (Cb. 22) and Mulkunte (Tu. 14).

As regards the Mahabharata, Kaivara may be Ekachakrapura (Ct. 86, 87); Kuntidevi built a temple at Chickaballapura (Cb. 29); and after the performance of the Rajasuya sacrifice,

the Pandavas came to Belgami where they set up five lingas, (Sk. 126). Matsya, capital of Virataraya, is Hangal in Dharwar, just over the north-west border of the present Mysore. The edicts and inscriptions of Asoka belonging to the first half of the third century B.C. have been discovered. Mysore was under the sway of the Haihayas and of the Nandas who ruled over Kuntala (Sk. 225). Northern parts of Mysore were, perhaps, also under Mauryan rule. The Satavahanas and the Mahavalis or Banas occupied Mysore territories in their day. The first indigenous dynasty of the Kadambas was well known even in the Western World. The Gangas of Talakad ruled over Mysore for nine centuries and were succeeded by the essentially Mysorean dynasty of the Hoysalas which could take its place amongst the most glorious dynasties of South India : and Vijayanagar as an offspring of the national efforts of the Hoysalas and others laid the foundations of an empire which yet lives to-day in the affections of the people of India. The Mysore Rajas who succeeded to this heritage have contributed their valour and genius to the building up of the great edifice which has been recounted by Mr. Hayavadana Rao. With chapters in bold relief on the Hoysala princes, the Vijayanagara Viceroys, the Palayagars of Ikkeri and other Palayapats, the Mahomedan Sultans and the Mysore Wadiyars, names like those of Vishnuvardhana, Kempegowda, Jagadevaraya, Chikkadevaraya and others would emerge from obscurity and take the place which is due to them among heroes famous in Indian history.

REVIEWS.

Sri Ramayanada Antarartha or Mokshamarga Pradipike.

BY YEDATORE SUBBARAO.

(Price Rs. 6.)

THE work before us is not the first and there have been several attempts which have been previously made to give a philosophical meaning to the Rāmāyaṇa story. The struggle of the Jīvātma to become one with or to realize its identity with the supreme soul has been portrayed in the sthula fashion as the parable of the Rāmāyaṇa. The pancha prāṇās with the upa-prāṇās, the indriyās (both jñānēndriyās and karmēndriyās) and the śaṭ-ripus have all been personified and given human forms, being made to assist or array against Rāma, the Jīvātma. Lakshmaṇa who is said to be the five-headed Ananta, is, for instance, the five-stranded prāṇa. Jānakī is the divine love for mukti, the attainment of which is obstructed by Rāvaṇa, ten-headed or possessed of the ten indriyās. Rāma is helped in this by the mārutas or the prāṇic currents. It may be possible, therefore, to compare the story of Rāma with the rousing of the kundalinī śakti in the human body, the object of which is also the realization of the supreme soul. But the identification of the chief places given in the epic with the chakras does not appear to be wholly justified: nor is the progress from one chakra to another satisfactorily compared with the episodes in the Rāmāyaṇa. Nevertheless, we congratulate the author on his laudable attempt to give an esoteric meaning to the legends of Rāma and we trust, in a revised edition, experience gained from Yōga practices will be brought into fuller play towards the completion of the work. To explain these in Kannada is not easy but Mr. Subbarao has done his best to acquaint the ordinary reader with his views.

S. S.

Jyotirvinodini.

BY MR. N. VENKATESA IYENGAR, B.A.

(No. 1. Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Pariposhita Karnataka
Vaijnanika Granthamala. Karnataka Sahitya Parishad. Rs. 2.)

THIS excellent Kannada work is the translation of Camille Flammarion's Astronomy for women in French translated into English and

known as Francis A. Welby's *Astronomy for Amateurs*. His Highness the Yüvaraja's munificent gift of Rs. 2,500 has made this valuable publication possible. It contains 289 pages of interesting and up-to-date matter relating to our knowledge of the heavenly bodies and has four appendices dealing with: (1) Translations of Kannada words used, (2) English or Greek equivalents of the twenty-seven asterisms described in the lunar mansions of the Hindu astronomers, (3) the names of the stars, planets, comets, moons and the like referred to in the text and as known to Western astronomers, and (4) a general appendix, all these alphabetically arranged to facilitate ready reference. Eight pictures illustrate the appearance of the firmament or the starry heavens at the time of the four principal equinoxes of the year. Certain clusters of stars are shown: we are taken through the nebulae in Orion, Andromeda and Dogstar; and we can see how Jupiter and Saturn appear at a distance. The famous Halley and Biela Comets are also included among the numerous illustrations in the work.

For a simple yet forceful style, elegant diction and clear exposition, the book leaves nothing to be desired. As a handbook of astronomy, we commend the work to every reader of Kannada.

S. S.

Inscriptions of the Pudukottai State. (Two Volumes.)

(Published by the Government.)

WE welcome the two volumes published by the Government of Pudukotta containing the texts and lists of inscriptions found in the State up to 1929, under the able editorship of Sir T. Desikachari. The State is rich in places of historical interest going back at least to the dawn of Christianity—as attested by the Brāhmi inscription. The Sittannavāsai caves and frescoes compete with Bagh and Sigiriya in their importance. The Kudimaimalai record, as a treatise on music, is unique and refers to systems unknown to modern Indian musicians. Other inscriptions range from the time of the Pallavas to the downfall of the Vijayanagar dynasty. The State was often the cockpit of South India in the fratricidal strife between the Cholas and Pandyas and several times changed its masters according to political vicissitudes. The Government deserve our thanks for making these available to the public.

R.

The Pallava Genealogy.

BY REV. H. HERAS, S.J.

THE History of the Pallavas has many unsolved problems, the foremost among them being the order of succession from the period of the Prakrit charters to the final Pallava overthrow by the Cholas. Admittedly, the famous Velurpalayam and Vayalur lists repeat several names, including even Puranic ones. Krishna Sastri attempted to simplify the long list of Pallava kings. And Rev. Heras has seriously embarked upon this problem in the work under review. By a rigid and critical examination of the Pallava genealogy, he has reduced the number of the rulers of the dynasty to twenty-four. It is not easy to differ from the methods of Rev. Heras in arriving at this result, though perhaps one still feels that a too rigid or sweeping simplification and identification of names has been made as, for example, in the equation of Sivaskandavarman with Kumara Vishnu. It is again considered too much to suppose that the Pallava kings had their capital at Kanchi from the very beginning but this fact is clearly indicated from the discovery of the earliest inscription of the dynasty—the Hirehadagalli plates of Sivaskandavarman. The Tables are a valuable adjunct to our study of the Pallava history.

R.

The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments.

(*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 23.*)

THE work under review unfortunately does not add to the meagre knowledge we have regarding the important dynasty of the Haihayas of Tripuri, from such well-known antiquarian scholars like Cunningham, Hiralal and others. Nevertheless, Mr. Bannerjea has done well in putting together important information scattered in several places. Nor can it be said that the account of the monuments is complete. He does not tell us, for instance, whether the star-shaped designs of the Hoysala temples were suggested by the circular garbhagrihas of the Chedi Kingdom. We feel all the more that the great and unrivalled scholarship of Mr. Bannerjea has been lost to us and it will take long before the several gaps in the history of this dynasty can be filled up. It is interesting to observe that the Chedi Era of 249 A.D. is called the Traikuta and also the

Kalachuri Era, although there is no apparent relationships or other alliances between these dynasties or between the earlier or the later Kalachuries or the Haihayas. But evidently, Mr. Bannerjea confined his attention to the monuments in the country of the Haihayas and he was besides handicapped by the paucity of material to present a satisfactory essay on the subject. What he has given, however, amply compensates us. Though we are unable to say how this dynasty came to an end, from their monuments and inscriptions, like the Bilhari Inscription, the newly discovered Gurgi Inscription and others, we learn that Saiva ascetics were very influential in the country and that most of their inscriptions refer to spiritual guidance imparted by the monks to the rulers of the country.

The plans and illustrations are excellently done and we are gratified that this monograph has, though late, been made available to the public.

R.

The Southern Recension of the Mahabharata.

CRITICALLY EDITED BY P. P. S. SASTRI, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A.

THE Mahābhārata occupies a position of importance in all investigations regarding the literature and civilization of Ancient India, as it is a repository of information on political institutions, sociological matters, and religious and philosophic systems. As R. C. Dutt aptly described, "it is no exaggeration to say that the two hundred millions of Hindus of the present day cherish in their hearts the story of their ancient epics. No single work except the Bible has such influence in affording moral instruction in Christian lands as the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa in India." The Mahābhārata, the history of the Bhāratas, is therefore sure to live as the greatest heritage to posterity left by our ancients. And none will deny the necessity for a critical and authoritative edition of this work. All the editions so far issued have some drawbacks and leave something to be desired. What is, therefore, needed is a scientific and critical edition with the several variants duly noted, the text itself being critically sifted and well established by correlating the different provincial texts in order to arrive at the original.

The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has undertaken such an edition and has issued, so far, five fascicules. But Mr. P. P. S. Sastri says rightly that Dr. Sukthankar's edition

is the Northern Recension and that since an equally critical and authoritative Southern Recension is badly needed, he has taken up the work now under review.

I entirely agree with Mr. Sastri in his view that the Brahma-Gaṇeśa episode is a late Northern intruder and has no place in the Southern Recension. He seems also right in his opinion that the Kumbakonam edition cannot be considered a Southern Recension at all inasmuch as it not only maintains the Gaṇeśa episode but also preserves in the main, the scheme of chapters and verses according to the Northern System. As regards the method in working out the new edition, there is a fundamental difference between the B.O.R.I. and Mr. Sastri. While Dr. Sukthankar proposes to constitute the text of the Mahābhārata as closely as possible to Vyāsa's version of it, Mr. Sastri's edition is to choose one thoroughly reliable and representative manuscript as the principal text and add, by way of critical apparatus, the more important variations of readings found in four other different manuscripts which are indisputably Southern.

Two Volumes—Ādi Parva—Parts I and II, have been so far published. I congratulate the publishers on the neat letter-press, the fine get-up and very handy size of the publication. It is hoped that it will be possible to insert in the book, illustrations in colour, every attempt being made to visualize the ancient times by producing the costumes and manners in vogue at that period. An index giving the first letter of the verses may also be usefully added, if the necessary additional expense be not prohibitive. It behoves the Indian Princes, merchant-princes, nobles and the public at large to help the enterprise and make it a success. No apology is needed for concluding this review with the following prayer of Śrī Paramahansa Svāmi Brahmānanda to Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana Vyāsa, the author of the Mahābhārata :—

सकलधर्मनिरूपणसागरम् ।

विविधचित्रकथासमलंकृतम् ॥

विरचयन् पुराणकदंबकम् ।

मुनिवरं तमहं सततं भजे ॥

History of Mysore.

BY MARK WILKS.

(Edited by Sir Murray Hammick. *Mysore Government Press.*
1930.)

"THE Historical Sketches of Southern India" by Wilks, a favourite with South Indian historians, had become scarce, since its publication a hundred years ago, and the Government of Mysore deserve the thanks of all for making this classic available to the public.

As Wilks' account of Mysore is eminently readable and it often gives authentic first-hand information regarding contemporary events and as a Resident in Mysore, he had access to several State papers and could write with authority, its usefulness and value as a chronicle of contemporary events cannot be gainsaid. However, the early history of Mysore as given by him requires to be checked and revised in the light of the enormous mass of epigraphical and numismatical information now available.

The early rajas of Mysore, for example, were not heartless despots draining the ryots of their last pie nor were Haider and Tippu really the ferocious bigots as suggested by Wilks. Mr. Narasimhachar has referred us to the humane aspects of Tippu Sultan's administration in his Archæological Reports. Sir Murray Hammick has added a brief account of the life of Wilks and given occasional footnotes relating to the identification of places and references to later works. But they do not materially add to our knowledge, unfortunately; perhaps, Sir Murray has done well in preserving the integrity of Wilks' work, leaving to others a critical study of Mysore History in a separate volume. Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao has indeed summarized the later History of Mysore in the revised edition of the Gazetteer.

R.

Two Dialogues of Plato.

(Translated by Editors, "*The Shrine of Wisdom*," London. 4/6 net.)

THE new translation of the First Alcibiades and the Meno by the Editors of "*The Shrine of Wisdom*" will be warmly welcomed by all students of philosophy. In the First Alcibiades, there is on the one hand the maieutic (obstetric or assisting) form of dialogue through which our latent reasons are called forth leading us to

Wisdom. On the other, Socrates leads his hearers to the Beautiful by the amatory science, whereby one ascends as far as to the Good. In the Meno, the disputative method is used and one is made aware of one's own ignorance. These two Dialogues well express two fundamental and closely related truths. For while the First Alcibiades shows the means whereby the soul may arrive at a knowledge of its real self, the Meno makes it clear that the soul inherently possesses innate ideas of truth : that it is immortal and that it recollects rather than learns truth.

The most important principle of Plato's Dialogues is the knowledge of ourselves and as the First Alcibiades conforms to this it may be said to be the beginning of all philosophy. Similar are the inquiries and investigations regarding Self made in the Sacred Books of the Hindus. The Aitarēyōpaniṣad discusses about it as below :

कोऽयमात्मेति वयमुपास्महे कतरः स आत्मा । येन वा रूपं पश्यति येन वा शब्दं शृणोति येन वा गन्धानाजिघ्रति येन वा वाचं व्याकरोति येन वा स्वादु चास्वादु च विजानाति ॥ १ ॥

Who is this Self whom we think of ? What among all things is that Self ? It is that by which one sees visible objects ; by which one hears sound ; by which one smells something ; by which one speaks ; by which one discriminates between a good and a bad thing.

यदेतत् हृदयं मनश्चैतत् संज्ञानमाज्ञानं विज्ञानं प्रज्ञानं मेधादृष्टिर्भूतिर्मतिर्मनीषा जूतिः स्मृतिः सङ्कल्पः क्रतुरसुः कामो वश इति । सर्वाण्येवैतानि प्रज्ञानस्य नामधेयानि भवन्ति ॥ २ ॥

It is what is called heart, the sensorium, consciousness, activity, ideation, reason, intellect, knowledge, power of grasping, attention, meditation, alertness, memory, determination, resolution, vitality, desire, will—in short, all aspects of Reason.

एष ब्रह्मैष इन्द्र एष प्रजापतिरेते सर्वे देवा इमानि च पञ्च महीभूतानि पृथिवी वायुराकाशआपोज्योतिषीत्येतानीमानि च क्षुद्रमिश्राणीव बीजानीतराणि चेताराणि चाण्डाजानि च जारुजानि च स्वेदजानि चोद्भिज्जानि चाश्वागावः पुरुषा हस्तिनो यत्किञ्चेदं प्राणि जङ्गमंच पतत्रि च यच्च स्थावरं सर्वं तत् प्रज्ञानेत्रं प्रज्ञाने प्रतिष्ठितं प्रज्ञानेत्रो लोकः प्रजाप्रतिष्ठा प्रज्ञानं ब्रह्म ॥ ३ ॥

It is Brahma, Indra, Prajāpathi, all the gods, five elements (earth, air, ether, water, fire), plants born from seeds, and creatures

of all kinds, born from eggs, from uterus, from dirt as also horses, cows, men, elephants including those that fly or move—in short, all lives, movable or immovable, that are led by Reason or possess Reason. For the world is led by Reason and rests in Reason.

स एतेन प्रज्ञेनात्मनास्मद्धोकादुत्क्रम्यामुष्मिन् स्वर्गे लोके सर्वान् कामान्
आप्त्वामृतः समभवत् समभवत् ॥ ४ ॥ इत्योम्

It (Self) having got over this world with the help of Reason and having obtained all objects of desire in the Heaven, became immortal.

N. I.

The Mysore Tribes and Castes. Vol. IV.

(Mysore Government Press.)

THIS volume is on a par with those already issued as regards quality of material, bulk of the book and its get-up. As many as forty-three tribes and castes in Mysore have been treated and a fund of information has been given under each tribe. There are, however, a couple of points in which the reviewer feels unable to agree with the learned author—Rao Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer. There seems to be no attempt made to minimise the number of castes by grouping them under some well-known major divisions. On the contrary, every sub-caste and even a section of a sub-caste has been exaggerated and elevated into the position of an independent caste or tribe. I may mention, as an instance, the Okkalu. In this volume, Kotte Okkalu, Morasu Okkalu and Reddi have been separately treated instead of being treated under the head of "Okkalu". Equally indiscriminate is the way in which the book is illustrated as most of these serve no ethnographical purpose whatever. Nevertheless, the publication deserves to be in the hands of every ethnologist.

N. I.

Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1927-28.

THIS is the first volume issued by Mr. H. Hargreaves, Sir John Marshall having been placed on other duties after a distinguished and brilliant record of service for twenty-six years as the head of the Department. Though there were no sensational discoveries during

the year, yet considerable additions have been made to our stock of knowledge. A detailed survey of Baluchistan and Waziristan has revealed remains in these parts dating from the early Chalcolithic civilization to historical times, thus proving that that culture was wide-spread all over Western Asia. Excavations conducted at Jukar, sixteen miles north of Mohen-jo-daro, show traces of Chalcolithic culture and it is surmised that the place was destroyed before the Arab conquest of Sind. Further spadework at Sarnath has brought to light one apsidal temple and finely polished octagonal pillars of the Asokan epoch. Excavations at Paharpur till now in the hands of the Varendra Research Society and Dr. Bhandarkar have been since taken on hand by the Government. The great vihara of Dharmapala was cleared of debris and identified; exhibiting a wealth of terracotta materials, similar to those of Sravasti and Nalanda delineating the folk-life of the people in plaques of rare beauty. Further diggings were undertaken at Nagarjunikonda where were found eighteen ancient inscriptions and several valuable sculptures. On the strength of these inscriptions, it is sought to be identified with the Sripavata of Nagarjuna, though as recently pointed out in the *I. H. Q.*, whether this was the home of the great Nagarjuna of the Vajrayana School or the later one, may still be questioned.

Brahmi inscriptions of Mauryan times were found incised in caverns cut on the hillock near the Pugatur station on the Erode and Trichinopoly line. Another record establishes the existence of Karur in the third century as Karuvur. Some 271 Kanarese inscriptions were copied during the year, belonging to the Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Rashtrakutas, the Kalachuryas and others. The letter-press, the photographs and the get-up have been as usual quite in keeping with the former publications.

S. S.

Pranayama.

POPULAR YOGA, VOL. 2—PART I.

[*"Kaivalyadhama"*. Lonavla (G. I. P.). Price Rs. 2-8-0.]

ŚRIMAT KUVALAYANANDA, the Editor of the well-known journal "*Yōga-Mīmāṃsa*", has planned to publish a series of books on "*Popular Yōga*", of which the first part is devoted to the practical study of *Prāṇāyāma*; and of the eight varieties mentioned by

Svātmārāma Sūri in his Haṭha Pradīpika, two types, *viz.* : Ujjāyī and Bhastrikā, are discussed therein.

An anatomical note on the parts of the body that play an important rôle in respiration as also of the physiological effects of breathing and its control has been given. Though a chapter has been devoted for the explanation of the "Physiological and Spiritual Values" of Prāṇāyāma, very little, unfortunately, has been said on the spiritual aspect of it. The Author could, no doubt, have shown how, on the physical plane prāṇa manifests itself in the animal body as breath through inspiration (Sah or Śakti) and expiration (Ha or Śiva); how the male principle of prāṇa throws out, while the female principle draws in in accordance with the nature of Śakti as Śabda-brahman or Kula-kundalinī and how breathing itself is a mantra called Ajapa (unrecited) as it is said without volition. He might have, with advantage, shown how the nādis are conduits of prāṇa; how through them the solar and lunar currents run; how by Prāṇāyāma, prāṇa is made to run through Suṣumna and how, after passing through the chakras, it is made to leave the body through Brahmarandhra.

The illustrations and the glossary, not to speak of the appendices, increase the usefulness of this excellent, instructive and interesting publication, and the other volumes are looked for with eager interest.

N. I.

Hosa Huttu.

BY A. N. KRISHNA RAO, ESQ.

(Published by V. G. T. Agency, Bangalore.)

THIS pamphlet is a collection of essays in forcible and vigorous Kannada on the renaissance in Asia, and of the topics discussed, two chapters are given to the republican upheaval in China, the rest dealing with historical figures in India and with Indian art and culture. Eight half-tone portraits have added to the value of the book.

R.

**Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy
for the Year ending 31st March 1929.**

MUCH good work was done during the year: eighty-four villages were visited, 542 inscriptions copied, twenty-two copper-plates secured and 206 photographs taken. A list of photo-negatives stored in the office (corrected up to 31st March 1928) was published, and two Urdu inscriptions copied during the year were got deciphered. It is worthy of notice that scholars and private parties continued to take interest in epigraphy as will be seen from the large number of requisitions for copies of transcripts and for estampages of inscriptions. The earliest inscription in the collection (No. 1, App. A) is a fragmentary record engraved on an odd copper-plate received from the Collector of Ganjam. The language is Sanskrit, the characters being those of the sixth century A.D. resembling that of grants of the Kadamba kings Kākusthavarman and Mṛigēśavarman and of the Śarabhavarman plates. Of the inscriptions in the year's collection mention may be made of the following as being of some historical importance:—

Inscription No. 55 (p. 11) found in the Svayamprakāśeśvara temple in Sivapuri village, records a political compact between Rājēndrasōḷaṇ *alias* Nishadarāyaṇ and Kaṇḍaṇ—Sundarattoḷaṇ *alias* Turvarāpativeḷaṇ (*cf.* also No. 65, p. 12). No. 63 (p. 11) is a long composite record of the time (third year) of Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundarapaṇḍya, *i.e.*, perhaps Maravarman Sundarapaṇḍya I. No. 144 (p. 18) is a Pallava inscription from Śeṇṇivāyakkāl, engraved evidently on a hero stone, bearing on it the figure of a Brahman wearing the sacred-thread, with an arrow piercing his neck. Nos. 120 and 121 (p. 16) show that the Pallava king Tellārrinda-Naṇdivarman and the Paṇḍyan Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ Varaguṇa-Maharaja were contemporaries. No. 228 (p. 25) in Tīrthapurīśvara temple in Tiruvadatturai village states that as the Hoysala king Narasimhadēva destroyed the country and the temples and took away the images of gods, Udaiyanāyakan *alias* Tēvāramalagiyār Vānarājan, a mudali of Nāyanār Vānakōvaraiyar, set up in the temple of Tiruvaṇatturai-uḍaiya Nāyanār, the images of Āṭkoṇḍa Nayaka and his consort with a prabhā and of Tiruvāḍavār Perumāl. No. 343 (p. 35) in the Tiruppāleśvara temple in Tiruppalaivanam traces the genealogy of Tammu-Siddhi from (the Telugu-Chōḷa chiefs) Kalikāla-Chōḷa of the Solar

Race through Madhurāntaka Tilunga Vijja, Nalla-Siddha, Ēra-Siddhi and Beṭṭa. No. 460 (p. 44) at Kudupu in the Mangalore Taluk is interesting as it mentions that in the reign of Bukkarāya of Vijayanagara in Ś. 1297, Rākṣasa, Kartika Su. 1, Thursday, a gift of money and paddy was made to Vidyāranya-Śrīpada of Sringeri for feeding Brahmans and for offerings to the temple of Śaṅkaradeva. No. 461 (p. 44) in the Anantapadmanābhāsvāmin temple in Kuḍup village, mentions Mainda-Heggade. The king is mentioned with the titles of Pāṇḍyachakravarti, Basavasāṅkara, Rāyagajānikuṣa. No. 464 (p. 44) in the Mahalingeśvara temple in Kavaru village mentions Basavaṇṇa Oḍeya as governing Maṅgalūr-rājya under the king's orders. No. 467 (p. 44) in the Sōmāthēśvara temple in Someśvara village mentions Tryambakadēva-Voḍeya as governing Maṅgalūru-rajya. No. 469 (p. 44) in the Durgā-Paramēśvari temple in Kulai village mentions Haḍapada Mādarasa, son of Paṇḍaridēva as governing Maṅgalūru-rājya. No. 470 (p. 44) in the same temple mentions Nāgaṇṇa-Oḍeya, son of Mādarasa-Oḍeya as governing Maṅgalūru-rājya. No. 475 (p. 45) Ś. 1298 from Vuḷāybettu refers to a teacher Vidyāgiritīrtha-Śrīpada. No. 486 (p. 46) Ś. 1325, on a slab in the prakāra of the Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaswāmin temple in Chantaru village of Udipi taluk mentions Mahābaladēva-Oḍeya as governing Bārakūru-rājya and refers to Śaṅkarāranya-Śrīpādā, a disciple of Vidyāranya. No. 526 in the Nēmiśvara Basti in Varanga village gives the ancestry of the Ālupa king Kulasekhara and mentions his queen Jākalamādevi and three other persons of whom an interesting account is given on pp. 79-80. No. 204 (p. 23) refers to the image of Vātāpi-Gaṇapati, perhaps indicating the conquests of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman over Bādāmi.

Valuable and useful appendices have been given for purposes of ready reference and detailed information. With the addition of plates and the text of inscriptions, this publication is bound to prove still more useful in the future than it has been in the past.

S. S.

An Archæological Tour in Gedrosia.

(*Memoirs of Archæological Survey of India. No. 43. 1931.*)

BY SIR A. STEIN.

SIR A. STEIN, well known for his tours and travels of exploration, who has added considerably to our knowledge of Serindia, and the Indian borderland, the Swat Valley, has now enriched our knowledge of Ancient India, by contributing a monograph which embodies the labours of his researches in Gedrosia. This waterless desert conquered the iron constitution of Philip's warlike son Alexander and later became a trophy of Chandragupta who won it from the companion of Alexander. Thence on the region falls out of the purview of Indian history. Sir Stein has now succeeded in rousing our attention to the importance of this province, which fully shared with Mohenjodaro, the pulsating movements of the Chalcolithic civilizations. For it has revealed to us a wealth of pottery, figurines of bulls and goddesses, skulls of the neolithic period, all indicating a close affinity to the great Indus culture. Besides, its dialect, the Brahui, is closely allied to the Dravidian dialects, suggesting marked affinities in various directions. The more is our regret, therefore, that we are unable to get at the root cause of the desiccation of these once fertile fields of culture.

R.

Jainism in North India.

(*Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1932. £ 2 2s.*)

MR. CHIMANLAL J. SHAH, M.A., has brought out, in book form, his thesis to the University of Bombay for the degree of Master of Arts, wherein he gives a history of Jainism from its origin in 800 B.C. to the end of the Gupta Period in 526 A.D. As Rev. H. Heras, S.J., in his Foreword points out, "two limits will be found in this history of Jainism by Mr. Shah—one geographical, the other chronological," *viz.*, geographically to North India (Āryāvarta of Rev. Heras) and chronologically, at A.D. 526 when in Vallabhi council a list of canonical works of Jainism was finally drawn up. In his fairly lengthy account, Mr. Shah has tried to show that, at least from the days of Pārśva or from 800 B.C. down to the supposed conversion of the great Vikrama in the beginning of the Christian Era and, to some extent even throughout the Kushāṇa

and the Gupta periods, Jainism was the most powerful religion in the North. Nevertheless, we cannot help echoing the following statement of Mr. Shah :—" However, until the numerous Jaina inscriptions, and manuscripts which exist everywhere in the North are collected and translated and until plans are made of the architectural remains and statistics gathered, it is idle to speculate either about the extent and strength of Jainism in the North or about its vicissitudes during its existence there." The book is an excellent attempt in the right direction and leaves nothing to be desired even in the matter of the letter-press, illustrations, contents, bibliography and index.

It is No. 6 in the Series of " Studies in Indian History " of the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay—an Institution which is doing much to help aspiring historians in their commendable quest after truth, under the inspiring lead of Rev. Father Heras.

N. I.

Palayagars of Hagalwadi and History of Ikkeri.

By M. S. PUTTANNA.

(Published by M. P. Somasekhara Rao, B.A., LL.B., Bangalore.)

THE late Mr. M. S. Puttanna was well known for his Kannada novels and books of historical interest. To his study of Palayagars already issued are added these two small volumes on the Palayagars of Hagalwadi and Ikkeri. While the Palayagars of Hagalwadi were not notable for anything, the history of Ikkeri is a brilliant chapter in the history of Mysore. The chieftains of Ikkeri, better known as Keladi, preserved the culture of Mysore from the inrush of marauders after the decline of Vijayanagar. Their impartial patronage of rival religions and a careful land revenue system deserve to be remembered. Mr. Puttanna has given us a very interesting and readable account of these rulers mainly based on the Kannada and English materials available, the Portuguese and French archives being unfortunately a sealed book to many. This history deserves warm welcome and we thank the publisher Mr. Somasekhara Rao for continuing the praiseworthy work of his father.

R.

The Mysterious Kundalini.

BY VASANT G. RELE.

(*D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay. Price Rs. 3-8.*)

DR. RELE'S aim in this work, as has been observed in the reviews of the previous editions, is to explain the Yōgic phenomena in terms of Western anatomy and physiology. Regarding his statement that the Kuṇḍalinī corresponds to the right vagus nerve, there have been naturally considerable differences of opinion. Besides, it has to be remembered that the object of Yōga is the control of mind, which is like Māya and which like it creates by its incomprehensible power of imagination both the moral and phenomenal world, possessing the power of Vikshēpa (creating doubt) and Āvaraṇa (hiding or covering). What māya is to the macrocosm (Universe), mind is to the microcosm (man). As māya is the energy of Īsvara (creator) in the Universe, mind is the energy of Jīva (soul) in man. And as Nature is not a mixture of all the gases, mind is not a bundle of all nerves.

Prāṇa is universally pervading Śakti and is the source of life which organizes out of matter what are called living forms. When prāṇa goes the organization which it holds together disintegrates. Each of the cells of the living body has a life of its own. Breathing is a manifestation of the cosmic rhythm by which the whole universe moves and according to which it appears and disappears. Vāyu as universal vital activity manifests itself on entry into each body in ten different ways and of its functions in the body the chief ones are prāṇa (appropriation), apāna (rejection), vyāna (distribution), udāna (self-expression) and samāna (equipoise). It is the control of these daśa or pancha prāṇas (prāṇāyāma), that helps one in getting any control of the mind and its vrittis (modifications). Prāṇāyāma is the means to Kuṇḍalinī Yōga.

The rousing of Kuṇḍalinī is a Laya Yōga, that is, the Yōga of dissolution or upward movement or Nivritti. It is the opposite of Pravritti or Sṛiṣṭi (evolution) and the order of this dissolution is as follows:—Prithvi (earth) tattva of which smell is Jnānēndriya and feet are the Karmēndriyas is dissolved in Gandha-tanmātra at Mūlādhārachakra. This Gandha is taken up to Maṇipūra and in it Āpas (water) tattva of which taste is Jnānēndriya and hands are Karmēndriyas is dissolved in Rasa-tanmātra. It is then taken to

Svādhishṭhāna where Tejas (fire) tattva of which sight is Jnānēndriya and anus is the Karmēndriya is dissolved in Rūpa-tanmātra. That then is taken to Anāhata and in it Vāyu (air) tattva of which touch is Jnānēndriya and genitals are Karmēndriyas is dissolved in the Sparsa-tanmātra. That in its turn is taken to Viśuddha where Ākāsha (ether) tattva of which hearing is the Jnānēndriya and mouth is the Karmēndriya is dissolved in Śabda-tanmātra. That again is taken to Ājña where it and manas are dissolved in Mahat. That is dissolved in Sūkshma Prakṛiti which, in its turn, is united with Parābindu in Sahasrāra.

Thus the control of a chakra which is connected with some particular chitta vṛttis or modifications of the mind helps to the control of its tattva as also its Karmēndriya and Jnānēndriya and leads to the control of the next higher chakra with its tattva and indriyas and so on. As one succeeds in getting control of the successive chakras, one progresses in his control over the tattvas (elements) or acquires siddhis in Yōgic language and finally conquers death itself. Without an adequate consideration of these aspects, no work on Yōga or Yōgic practices will be complete.

N. I.

Buddhistic Studies.

EDITED BY BIMALA CHURN LAW, PH.D., M.A., B.L.

(*Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.*)

WITH the publication of this book, Dr. Bimala Churn Law adds yet another volume to the long and valuable series of interesting and instructive studies of Buddhism upon which he has, for many years past, been usefully engaged. In "Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective" Dr. Law put before the reader the Buddhist idea of Heaven and Hell; in "Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India" and "Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes" he gave a narrative of the history, manners and customs of some Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India together with a detailed historical and geographical account of some ancient Kṣatriya tribes of Mid-India (valley of Upper Ganges and its tributaries) respectively; in "Life and Work of Buddhaghōṣa" he presented us an illuminating portrait of the most celebrated commentator of the Theravāda School of Buddhism and in "Historical Gleanings" he published a collection

of six essays dealing with subjects of historical importance. The book under review contains as many as thirty-six interesting monographs contributed by such renowned Eastern and Western scholars, as Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, Dr. A. B. Keith, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. B. M. Barua, Mahamahōpādhyāya Dr. Haraprasād Sāstri and Dr. Bimala Churn Law. This short Encyclopædia of Buddhism and Buddhist Literature is bound to be of immense use to all students of Buddhist History, Literature and Religion and Pāli, the canonical language of the Buddhists.

N. I.

EDITORIAL.

IN the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December 1931, Mr. K. G. Sessa Aiyar writing on "Kulaśēkhara Ālvār and his Date," says that Kulaśēkhara, one of the twelve Ālvārs, the celebrated Vaiṣṇava Saint of South India, was born on 29th January 527 and died in 594 A.C., after having lived for 67 years.

* * *

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January 1932, contains an illuminating contribution on "The Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj" by Sāhityāchārya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu. The origin of Gāhaḍavālas is traced to the Rāshṭrakūta Chandradēva, and these rulers were so called because of their sway over Gādhipur, i.e., Kanauj. The Kingdom of Kanauj once more came into the possession of the Rāshṭrakūtas with the conquest of Badāūn about V. S. 1111 (A.D. 1054) and their occupation of Kanauj. They ruled over Kāshī (Benares), Oudh and, perhaps, also over Indrasthāna.

* * *

Mr. Bijanray Chatterjee answers in the *Modern Review*, February 1932, the question "Did Insulindia get Mahayana Cult from Bengal?" Though the writer disagrees with Dr. Stutterheim's identification of Dharmapala of Bengal with Dharmasetu (supposed to be the father-in-law of King Parangakaran), he falls in with the view of Professor Coedis that Vajrayāna was already known in Sumatra in 684 A.D. and depending on other evidences such as the influence of Nalanda there and the Kelurak inscription wherein mention is made of a Mahāyānist Guru from Bengal visiting Java, he says he can point to Bengal as the source of the Mahāyāna and Tantrayāna cults in Java and Sumatra.

* * *

In the same issue of the *Modern Review*, Devaprasad Ghosh discussing "Gajasimha", says that this motif, a plastic translation of the proverbial rivalry between two of the most powerful denizens of the forest, is a typical Indian decorative device. The writer shows how this ornament which consists essentially of a lion standing on a couchant elephant, is displayed with considerable effect in varying attitudes and manifold combinations in every nook and

corner of the stately temples and how in Orissan architecture is grasped its profound significance as a theme and its perfect suitability as a decorative motif. By way of comparison, the writer has shown how the fierce conflict between the lion and the bull was portrayed by the ancient Persian artist. After discussing the symbolic interpretation of this motif and quoting all available authorities on the subject, Mr. Ghosh comes to the inevitable conclusion that "as a symbol it epitomizes indomitable force and victorious power". After dealing with the origin of the motif and its development, he says : "As protecting divinities of the sacred shrines and guardians of the gate, the Gaja-Simhas of Orissa compare favourably with gigantic Egyptian sphinxes, the colossal Ninevite bulls and the formidable Chinese lions."

Rev. H. A. Popley in his article on "Music in India : Yesterday, To-day and To-morrow" in the *Hindustan Review*, January-March 1932, gives an idea of the extent to which the art and science of music had attained in the early days of the Aryan people by referring to the musical instruments mentioned in the Rig Vēda and to the rules of chanting of the Sāma Vēda. He then traces the development of Indian music, calling attention to jātis mentioned in the Rāmāyana. He next deals with Nāṭya Śāstra containing an account of the Science and Art of Music, belonging to the sixth century of the Christian era. This work is compared with Silappadigaram (a Tamil work of the same period as Nāṭya Śāstra) to show how the Dravidian art developed along its own lines without being a mere imitation of the Aryan. The musical treatises by scholars and musicians are referred to for describing the principles and practices of the music of their day, such as Saṅgīta Ratnākara by Sāraṅgadēva.

The "Disposal of the Dead in Tibet" according to Rev. Walter Asboe in *Man* of March 1932, comprises three ways : (1) Chopping the body into pieces and scattering them in all directions ; (2) cremation on a funeral pyre ; and (3) burying or throwing the corpse into the water.

The Humanist, Bangalore, which has been doing quiet, good work, we regret to note, has decided to cease publication and we

hope it will be possible ere long to revive the issue of this periodical.

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for December 1931 Dr. Coomaraswamy in his article on the "Origin of the Lotus Capital" says that the Capital was in use in the Vedic and Epic times and that the Indians inherited the carpenter's tradition in a country where the art in wood was succeeded by that in stone. But in Persia the builders inherited a mason's art, and became experts in working in limestone. When Asoka commenced his building activities, the Persian Palace had been already burnt down for nearly half a century.

In the same issue, Dr. Pran Nath, dealing with the scripts on the Indus Valley Seals, finds that these seals and Indian punch-marked coins contain mostly the names of gods and goddesses, in the manner of those existing in early Elam and Babylonian seals. Acceptance of these views will no doubt make for a revolution in Indian historical calculations.

In the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (December 1931) Dr. Hopkins contributes an article on the Divinity of Kings in the Vedic and Epic times. The king who was a royal divinity or who was half divine in the Vedic times, became in the epic period himself a divine incarnation or a representative of Vishnu; the divine attributes however being attached only to the office and not to the individual.

It is with deep regret we record the demise of His Highness the Maharajah of Cochin, a Vice-Patron of the Society for several years.

The Society has sustained still another loss in the untimely and premature death of one of its Vice-Presidents, Rajamantrapravina Mr. C. S. Balasundaram Iyer. After a very brilliant University career, he joined the Mysore Civil Service in 1897, where he served in various capacities with considerable distinction and was selected to the Executive Council to the Government of His Highness

the Maharaja of Mysore a few years ago, where he won universal regard and esteem by his unswerving loyalty, high sense of duty, efficient discharge of his functions and a wide and sympathetic outlook. His affable manners, genial temper, social habits and pleasure of sport made a large circle of friends and admirers. He had also developed deep and wide cultural tastes and was one of the most widely read and well informed of Mysore Civil Servants. He was greatly interested in the activities of the Mythic Society of which he was a zealous member from the very beginning and latterly its Vice-President.

**Books received during the Quarter ending
31st March 1932.**

Presented by:—

Smithsonian Institution, Washington—

1. Recently Dated Pueblo Ruins in Arizona (S.M.C. Vol. 82, No. II)—by E. W. Haury and L. L. Hargrave.
2. Yaksas, Part II (S. I. Freer Gallery of Art)—by Anand K. Coomaraswamy.
3. Creek Indians—Modern Square Grounds of the: (S.M.C. Vol. 85, No. 8)—by J. R. Swanton.
4. Report for 1931.
5. Human Hair and Primate Patterning—by Gerrit S. Miller, J.

Messrs. V. R. S. & Sons, Madras—

- Mahābhārata: Southern Recension, Vol. II, Pt. II (Adiparvam)—by P. P. S. Sastri.

Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co.—

- Mysterious Kundalini: (III Edition)—by Vasant G. Rele.

Madras University—

- ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಇತಿಹಾಸ ಮಾರ್ಗಂ—Edited by A. Venkatrao and H. Seshaiyengar.

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2. Tibet—Some Geographical Observations in Western: (Reprint from J.A.S.B., XXV—I)—by S. R. Kashyap.

Government of Mysore—

1. Stores Purchase Committee Report, 1930-31.
- 2 to 6. Meteorology in Mysore: Reports for 1926, 27, 28, 29 and 30—by C. Seshachar.
- 7 to 11. Rainfall Registration in Mysore: Reports for 1926, 27, 28, 29 and 30—by C. Seshachar.

Mysore University—

1. Place of Science in the Development of Mysore Agriculture—by L. C. Coleman.
2. Mysore Tribes & Castes, Vol. IV—by L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer.

Government of Ceylon—

- Epigraphia Zeylamica, Vol. III, Pt. 4 (Archæological Survey of Ceylon)—by S. Paranavitana.

Kaivalyadhama, Lonavla—

- Prāṇāyāma, Pt. I (Popular Yoga Series, Vol. II)—by Kuvalayananda.

Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore—

ಜ್ಯೋತಿಷಸೂತ್ರದಿವ್ಯ—by N. Venkatesa Iyengar.

V. G. T. General Agency, Bangalore—

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Government of Burma—

Burma Gazetteer: Thaton District, Vol. A.—by U. Tin Gyi.

Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., Bombay—

Jainism in North India—by Shah.

Kallasji Jalbhoy Seth, Bombay—

Seth Family—History of—by S. K. Hadivala.

Dacca University—

Old English Morphology (D. U. B. No. XVI)—by B. K. Ray.

Purchased:—

1. Indian Annual Register, 1931, Vol. I, (Jan.-June)—by Mitra.
2. Sociology—by Herbert Spencer, Vol. I.
3. Do. do. Vol. II.
4. Bombay Archæological Report for 1901.
5. Religious Thought and Life in India—by Monier Williams.
6. Ratnagiri and Savantwadi District Gazetteers (1880).
7. Chanda District Gazetteer (1909).
8. Bellary District Gazetteer (1904).
9. Malabar and Anjengo Districts Gazetteer (1908).
10. List of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India—by
G. Oppert, Vol. I.
11. Do. do. Vol. II.
12. Totemism and Exogamy—by Fraser, Vol. I.
13. Do. do. Vol. II.
14. Do. do. Vol. III.
15. Do. do. Vol. IV.
16. Maps of Ancient Kashmir, etc.
17. The Jatakamala of Arya Sura. English Translation—by
J. S. Speyer.
18. The Rise of Bombay—by S. M. Edwardes.
19. Memoirs of Sir Robert Peel—Part 1.
20. Do. do. Parts 2 & 3.
21. Lord Connemara's Tours in India, 1886-90 : by J. D. Rees.
22. Problems of the Future—by S. Lainge.
- 23 to 32. Canada Museum Bulletins.
33. Tour of late Sri Chamarajendra Wadiyar—by Wm. Hayes.
- 34 to 39. History of the British Empire in India—by Thornton,
Vols. I to VI.

**List of Books on Indian History received from the
Library of the Office of the Director of
Public Instruction, Bangalore.**

1. Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary, Vol. I.
2. Do. do. II.
3. Do. do. III.
4. Do. do. IV.
5. Do. do. V.
6. The Story of Madras—by G. Barlow.
7. Ser Morco Polo—by Cordier.
8. Early Travel in India (1583-1619)—by Foster.
9. Selections from the State Papers of the Governor-General
of India, Vol. I—by G. W. Forrest.
10. Do. do. Vol. II.
11. The Far Eastern Tropics—by A. Ireland.
12. The Rajputs—A Fighting Race—by Thakur Sri Jesraja-
singhji Seesodia.
13. Sources of Vijayanagar History—by S. K. Aiyangar.
14. Mediæval India from Contemporary Sources—by S. Lave
Poole.
15. Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I—by H. Davison Love.
16. Do. do. II do.
17. Do. do. III do.
18. Do. do. Index do.
19. A Pepys of Mughal India—by N. Manucci.
20. Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India—by J. C. Omev.
21. Report on the Architectural and Archæological Remains in
the Province of Kacch—by D. Pranjivay Khakhar.
22. Mysore—by C. S. Raghunatha Rao.
23. Mysore and Coorg, Vol. I—by B. L. Rice.
24. Do. do. Vol. II do.
25. Mysore Inscriptions, do.
26. Edicts of Asoka in Mysore—by R. Mukerji.
27. Manual of Coorg—by T. Richter.
28. Moslem Architecture—by G. T. Rivorla.
29. History of the Imams and Seyyids of Oman—by Salil-
Ibn-Razik.

30. Hindu Feasts, Fasts and Ceremonies—by S. M. M. Sastri.
31. Civilization in Ancient India, Vol. I—by R. Chandra Dutt.
32. Do. do. Vol. II do.
33. Alberuni's India, Vol. I—by E. C. Sachau.
34. Do. do. Vol. II do.
35. History and Philosophy of Sikh Religion, Pt. I—by Khazan Singh.
36. Do. do. do. Pt. II.
37. Scinde in the Forties—by A. F. Scott.
38. Native Rule in Mysore—by M. Shama Rao.
39. History of Aurangazeb, Vol. I—by J. N. Sarkar.
40. Do. do. Vol. II do.
41. Do. do. Vol. III do.
42. Atlas of the Mysore State (1902).
43. The Mysore District Gazetteer.
44. Collections of Statues relating to India, Vol. I (1285-1855).
45. Do. do. Vol. II (1856-1881).
46. Supplement to do. 1881.
47. Wilks' History of Mysore, Vol. I—by Wilks.
48. Do. Vol. II do.
49. Ledger and Sword, Vol. I—by B. Wilson.
50. Do. Vol. II do.
51. Early Records of British India—by Wheeler.
52. Ancient India—by S. K. Aiyangar.
53. Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, Vol. I—by A. J. A. Dubois.
54. Do. do. Vol. II.
55. Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India—by S. N. Majumdar.
56. Piers Plowman Histories, Junior Book VI—by E. H. Spalding.
57. Hindu India from Original Sources, Part I—by S. K. Aiyangar.
58. New Readings from Indian History—by W. H. Hutton.

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of the

Mythic Society

NEW SERIES

Vol. XXII

(1931-32)

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